

Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav translatologie

Translatologie

Mgr. Ke Su

**Contextualized Study of History of Czech Literature in Chinese Translation:
1921-2020**

**Kontextualizovaná studie dějin české literatury v čínských překladech
publikovaných v letech 1921-2020**

Dizertační práce

vedoucí práce – PhDr. Vanda Obdržálková, Ph.D.

2022

Abstrakt

Předkládaná dizertační práce je prvním systematickým pokusem o zpracování dějin české literatury v čínských překladech v časovém rozpětí jednoho století, což je značně neprobádaná oblast, která si jistě zaslouží větší pozornost a výzkumné úsilí. Cílem práce je představit deskriptivní, do kontextu zasazený výzkum dějin překladu zaměřený na recepci české literatury v Číně ze sociokulturní perspektivy. Práce se snaží odpovědět na hlavní výzkumné otázky „co“, „kdo“, „jak“ a „proč“ tím, že zkoumá sociokulturní podmínky ve třech historických obdobích (1921-1949, 1950-1977 a 1978-2020) a jejich vliv na výběr textů k překladu, charakteristiky překladatelů, uplatňované překladatelské postupy, výběr zprostředkujících jazyků a využívání různých překladatelských strategií.

Z teoretického hlediska jsou pro naši práci nejrelevantnější Even-Zoharova (1990) teorie polysystému, Touryho koncepce norem a Lefeverova teorie přepisu, které chápou přeloženou literaturu jako součást polysystému a realitu cílové kultury a překlad pojímají jako přepis, v němž se odráží vliv ideologie a dobové poetiky. Tyto tři teoretické koncepce slouží jako východisko této práce. Z metodologického hlediska je práce empirickým výzkumem kombinujícím kvalitativní a kvantitativní přístup. Použité metody zahrnují případovou studii, korpusovou studii, historické a archivní metody výzkumu a využití číselných údajů a statistické analýzy dat.

Zvláštní pozornost je věnována také několika méně prozkoumaným translatologickým tématům, jako jsou nepřímý překlad, opakovaný překlad téhož díla a paratexty, kterým byla dosud věnována menší pozornost, protože se odchyľují od prototypického chápání mezijazykového překladu charakterizovaného dichotomií výchozího a cílového textu, obvykle zprostředkovaného jedním překladatelem. Výzkum uvedených jevů v dějinách překladu si zaslouhuje větší pozornost. Zároveň se jedná o témata, která úzce souvisí s výzkumnými otázkami formulovanými výše: nepřímý překlad, opakované překlady a paratexty jsou spojeny s otázkou „jak“; ideologie a cenzura úzce souvisí s otázkami „co“ a „proč“. Otázka „kdo“ je pak zaměřena na překladatele.

Součástí práce je srovnávací analýza pěti různých verzí Osudů dobrého vojáka Švejka od Jaroslava Haška. Pozornost je věnována zejména překladu hanlivých výrazů, tabuizovaných témat a kulturních prvků. Na základě rozboru vybraných paralelních úseků textu se pokoušíme popsat zákonitosti v přístupu překladatelů a rekonstruovat použité překladatelské strategie. Cílem je objasnit otázky týkající se překladatelské metody, omezení vyplývajících z cílové kultury a věrnosti nebo naopak manipulace ve vztahu k originálu.

Při analýze zvoleného korpusu bereme v úvahu proměnné kontextu, jako je

výchozí jazyk, překladatel, způsob publikace, vydavatel, společensko-historické pozadí atd., abychom mohli zkoumat vliv kontextu na text, vliv textu na kontext a vztahy mezi textem a kontextovými proměnnými. Naše zjištění potvrzují původně formulovanou hypotézu: v překladech české literatury do čínštiny lze pozorovat zákonitosti či tendence, jejichž vysvětlení lze nalézt v cílovém společensko-historickém kontextu.

Klíčová slova: česká literatura v čínském překladu, historie překladu, nepřímý překlad, retranslace, paratexty, socio-historický kontext

Abstract

The present study is the first systematic attempt to survey the history of Czech literature in Chinese translation in a century-long time span, a largely under-researched area which certainly merits more academic attention and efforts. It aims to present a descriptive, contextualized, target-oriented translation history research into the introduction of Czech literature in China from a socio-cultural perspective. It also makes an endeavor to answer the major research questions of “what”, “who”, “how” and “why”, by examining the socio-cultural conditions in three historical periods (1921-1949, 1950-1977 and 1978-2020) and investigating their influence on the selection of texts for translation, the characteristics of translators, the adoption of translation approaches, the choice of intermediate languages, and the employment of various translation strategies.

Theoretically, Even-Zohar’s (1990) polysystem theory, Toury’s translation norms, and Lefevere’s rewriting theory, which view translated literature as part of the polysystem, conceptualize translation as a fact of the target culture, and perceive translation as rewriting which reflects manipulation by ideology and poetics, are most relevant to our study and serve as the theoretical underpinning of this thesis. Methodologically, this study is an empirical research combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. It combines case study, corpus study, historical and archival research methods and the use of numeric data and statistical data analysis.

Special attention is paid to a number of peripheral topics in translation studies, including indirect translation, retranslation and paratexts, which have been accorded only marginal positions in translation studies, due to their deviation from the prototypical notion of interlingual translation characterized by the dichotomy of one source text and one target text, typically mediated by one translator. Their prevalence in translation history, however, makes them worthy of more academic attention. These are also among the topics identified as highly relevant to the research questions: indirect translation, retranslation and paratexts are linked with the “how” question; ideology and censorship are closely related to the “what” and “why” questions. What’s more, the “who” question is obviously concerned with the topic of translators.

This thesis also includes a comparative textual analysis conducted on five different versions of Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*. Special attention is paid to the translation of offensive language, tabooed subjects, and cultural elements. And our operations on some representative parallel textual segments involve attempts to establish regularities of behaviour and to reconstruct the translation strategies adopted. The aim is to shed some light on matters relating to the translating strategies, target culture restrictions, and faithfulness to the original versus manipulation.

Our corpora analysis takes in account such context variables as source-language, translator, publication form, publisher, socio-cultural, etc., to examine the effect of context on text, the effect of text on context, and the relations between text and context variables themselves. Our findings confirm the initially formulated hypothesis: there are patterns or tendencies in the translation of Czech literature into Chinese, whose explanations can be found in the target socio-historical context.

Key words: Czech literature in Chinese translation, translation history, indirect translation, retranslation, paratexts, socio-historical context

Acknowledgements

The past years of working on my PhD thesis have been one of the most memorable periods of my life. It is my great pleasure to have the opportunity to study in Charles University and I am very thankful for this extraordinary experience.

In completion of my thesis, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Vanda Obdržálková, who supported me throughout the whole process with great professional advice. Her knowledge of translation studies and Czech literature, along with her constructive comments and suggestions, have been greatly valuable in helping me improve this thesis. Without her patient and kind assistance, this research would have been unachievable.

I would also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Jana Králová and Prof. Zuzana Jettmarová for their kind help and support during my PhD studies.

My warm thanks also go to my fellow doctoral students and the friends I met in Prague, who have helped make my study here a pleasant journey.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, who have been a constant source of support throughout my life and especially in the pursuit of my educational goals.

Table of Contents

Abstrakt	i
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of figures, tables and pictures	xii
List of abbreviations and acronyms	xv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research originality	1
1.2 “Czech literature in Chinese translation”	2
1.3 Theoretical underpinning	4
1.4 Research outline	7
Chapter 2. Conceptual research	10
2.1 Ideology	10
2.1.1 The concept of ideology and its evolution	10
2.1.2 Ideology, culture, language and translation	11
2.1.3 Manipulation, rewriting and power	12
2.2	
Censorship	14
2.2.1 Censorship and translation	14
2.2.2. Motivation and classification of censorship	15
2.2.3 Self-censorship	17
2.2.4 Twenty-first century research on censorship and translation	19
2.3	
Paratexts	20
2.3.1 The concept of paratexts: boundary and problems	20
2.3.2. Paratext and translation	22

2.3.2.1	Genette’s view of paratext and translation	22
2.3.2.2	Translation scholars’ view of paratext and translation	24
2.4	Indirect translation	27
2.4.1	Prevalent practice and peripheral theoretical field	27
2.4.2	Prejudice against indirect translation	29
2.4.3	Significance of research on indirect translation	30
2.4.4	Reasons for indirect translation	31
2.4.5	Issues and solutions	34
2.4.5.1	Terminological issues and proposed solutions	34
2.4.5.2	Conceptual issues and proposed solutions	35
2.4.5.3	Assumptions about indirect translation.....	37
2.4.5.4	Methodological issues and proposed solutions	39
2.5	Retranslation	40
2.5.1	Retranslation and its bordering concepts	40
2.5.1.1	Retranslation, intralingual translation and revision	41
2.5.1.2	Retranslation, indirect translation and reprints	42
2.5.2	Hybrid retranslated texts and their categorization	44
2.5.3	Reasons for retranslation	45
2.5.3.1	Coordination and aging factors	45
2.5.3.2	Interpretative factors	46
2.5.3.3	Factors of ideology and norms	47
2.5.3.4	Commercial factors	50
Chapter 3.	Materials and methodology	52
3.1	Type of research	52
3.2	Models of research	52
3.3	Research questions and hypotheses	54
3.4	Material, catalog and corpora	56
3.5	Case studies	58

Chapter 4. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1921-1949	59
4.1 The background to the beginning of Czech literature’s translation in China: the third translation peak in Chinese history	59
4.2 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: What	60
4.3 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: How	68
4.3.1 The dominant role of literary periodicals	68
4.3.2 Indirect translation	71
4.3.3 Retranslation	73
4.3.4 Textual and paratextual features	74
4.4 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: Who	75
4.5 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: Why	78
4.5.1 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949	78
4.5.1.1 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949 Czech lands	78
4.5.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949 China	81
4.5.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1921-1949	84
4.5.2 Literary norms in 1921-1949 China	85
4.5.2.1 Publishing industry and literary periodicals	85
4.5.2.2 Rise of fiction in the literary system	85
4.5.2.3 Coexistence of heterogenous literary norms	86
4.5.2.4 “Literature of the oppressed peoples”	88
4.5.3 Translation norms in 1921-1949 China	91
4.5.3.1 Text selection	91
4.5.3.2 Translated literature in the literary polysystem	93
4.5.3.3 Indirect translation and the international cultural system	95
4.5.3.4 Retranslations	97
4.5.3.5 Translation theories and debates in the target culture	98
4.5.3.6 The significant role of translators	100
Chapter 5. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1950-1977	102

5.1 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: What	102
5.2 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: How	109
5.2.1 Literary periodical and books	109
5.2.2 Indirect translation and retranslation	110
5.2.3 Textual and paratextual features	111
5.3 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: Who	112
5.4 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: Why	114
5.4.1 The socio-historical context in 1950-1977	114
5.4.1.1 The socio-historical context in 1950-1977 Czech lands	114
5.4.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1950-1977 China	116
5.4.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1950-1977	120
5.4.2 Literary norms in 1950-1977 China	121
5.4.2.1 Centralization of literary publications (publishers, periodicals) ...	121
5.4.2.2 Socialist ideology and poetics	124
5.4.2.3 Censorship	125
5.4.3 Translation norms in 1950-1977 China	127
5.4.3.1 Institutionalization and subjectivity of translation activities	127
5.4.3.1.1 Institutionalization of translation activities	127
5.4.3.1.2 Subjectivity of translators	129
5.4.3.2 Text selection	130
5.4.3.3 Indirect translation and retranslation	136
5.4.3.4 Paratexts	139
Chapter 6. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1978-2020	141
6.1 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: What	141
6.2 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: How	150
6.2.1 Periodicals, publishers and book series	150
6.2.2 Indirect translations	152
6.2.3 Retranslations	154

6.2.4 Paratexts	155
6.3 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: Who	156
6.4 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: Why	158
6.4.1 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020	158
6.4.1.1 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020 Czech lands	158
6.4.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020 China	160
6.4.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1978-2020	162
6.4.2 Literary norms in 1978-2020 China	163
6.4.2.1 Marketization of literary publications	163
6.4.2.2 Censorship	165
6.4.2.3 Milan Kundera	169
6.4.2.3.1 Turning point in Chinese modern literature and the importation of literary models	170
6.4.2.3.2 Introduction of Milan Kundera in the 1980s and 90s	171
6.4.2.3.3 Introduction of Milan Kundera since the 2000s	172
6.4.3 Translation norms in 1978-2020 China	173
6.4.3.1 Text selection	173
6.4.3.1.1 The beginning in the late 1970s	173
6.4.3.1.2 The 1980s and 90s	174
6.4.3.1.3 The 2000s	175
6.4.3.1.4 The 2010s	176
6.4.3.2 Indirect translation	177
6.4.3.3 Retranslation	180
6.4.3.4 Paratexts	184
6.4.3.5 Book series and translated image	191
6.4.3.5.1 Czech literature in book series	191
6.4.3.5.2 Book series and image of a nation	192
6.4.3.5.3 Stereotyped image: “Eastern Europe”	193

6.4.3.5.4 De-stereotyping attempts: “Blue Eastern Europe” and “Stories from Prague”	195
6.4.3.6 The composition of translators in the post-reform era	196
Chapter 7. Comparative textual analysis	199
7.1 Choice of texts	199
7.2 Macro-structural comparison	200
7.3 Micro-textual comparisons	202
7.3.1 Translation of offensive language in <i>Švejk</i>	202
7.3.2 Translation of taboo subjects in <i>Švejk</i>	217
7.3.2.1 Taboo subjects of bodily functions and body parts	218
7.3.2.2 Sex-related taboo subjects	224
7.3.2.3 Religion-related taboo subjects	230
7.3.3 Translation of cultural elements in <i>Švejk</i>	237
Chapter 8. Conclusion	268
8.1 Research findings	268
8.1.1 Ideology and censorship	268
8.1.2 Indirect translation	270
8.1.3 Retranslation	272
8.1.4 Paratexts	274
8.1.5 Translators	276
8.2 Limitations and future research	277
Appendix 1	280
Appendix 2	291
Appendix 3	296
Bibliography	313

List of figures, tables and pictures

Figure 4.1 Czech writers and the numbers of Chinese translations of their works in 1921-1949, p. 66

Figure 4.2 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech writers in 1921-1949, p. 67

Figure 4.3 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949 in terms of genre, p. 68

Figure 4.4 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949 in terms of publication forms, p. 69

Figure 4.5 Main periodicals with most Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949, p. 70

Figure 4.6 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949, p. 72

Figure 4.7 The most retranslated Czech literary works in 1921-1949 mainland China, p. 73

Figure 4.8 The translators with most Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949, p. 76

Figure 5.1 Diachronic distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977, p. 102

Figure 5.2 Czech writers and the numbers of their translated works in books in 1950-1977 mainland China, p. 107

Figure 5.3 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977 in terms of genre, p. 108

Figure 5.4 Distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1977 in terms of publishers, p. 109

Figure 5.5 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977, p. 110

Figure 5.6 Translators with most translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977 mainland China, p. 112

Figure 5.7 Synchronic distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1977 in terms of their publishers, p. 123

Figure 5.8 Diachronic distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1977 in terms of their publishers, p. 123

- Figure 6.1 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech writers in 1978-2020, p. 148
- Figure 6.2 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1978-2020 in terms of genre, p. 149
- Figure 6.3 Main publishers with most books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1978-2020, p. 151
- Figure 6.4 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1978-2020, p. 153
- Figure 6.5 The most retranslated Czech literary works in 1978-2020 mainland China, p. 154
- Figure 6.6 Translators with most translated books of Czech literature in 1978-2020 mainland China, p. 157
-
- Table 4.1 Czech writers and their works translated in 1921-1949 mainland China, p.64
- Table 4.2 Comparison of English and Esperanto as MLs in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949, p. 73
- Table 5.1 Czech writers and their works translated in books in 1950-1977 mainland China, p. 105
- Table 5.2 Czech writers and their works translated in the *World Literature* journal in 1950-1977, p. 106
- Table 5.3 Publishers of translated books from Czech literature in 1950-1977, in terms of their ownership, p. 122
- Table 5.4 Czech works selected for translation in book form in 1950-1977 China and three important variables in terms of their profiles, p. 134
- Table 5.5 Comparison between the indirect translation rates of Czech socialist realist writers and classic writers, p. 138
- Table 6.1 Czech writers and their works translated in books in 1978-2020 mainland China, p. 148
- Table 6.2 the books-per-writer ratios for the main Czech writers and the rest in 1978-2020 mainland China, p. 149
- Table 6.3 Correlation between the main publishers, book series and Czech writers in 1978-2020 mainland China, p. 152
- Table 7.1 Examples of textual parts in *Švejk* on the taboo subjects of bodily functions and body parts, and their translations, p. 223

Table 7.2 Examples of textual parts in *Švejk* on religious taboo subject, and their translations, p. 232

Table 7.3 The main translation techniques to deal with cultural elements in some researchers' typologies, p. 240

Table 7.4 Examples of foreign languages in *Švejk* and their translations, p. 266

Picture 6.1 The book cover of the 1957 Chinese version of *Babička*, published by the People's Publishing House, p. 186

Picture 6.2 The book cover of a 1998 Chinese version of *Babička*, a republication produced by the People's Publishing House, p. 186

Picture 6.3 The book cover of the 1987 Chinese version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), published by The Writers Publishing House, p.187

Picture 6.4 The book cover of the 2010 Chinese version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), published by the Shanghai Translation Publishing House, p. 187

Picture 6.5 The book cover of the 2020 Chinese version of K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year), published by Chongqing University Press, p. 188

Picture 6.6 One of the colored illustrations in the 2020 Chinese version of K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year), published by Chongqing University Press, p. 189

Picture 6.7 The 2013 Chinese version of Josef Škvorecký's novel *Obyčejné životy* (Ordinary Lives), published by Newstar Press, p. 190

Picture 6.8 The 2013 Chinese version of Josef Škvorecký's *Obyčejné životy* (Ordinary Lives), p. 190

Picture 6.9 The book covers of the 2019 Chinese versions of Z. Svěrák's *Nové povídky* (left) and *Povídky* (right), in the "Stories from Prague" series published by Zhejiang Literature & Art, p. 190

List of abbreviations and acronyms

ST: source text

MT: mediating text

TT: target text

SL: source language

ML: mediating language

TL: target language

TC: target culture

ITr: indirect translation

TS: translation studies

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GMD/KMD: Guomindang / Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)

CCP/CPC: Chinese Communist Party / Communist Party of China

ROC: Republic of China

PRC: People's Republic of China

WWII: the Second World War

KSČ: Komunistická strana Československa (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia)

APCs: Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

The present thesis aims to present a descriptive, contextualized, target-oriented translation history research into the introduction of Czech literature in China from a socio-cultural perspective. As a study on translation history, its main goal is to answer the major research questions in translation history, as pointed out by Williams and Chesterman (2002: 16): What? Who? How? And Why?

1.1 Research originality

The issues examined in this thesis are novel in several ways:

First, it is the first systematic attempt to survey the history of Czech literature in Chinese translation. This is a largely under-researched area, and certainly merits more attention and efforts. In the books on literary translation history in China (see Chen 1989, Guo 1998, Fang 2005, Meng and Li 2005, Zha and Xie 2007, Wang 2008), translations of Czech literature are mostly mentioned in passing as part of a larger geographical area, namely Central and Eastern Europe, or some ideologically perceived communities, i.e. “the oppressed peoples”. Accounts of Czech literature translation are also scattered in the parts on individual translators or certain literary genres. The same is true of academic articles and dissertations. The only relevant academic effort can be found in the article “Jiekesiluofake wenxue zai zhongguo (Czechoslovak Literature in China)” (Jiang 1987), which was written from the perspective of literary studies rather than translation studies. What’s more, it is just a survey and arrangement of historical facts and materials, and lacks a theoretical analysis of the translations. The present study tries to trace the translation and reception of Czech literature in China over the span of a century. It makes an endeavor to answer the major research questions of “what”, “who”, “how” and “why”, by examining the socio-cultural conditions in various periods and investigating their influences on selection of texts for translation, adoption of translation approaches, choice of intermediate languages, and employment of various translation strategies. Apart from being a necessary complement to the existing history of translated literature in China, the study is intended to help audiences, whether Chinese, Czech or international, to gain a more comprehensive view on Czech literature abroad.

Second, a study like this may serve to address the imbalance in translation studies. There has long been an imbalance in translation history as well as translation theories and descriptive translation studies. English has been enjoying an elevated

status in overall academic research. Many findings concerning this global language are presented as general principles of translation, while “contributions written in languages other than English and on topics outside Anglophile interests tend to be ignored or over-simplified” (Snell-Hornby 2006: x). Descriptive studies have concentrated on the reception of the “major” cultures. Woods (2006: 185) points out that:

Translation Studies has tended to focus on case studies of major world languages [...] there needs to be an analysis of translations from so-called ‘minority languages’, and certainly one of the areas that has been ignored is ex-Eastern Europe: Central Europe and the Balkans, for instance.

This is also true of historical works on literary translation in China, as more importance has been attached to major nations while smaller nations have received limited attention. Such a canon-oriented way of studying translation would very likely impede our comprehensive understanding of translation phenomena and its nature. A systematic and in-depth contextualized research into Czech literature in Chinese translation may serve to complement the existing translation history researches, and broaden our perspective on descriptive translation studies.

Third, this study pays special attention to peripheral topics in translation studies, like indirect translation, retranslation and paratexts. Toury’s (2012: 109) Descriptive Translation Studies theory, as well as Even-Zohar’s (1990: 14-15) polysystem hypothesis, rejects a priori value judgments in selection of the objects to be studied, thus allowing the study of translational phenomena “previously unnoticed or bluntly rejected” by the source-oriented approach. Yet they are still accorded only marginal positions, due to their deviation from the prototypical notion of interlingual translation characterized by the dichotomy of one source text and one target text, typically mediated by one translator. Furthermore, these concepts have fuzzy borders with plenty of overlap and borderline cases. However, their prevalence in translation history makes them worthy of more academic attention. And this study is expected to help deepen the understanding of such peripheral translation phenomena.

1.2 “Czech literature in Chinese translation”

In order to arrive at a more homogeneous research corpus, i.e. “a list of translations drawn up according to strictly controlled criteria” (Pym 2014: 42), we have to develop and apply some basic concepts concerning the object to be studied, i.e. the working definition of “Czech literature in Chinese translation”.

1) literature.

Patterson (1995: 256, cited in Špirk 2011: 107) defines literature as follows:

[...] a piece of writing is “literature” not because it possesses certain characteristics that other pieces lack, but because its readers regard it – for a variety of reasons – as literature.
(emphasis in original)

Based on Toury’s (2012: 27) definition of “assumed translations”, i.e. “all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds”, Seruya (2009, cited in Špirk 2011: 107) suggests the concept of “assumed literature”, which is useful enough for our purposes. To be more specific, the present study understands “literature” in a broad sense, including not just novels, short stories, poetry, drama and essays, but also more peripheral literary genres such as memoir, biography, travelogue, diaries, letters, etc.

2) Czech literature.

We apply Špirk’s definition of “Czech literature” as “literature written in the Czech language, including all of its stylistic variants and strata” (Špirk 2011: 108), thus excluding those written in German (such as Franz Kafka) and those in French (Milan Kundera after 1990, following *Immortality*), among others. We also exclude works by Slovak authors in the Czechoslovakia period, such as Hana Gregorová, Peter Jilemnický, Ladislav Novomeský and Vladimír Minac, etc.

3) Czech literature in Chinese translation

Due to the limitation of space, this study restricts “Czech literature in Chinese translation” to the works published in mainland China, thus excluding those translated and published in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and those translated by mainland Chinese but published there, but including those translated in Hong Kong and Taiwan or by overseas Chinese but published in mainland China.

4) When it comes to the publication form, the Czech works in Chinese translation during 1921-1949 were predominantly published in literary journals, with just a few exceptions in books. In 1950-1977 most of them were published in book form. And the only openly published foreign literature journal in that period was *Yiwen* (*World Literature* after 1953). And after 1978 books have remained the main publication form of translated Czech literature. As “the popular reception of an author can be judged more accurately by the publication of his works in book form than by their single appearance in periodicals” (Edgerton 1963: 62), during the second and third period we focus on translations in books.

5) We have excluded children’s literature and literature for children from our discussion. The distinction between “Czech literature translated for children” and “translated Czech children’s literature” seems necessary. The former refers to Czech

literature originally written for adults, such as *The Good Soldier Švejk*, which is then translated and adapted for children readers; the latter refers to Czech literary works written specifically for children, such as those by Josef Lada, Bohumil Říha, Pavel Šrut, Miloš Macourek and Květa Pacovská, in addition to K. Čapek and B. Němcová's short stories for children. One reason for their exclusion is the limitation of space. More importantly, both types, mostly involving adaptation, have very different features from the translated Czech works for adults, which makes them deserve a separate study.

6) Our data will include both first translations and retranslations (made by different translators). The case of one translation, especially in book form, made by the same translator and published again by the same or a different publisher, which could be termed a republication or a re-edition, will not be dealt with in our discussion¹.

1.3 Theoretical underpinning

As the present study is a descriptive, contextualized, target-oriented research into the introduction of Czech literature in China from a socio-cultural and historical perspective, the system theorists and the manipulation school, who view translated literature as part of the polysystem, conceptualize translation as a fact of the target culture, and perceive translation as rewriting which reflects manipulation by ideology and poetics (see Even-Zohar 1990, Toury 2012, Lefevere 2010, Munday 2010, Bassnett 2010), is most relevant to our study of history of Czech literature translated in China, and thus deserves our special attention.

System theorists are known for their emphasis on the socio-cultural contexts (semiotic polysystem), especially the target ones. As “translations do not come into being in a vacuum”, and due to the interdependence of the semiotic polysystem's members, Toury (2012: 22) emphasizes that “no translation should ever be studied outside of the context in which it came into being”. Even-Zohar (1990: 47) argues that the selection of works to be translated is determined by the state of the target polysystem and the texts' function within the target literature. Moreover, the polysystem constraints, stemming from the state of the particular polysystem or the position of items within it, are also relevant for the decisions (selection, manipulation,

¹ Our investigations of the three historical periods have found some cases when a translation was published first in a periodical and later in a book collection or book form. Different approaches are taken according to the priorities of our discussions: when it comes to the first period in 1921-1949, we focus on the first translations in periodicals; when it comes to the second period in 1950-1977 and the third period in 1978-2020, our focus is on the translations in books.

amplification, deletion, etc.) made while producing actual products (ibid.: 16).

Breaking with the tradition of conceiving literature as an isolated activity in society regulated by exclusively different laws, Polysystem theory treats literature as an integral, often central and very powerful, factor in human society (Even-Zohar 1990: 3-4). As for translated literature, it has conventionally been treated on an individual basis, in the form of translated works, rather than as a particular literary system. Hence the neglect of its function as a whole in a literature and its position in that literature. Even-Zohar (1990: 45-46), in contrast, perceives translated literature “not only as an integral system within any literary polysystem, but as a most active system within it”. Normally, translated literature tends to be relegated to a peripheral position in the literary polysystem. In this case, it becomes a major factor of conservatism and a means to preserve traditional taste, adhering to conventionally dominant norms in the target literature. The resulting product often turns out to be non-adequate translation (Even-Zohar 1990: 48-51). However, three major cases, “which are basically various manifestations of the same law” (ibid.), allow translated literature to assume the central position in a literature polysystem:

- (a) When a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is “young,” in the process of being established;
- (b) when a literature is either “peripheral” (within a large group of correlated literatures) or “weak,” or both; and
- (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature.

When translated literature occupies a central position in the literary polysystem, it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem as an innovatory force, by elaborating the new repertoire and introducing foreign features into the home literature. In this case, the distinction between “original” and “translated” writings is blurred, the scope of “translated works” extended to include “semi- and quasi-translations” as well, and it often is the leading writers or prospective leading writers who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations (Even-Zohar 1990: 46-47). What’s more, the translation is more likely to be close to the original in terms of adequacy, by reproducing the dominant textual relations of the original (ibid.: 50). Translated literature, as a system, is itself also stratified, meaning that while one section of it may assume a central position, another may remain peripheral (ibid.: 49).

Drawing on polysystems theory, Toury further expounds on the significance of target culture, in whose interest translators operate first and foremost. He maintains that the systemic position of translating as well as translation in the target culture “should be taken as forming constraints of the highest order” (2012: 6-8), and translational norms may be taken to be, to a large extent, dependent on it (ibid.: 85). From the scholarly point of view, norms are neither entities nor “eternal truths”, but rather temporary explanatory hypotheses for actual behaviour and its perceptible manifestations, to be verified, refuted or modified in later stages (Even-Zohar 1990: 6,

Toury 2012: 65). It is the norm-governed translation acts or, more precisely, their end-products that are available for observation, rather than the norms themselves (Toury 2012: 87). In contrast to conventions which are deemed rather vague, norms translate general values or ideas shared by a community into performance “instructions” for concrete situations, to specify what is culturally appropriate and what is inappropriate, thus giving rise to strategies of action and lending them both form and justification. Unlike the vague conventions, “norms involve sanctions, actual or at least potential”, sometimes negative or even punitive, other times positive and rewarding. Hence their evaluative role as “a yardstick for the assessment of instances of behaviour and/or their tangible results” (Toury 2012: 63-64).

There are two features inherent in the very notion of norm: their socio-cultural specificity within a culture and across cultures, and their potential instability, which makes them liable to change (Toury 2012: 86). The norms themselves are far from monolithic, but relative, in that their validity and potency vary in both synchronic and diachronic terms. The relativity of norms also lies in the fact that different types of activity and different groups of translators mean different sets of norms they abide by. In terms of their relative potency, norms occupy the central part of a graded continuum minus small patches taken up by the two poles: relatively objective rules on the one hand, and more subjective idiosyncrasies on the other (2012: 65-66). There are three types of competing norms: the “trendy” and mainstream ones that dominate the center, the “old-fashioned” ones that have been relegated to the margin, and the “progressive” ones that may eventually become part of a new set of norms. A translator’s status, in terms of the norms complied with, changes over time. Novice translators are more likely to play safe by adhering to norms which are dated but still considered “respectable”. On the other hand, experienced translators, who used to comply with mainstream norms and gained recognition and prestige as a result, can afford deviations from standard patterns of behavior. When they are followed by others, a new norm will be regarded as having been introduced into the culture (Toury 2012: 77).

Toury sees three kinds of norms operating at different stages of the translation process. The initial norm involves the basic choice between adherence to the assumed source text (adequacy), and compliance with norms in the target culture (acceptability) (2012: 79). The opposition between “adequacy” and “acceptability” is “a basic coordinate system for the formulation of explanatory hypotheses”. The choice between them happens repeatedly during the translation act, and serves as a central feature of lower-level decisions, which normally involve some compromise between the two extremes. Preliminary norms have to do with translation policy, which governs the choice of text-types or even individual texts, as well as the directness of translation, which involves “the threshold of tolerance for translating from languages other than the ultimate SLs”. Operational norms directs the decisions made during the

translation act itself. They affect the way linguistic material is distributed in it (matricial norms) in the forms of omissions, additions, changes of location and segmentation, as well as selection of linguistic material to replace those in the original (textual-linguistic norms) (Toury 2012: 80-84).

Translation is a rewriting of an original text, motivated or constrained by a certain ideology or a poetics (Lefevere 2010: vii). On every level of the translation process, Lefevere maintains (2010: 39), “if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win out”. The translator’s ideology (whether embraced willingly, or imposed by some form of patronage) dictates the basic strategy he employs and thus his solutions to both Universal-of-Discourse and linguistic problems (ibid.: 41). Poetics influences the selection of themes: as poetics changes with time, particular themes tend to dominate given periods in the evolution of a literary system (ibid.: 34). Lefevere identifies a double control factor in the literary system, one within it, represented by the “professional”, including the critics, reviewers, teachers and translators, the other outside of it, called “patronage”, represented by persons, groups or institutions (literary journals, publishers, educational establishment) with the powers to “further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (2010: 14-15). Institutions try to enforce the dominant poetics of a period by using it as the yardstick to measure current productions, exalting some while rejecting others. Influential literary journals and publishers play an important role in “admitting new works to the canon” and holding them up as examples for future (re)writers to follow, whereas the educational establishment “keeps the canon more or less alive” through selection of texts for literature courses (ibid.: 19-20). The professional endeavors to control the literary system from the inside within the parameters set by the patrons. They will try to repress certain works of literature deemed too blatantly opposed to the dominant ideology and poetics, and attempt to render them acceptable through rewriting (ibid.: 14-15).

1.4 Research outline

Chapter 1 is the Introduction, which discusses the significance of the present research as well as the working definitions. The theoretical framework of this study is also presented, with its contextualized and target-oriented nature stressed. Even-Zohar’s (1990) polysystem theory, which treats literature as an integral factor in human society and translated literature as the most active system within a literary polysystem, Toury’s translation norms, which emphasize the identification of conditioning factors

as well as the establishment of regularities of translational behaviour in recurrent situations, and Lefevere's rewriting theory, which sees translation as a rewriting of an original text motivated by a certain ideology or a poetics, serve as the theoretical underpinning of this thesis.

Chapter 2 presents a discussion of the concepts in translation studies most pertinent to this thesis, including (1) ideology, whose study in translation studies has been strongly linked to the idea of manipulation, power relations and rewriting (Munday 2007: 195-196); (2) censorship, which manifests the influence of ideology on translations; (3) paratext, "a zone between text and off-text" (Genette 1997: 2) that reveals a great deal about the production of a translation and affects its reception; (4) indirect translation, which "played an important role in connecting cultures, not least when (semi)peripheral languages have been involved" (Ringmar 2007: 1); and (5) retranslation, "a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language" (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 294).

Chapter 3 first categorizes this study as empirical research mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches. It discusses the basic models of translation studies, before pointing out that the present research is focused on socio-cultural factors in Chesterman's (2000) causal model. The research questions are presented and hypotheses formulated. It also lists the sources of data, on the basis of which a catalogue will be established and then reduced to "a reasonably extensive yet manageable and balanced corpus" (Pym 2014: 67). The corpora need to be analyzed to see how text variables are related to context variables. Finally, it is explained that, as a broad method, the present research will combine case study, corpus study, historical and archival research methods and the use of numeric data and statistical data analysis.

Chapter 4-6 give discussions of the history of translated Czech literature in mainland China, on the basis of its division into three periods. The first period (1921-1949) during the Republican era ended with the founding of the People's Republic of China. The second phase (1950-1977) can be further divided into two subdivisions, with the significant political event in 1963 serving as the dividing line. The third stage (1978-2020) commenced with China's Reform and Opening-up. In this century-long time span, translations of Czech literature in China have gone through rise and fall, and grown from obscurity to popularity. A remarkable array of Czech literary works have been introduced to China. The publications in these periods were marked by selections of different writers, genres and themes, and were subject to the influence of socio-cultural and political contexts.

Chapter 7 is a comparative textual analysis conducted on five different versions of Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*: the original, Paul Selver's 1930 English direct translation, Xiao Qian's 1956 Chinese indirect translation based on Selver, Liu

Xingcan's 1983 direct translation, and Parrott's 1973 direct English translation. Special attention will be paid to the translation of offensive language, tabooed subjects, and cultural elements. The aim is to shed some light on matters relating to the translating strategies, target culture restrictions, and faithfulness to the original versus manipulation.

Chapter 8 is the Conclusion, which summarizes the results obtained, especially those concerning the topics most relevant to the research questions: "ideology" and "censorship" closely related to the "what" and "why" questions, "indirect translation", "retranslation" and "paratexts" linked with the "how" question, and the topic of "translators" concerned with the "who" question. The Conclusion also discusses the limitations of this study and offers suggestions for further research.

The Conclusion is followed by a list of sources and bibliography, as well as appendices consisting of the main translated works of Czech literature in the three historical periods of mainland China: 1921-1949, 1950-1977, and 1978-2020. The translations are ordered chronologically (according to their years of publication).

Chapter 2. Conceptual research

2.1 Ideology

2.1.1 The concept of ideology and its evolution

A significant concept in social sciences, ideology is also an ubiquitous social phenomenon. “We produce, disseminate, and consume ideologies all our lives”, whether or not we are aware of it (Freeden 2003: 1). We cannot do without ideologies, which help us make sense of the social and political worlds we inhabit (ibid.: 2). A striking feature of the notion of ideology is how its definition remains vague and controversial, as well as elusive and confused, despite the literally thousands of books and articles dealing with it after its coinage by the eighteenth century French philosopher Destutt de Tracy for his proposal of a “science of ideas” (Van Dijk 1998: vii, 1). Its commonsense usage, which is generally pejorative and negative (ibid.: viii, 2), is “the legacy of a Marxist (and neo-Marxist) tradition” (Calzada-Pérez 2014: 3-4).

Karl Mannheim introduced positive connotations of ideology by putting forward the concept of “utopia”, later called positive or oppositional ideologies by van Dijk, and progressive or transformative ideology by Freeden. They are “systems that sustain and legitimize opposition and resistance against domination and social inequality” (Van Dijk 2000: 8).

While Marx denounced the social conditions under capitalism as the source of ideological illusion, many in the west often see communism as the prototype of an ideology (Van Dijk 1998: 2). Similarly, “some political moves or measures are said to be ‘ideologically motivated’, as if others were not” (Hatim & Mason 2005: 120). Mannheim was among those who first realized that ideology was a feature of all historical and social environments (Freeden 2003: 12). Many different social groups in societies mean “multiplicity of ways of thinking” and thus a large number of concrete ideologies inhabiting Marx’s abstract category of “ideology” (ibid.: 9, 13). Hence “it makes sense to refer throughout to ideologies in the plural, rather than ideology in the singular” (Beaton 2007: 273). A later stage in the second part of the twentieth century saw the development of a more general, more inclusive and less pejorative concept of ideology: “political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivities”, “organizing or legitimating the actions of the group” (Van Dijk 1998: 3).

Mannheim also elevated ideology to the status of a distinct phenomenon worthy

of study and a critical analytical tool (ibid.: 24, 16), along with Gramsci, who sought to explore the working of ideology as “a recurring pattern of (political) thinking”, manifested in our actions and utterances (ibid.: 21).

Ideologies are defined, among other things, in terms of relations between social groups, such as those of power and dominance, at the macro-level and in terms of social practices at the micro-level (Van Dijk 1998: 9). Ideologies are often associated with group interests, not just emerging from but giving rise to conflicts and struggle, thus pitching Us against Them in polarized terms (Van Dijk 1998: 5; Van Dijk 2000: 8, 14, 43).

As is pointed out by Freeden (2003: 122), “ideology is a term borrowed and occasionally annexed by other disciplines.” Van Dijk (1998), for instance, broadens the concept beyond a purely political sense to “encompass the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of the individual and the society in which he or she operates” (Munday 2007: 196). Originally a political concept (cf. Michael Freeden), it is used loosely by literary and cultural scholars, historians, and language-related and TS academic community (cf. Van Dijk; Calzada-Pérez), who refuse to constrain the term to its purely political meaning, thus contributing to its drift away from politics (Freeden 2003: 122; Calzada-Pérez 2014: 5).

2.1.2 Ideology, culture, language and translation

Fawcett’s question “When is something ideology rather than culture?” has touched a chord with plenty of scholars, including Calzada-Pérez (2014: 6), who cited it in the introduction to *Apropos of Ideology - Translation Studies on Ideology*. The overlap and subtle difference between their definitions have been the subject of frequent discussions. Van Dijk (2000: 37) highlights the difference by maintaining that cultures may have a shared Common Ground or shared values, but not a generally shared ideology, because ideologies make sense only within and between groups, not at the level of society as a whole. Calzada-Pérez (2014: 6) lists reasons why “ideology” rather than “culture” is foregrounded in her edited collections, particularly in its title. First, “culture” is normally associated with “society”, whereas ideology involves “groups of the most varied nature”. Second, the traditionally negative connotations of ideology tend to encourage greater critical thinking, in contrast to positive “culture”.

"Many contemporary approaches to ideology associate (or even identify) the concept with language use" (Van Dijk 1998: 5) or discourse, a broad label for “language use, text, talk, verbal interaction, and communication” (ibid.: 1998: 6; Van

Dijk 2000: 9). Ideologies, defined in terms of social practices at the micro-level, are constructed, used and changed by social actors as group members in specific social practices (Van Dijk 1998: 9), of which discourses are one crucial form. Language, “more an instrument of power than of communication” (Pierre Bourdieu 1991, quoted in Vidal Claramonte 2014: 78), “is neither innocent nor neutral but is loaded with ideology” (ibid.: 73). Although not the only ideologically based social practices, discourses play a crucial and fundamental role in the formation, expression, reproduction and challenge of ideologies (Van Dijk 1998: viii, 5-6), thus “sustaining or undermining power relations” (Fairclough 1989: 23). The prime functions of ideologies in society, such as “concealment, legitimation, manipulation and related notions”, are mostly discursive (or more broadly semiotic) social practices (Van Dijk 1998: 5). So, for Bakhtin, “to analyze ideology is to study language in actual use, to examine utterances in the context of social interaction” (Yau 2007: 323).

Translation, an operation carried out on language use, “is always a site of ideological encounters” (Calzada-Pérez 2014: 2). This is reflected in “the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put”, which are ideologically determined (Schäffner 2014: 23). Both as activity and product, translation also involves “negotiation among different agents” (Tahir-Gurcaglar 2014: 113). These can be micro-agents whose social interaction related to translation are placed within an often implicit ideological context. At times, macro-agents such as state institutions may attempt to make use of translation in order to achieve certain ideological goals, thus exposing its implicit political character (ibid.).

Tymoczko (2014: 181) argues that “some of the most searching and revealing discussions of translation in the last decade have focused on questions of ideology”. The study of ideology in translation studies, as pointed out by Munday (2007: 195-196), has been strongly linked to the idea of manipulation (e.g., Hermans 1985), rewriting (e.g., Lefevere 1992) and power relations (e.g., Tymoczko & Gentzler 2002).

2.1.3 Manipulation, rewriting and power

In the introduction to *The Manipulation of Literature*, Theo Hermans (1985: 10-11), drawing on Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory, explains what the group of scholars have in common. Among the basic assumptions they share is “a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system”, which “is correlated with other cultural systems and embedded in the ideological and socio-economic structures of society” (ibid.). To seek explanations for the impact of translations on the target system, their interactions with

surrounding literary and sociocultural systems need to be taken into consideration (ibid.: 13). According to Even-Zohar (1990: 51), the socio-literary status of translation, the very practice of translation, and even the question of what is a translated work are all dependent on its position as well as the relations within a certain cultural system, i.e., the recipient culture, in whose interests translators may be said to operate first and foremost (Toury 2001: 12). These relations largely concern power. The canonicity of a certain repertoire, for example, is ultimately determined by the group which dominates the polysystem. They either adhere to the canonized properties, “which subsequently give them control of the polysystem”, or alters it “in order to maintain control” (Even-Zohar 1990: 17). In a similar vein, power is secured through “manipulation of the source text” (Hermans 1985: 11).

Despite Leung’s (2006: 132) claim that “Lefevere does not in his book provide a detailed or rigorous definition of the term ‘ideological’”, Lefevere does variously describe ideology as “the dominant concept of ‘what society should (be allowed to) be’” (2010: 14), and “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts” (2001: 48), though his use of the concept appears broad and vague. The term “rewriting”, introduced by Lefevere (1992) to refer to a range of processes including translation, “arose from the conviction that translation studies needs to deal with the socio-cultural, ideological and literary constraints which lie behind the production of texts” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 2004: 147). It is defined as “anything that contributes to constructing the ‘image’ of a writer and/or a work of literature” (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: 10). And all rewriters, operating “under constraints of poetic norms and ideological beliefs” (Gentzler 2001: xi), manipulate texts to make them adapt to, or oppose, the dominant ideology and poetics (Lefevere 2010: 8, 13).

Among various types of rewriting, such as translation, historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing, translation is the most obviously recognizable, and potentially the most influential, because of its ability to project the image of an author and/or works in another culture (Lefevere 2010: 9). Lefevere (1992: xiv) argues that “translations are made under a number of constraints of which language is arguably the least important”. He identifies the translator’s ideology (conscious or unconscious) as one of the two determining factors behind the image of a translated literary work, along with the dominant poetics in the receiving literature. The ideology dictates the basic translation strategies as well as solutions to Universe-of-Discourse and linguistic problems (Lefevere 2010: 41). At each level of the translation process, “if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win out” (ibid.: 39). Translation has been a key tool in the creation of image, knowledge and representations (Venuti 1998: 67; Lefevere 2010: 9), which “are coming to be understood as a central aspect of power” (Gentzler & Tymoczko 2002: xxi).

With the publication in 1990 of *Translation, History, and Culture* co-edited by Bassnett and Lefevere, which touches upon power, rewriting, feminism and colonialism, Gentzler claimed that “translation studies officially took the ‘cultural turn’” (Gentzler 2001: xi), and began “a focused examination of questions pertaining to power and translation” (Gentzler & Tymoczko 2002: xi). Translation studies, Yau (2007: 321) argues, “has seen increasing attention being given to the relation between translation and ideology” ever since. One especially noteworthy researcher in the 1990s is Lawrence Venuti, whose successive works, *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (1992), *The Translator’s Invisibility* (1995) and *The Scandals of Translation* (1998) foreground issues of power (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002: xiv). This period also saw a boom of the studies focused on questions of power and colonialism (ibid.: xv, xvi).

In the introduction to the anthology *Translation and Power*, Gentzler and Tymoczko (2002: xviii, xix) identify one of the weaknesses of the early stages of cultural turn as “an uncritical application of power dichotomies”, typically seeing power as a form of repression. After “the power turn”, they argued, “questions of power was brought to the fore in discussion of both translation history and strategies for translation” (ibid.: xvi). The concept started to break with the previous dichotomic and absolutist idea, and be viewed as “a motivating factor in cultural domains” (ibid.: xii). Moreover, translation got recognized as a force behind not just repression and subversion, but also cultural power negotiations (ibid.: xix).

2.2 Censorship

2.2.1 Censorship and translation

Censorship and ideology, two often intertwined themes, are inextricably linked to the translation process (McLaughlin & Muñoz-Basols 2016: 1) and are becoming central (‘canonical’) issues to Translation Studies (Špirk 2011: 37). As “the most palpable demonstration of ideology” and “its very quintessence” (ibid.), censorship manifests the influence of ideology on translations and represents the most important ideological aspects of their studies (Tymoczko 2009: 45, cited in Merkle 2010: 18). The scholarly interest in translation’s relationship with either ideology or censorship owes much to the emergence of translation studies as an academic discipline, allowing its investigation not as a mere linguistic operation, but as a wider social phenomenon involving extra-textual discourses such as ideological, political, cultural

and aesthetic ones (Billiani 2007: 2).

Translation and censorship share certain common features, both involving selection, manipulation and rewriting. Translator and censor can also both be seen as gatekeepers, “standing at crucial points of control, monitoring what comes in and what stays outside any given cultural or linguistic territory” (Holman & Boase-Beier 1999: 11). Hence Kuhiwczak’s advocating of an approach that equates translation with censorship (see Kuhiwczak, Merkle & Stavans 2011), which, however, is disputed by many researchers. They argue that this risks making censorship a universal concept encompassing all intellectual, sentient and emotional activities, which all involve choice and selection (Baer, Müller, St-Pierre & Cuilleánáin 2012: 105). When the distinction between censorship and its “quasi-synonyms” (like manipulation, rewriting, translation, foreignization and domestication, etc.) is blurred, the concept ceases to be intellectually useful (Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 368). Kuhiwczak’s approach also fails to distinguish the context of “structural” censorship, stemming from the restrictive power of social formations, within which Bourdieu think all discourses take place, and censorship as a discursive practice itself (Baer, Müller, St-Pierre & Cuilleánáin 2012: 104), usually associated with deliberate and conscious policymaking, with a repressive act pursuing political, moral or religious goals (*ibid.*: 101-102). Simply put, it fails to distinguish between the context in which the discourse is produced and the discourse as produced (*ibid.*: 105). Furthermore, it overlooks the variety of functions performed by translation, other than selecting and rewriting, such as acting as agents that introduce novel themes and forms, contributing to the development of the target language, literature and culture, and acting against repression and censorship (*ibid.*).

2.2.2. Motivation and classification of censorship

The motivation for censorship can be political, religious, moral, or economic. Political and religious censorship are important topics in historical studies. Political censorship, at present attracting most interest from academics, is generally associated with totalitarian or authoritarian societies, though democracies are not exempt from it. However, Bianchi and Zanettin also stress the role of sociocultural factors in censorship practices, as well as aesthetic and commercial criteria, regardless of the form of government (Bianchi & Zanettin 2018: 801). Moral censorship is motivated by “a desire to protect the vulnerable” (Merkle 2010: 19), notably children, from exposure to pornography or excessive violence, etc. It is also sometimes done in the name of protecting traditional values, therefore making some things, from

extramarital relationship and abortion to homosexuality, taboo subjects in certain cultures.

Some scholars, such as Sturge (2002: 165), noticed that “it is still harder than it seems to draw a strict distinguishing line between actual ‘censorship’ and the creation of a saleable product acceptable to the target readership’s taste”. Hence the idea of economic censorship, driven by the power of the market, on the principle that “what isn’t likely to sell doesn’t get published” (Špirk 2011: 40) and “what does not promise to be a commercial success is dismissed, irrespective of its non-economic value” (ibid.: 44). Examples have also been found of state preventive censorship taking the form of protectionist policies to protect national production and local industries, in the case of comics translation, for example (Zanettin 2018: 878, 880). Other economic means of censorship include government (national or regional) subsidies and private sponsorship, aimed at promoting translation of particular texts from or into particular languages, such as those active in Spain from the 1960s to the 1980s (see Merino & Rabadán 2002). However, it is worth noting that scholarly attention has so far disproportionately been paid to political censorship, with the economic type relegated to the fringes, or even excluded outright from the study. Kuhiwczak, for instance, claims that for a text to be studied from the perspective of censorship, its publication have to be suppressed for reasons other than the commercial ones (Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 360).

Based on the time of censorial operation, distinction can be made between preventive censorship (prior to publication) and reactive censorship (posterior to publication). Other similar terms include prior censorship vs. post-censorship, repressive or negative censorship (see Merkle 2002, Špirk 2011, and Merkle 2010). Examination of dictionary meaning of the word “censor” reveals that preventive censorship, before publication, has been the original mode of censorial practices (Merkle 2002: 11; Špirk 2011: 36). It can take the form of cultural blockage (see Wolf 2002), preventive censorship and self-censorship (Merkle 2010: 19). A translation having slipped through the censorial cracks can still be removed from the system by post-censorship (reactive censorship) in the form of banning or boycotting (Merkle 2002: 9). This is often “the easiest to identify and study” for it involves the forcible withdrawal of translations from the marketplace after their publication (Merkle 2010: 20).

Based on its nature, censorship can also be divided into two main categories. The first is official censorship, conducted by the state or government, and involving specific institutions as well as explicit laws, directives, and penalties for the transgressors. It can be both preventive and reactive, and is usually overt. Merino & Rabadán (2002: 129) list the sources of textual evidence and contextual information, necessary for the study of official censorship: i) source texts and their translations; ii) censorship records preserved to the present day; iii) laws and norms regulating the

application of censorship; iv) old publishing catalogues updated by present-day publishing houses; v) occasionally, information supplied by witnesses or their families. Among these, censorship archives, by providing more sophisticated information than any other source, as well as tentative explanations for textual behaviour, make in-depth extensive research possible (Merino & Rabadán 2002: 128-129). And comparative textual analysis, applicable both to official and self-censorship studies, can be carried out in search of censorship-induced changes and their effects on meaning (ibid.: 143).

The second category, self-censorship, by translators themselves or by various agents in the publishing industry, such as editors or the publisher², is exclusively preventive, and generally covert. In anticipating the censorial response, translation agents engage in self-censorship, consciously or unconsciously, to preempt official censorship and guarantee the text's acceptability in the target market (Billiani 2009: 31; Merkle 2010: 19). Indeed, as pointed out by Špirk, with "a natural professional interest in getting published or publishing", the agents "strive to overcome or circumvent all barriers along the way" (2011: 38). Also, the possible financial risk or legal consequences due to an unfortunate decision means it is in their interest to avoid potentially controversial titles or manipulate potentially dangerous parts (Rundle 2000: 82). Described as "perfect" censorship (Bourdieu 1991: 138) and "the ultimate aim of censorship" (Merkle 2002: 9), self-censorship reflects a significant transformation from rules imposed from above to norms internalized by the agents, acquired from their surrounding context and applied to their produced texts (Barrale 2018: 863).

2.2.3 Self-censorship

Despite the significance of self-censorship, however, it is difficult to identify (Merkle 2010: 19), for several main reasons. First, compared with overt official censorship, which "left enough vestiges to be traced back" (Merino & Rabadán 2002: 128), especially in the form of censorship archives, self-censorship's vestiges are "almost impossible to trace" *ex post* (Špirk 2011: 38), unless relevant paratextual material has been left (Merkle 2010: 19). Second, it is not always easy to determine whether the

² Billiani's (2009) distinction between institutional censorship (by the state or government) and individual censorship (by translators themselves) are dropped here because it leaves no place for the agents other than translators, such as the publishers, who also engage in some sort of self-censorship to ensure the publication of translated works. Although he did mention the publisher's role in the process, it was not reflected in his categorization. Moreover, there are reason to believe that self-censorship is in many cases a collective, rather than individual work.

translation's deviation from the original is because of linguistic and cultural difference or because of ideological and political considerations (Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 363). Third, without paratextual clues, "it is impossible to distinguish with certainty what changes have been made by the translator versus those made by a reviser, copyeditor or the publisher" (ibid.). Since in the scope of this thesis such data about the self-censoring procedures are scarce, more attention will be given to official censorship.

Self-censorship can be carried out in three main ways: selection criteria, translation strategies, and paratext. The first concerns the selection of cultural products to translate, and the decision concerning whether to import or exclude a text or an author, through what Toury calls preliminary norms of translation (Wolf 2002: 49; Zanettin 2018: 874). Works that may offend the authorities, are hard to sell, or "deviate most from target culture values" (Merkle 2010: 19) tend to be steered clear of. The second method, when Toury's operational norms become the locus of censorship (Tarif 2018: 395), concerns the contents and language of the texts being translated, on the textual level. The agents may, after the translation process has begun, manage to influence the cultural transfer through omission, modulation and so on.

Last but not least, paratext is another important and effective way to shape the translated work into a form conforming to the prevailing ideology and acceptable for publication (Lygo 2016: 57). Through paratext, the authorities are able to assert interpretive control over translated works. For example, Baer (2011: 28) mentions how translations in the Soviet era sought to present many of the authors of the Western classics (Shakespeare, Hugo, Dickens) as champions of the common people and as prophets of socialism. On the other hand, paratexts can also play a role in translation agents' artful evasion and circumvention of censorship restrictions. In Nazi Germany, for example, the presentation of translations skillfully manipulated by their publishers by means of a "suitable" German title or blurb could help them slip through the net (Sturge 2002: 157). By offering an ideologically correct interpretation to the readers of the work, therefore, the agents hoped to facilitate its publication (Lygo 2016: 56). In a broader sense, this is what Baker (2006: 112) calls the "temporal and spatial framing", to recontextualize and assimilate the original work's content, or the writer's times and ideas, to make them relevant to the target readers here and now, suggesting ideological correspondences with their own experiences (Mainer 2011: 73, 77). One example is how an introduction to Burns's work re-codified his ideas to become particularly relevant to the political situation of early post-Civil War Spain, and thus framed him as a politically significant poet of regional identity (ibid.: 77, 82). As researchers of translation history have shown, such manipulation can be spotted in introductions (or prefaces), afterwords and chapter divisions, as well as titles and blurbs (see Mainer 2011; Lygo 2016; Sturge 2002). Furthermore, clues to the strategies used by the translator may also be found in

paratexts (Wolf 2002: 49).

2.2.4 Twenty-first century research on censorship and translation

Our understanding of the complex phenomenon of censorship is being broadened by twenty-first century research on its relationship with translation (Merkle 2010: 18), which is “a frequent target of censorship in its various forms” (Billiani 2009: 31).

Some scholars have pointed to the positive impact of censorship, as a “creative” and productive power, on the evolution of poetic language and literature (Billiani 2007: 10; Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 361). By forcing writers or translators to find ways around it, censorship prompts innovative forms of artistic expression ((Baranczak and Cavanagh 1991, Cioffi 1996, cited in Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 361), notably allusive language such as metaphor, metonymy, allegory, and other figures of speech (Albin 2005: 19-20, cited in Baer 2011: 22).

Translation scholars’ emphasis on the repressive aspects of censorship (Baer 2011: 22) creates the simplistic impression that “nobody apart from politicians and decision-makers at the highest level is involved in the censoring decisions” (Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 363). Yet censorship is far from being merely “a product of polarized binary situations”, “with oppressors and victims” (Merkle 2010: 18). Rather, it indeed “cannot operate without collaborators: publishers, editors, journalists, theatre directors, writers and, not least, translators”, who “contribute to the project’s ultimate goals” (Kuhiwczak, Merkle, and Stavans 2011: 361). The translation agents, most notably translators, can be victims as well as perpetrators of censorship (Baer, Müller, St-Pierre & Cuilleánáin 2012: 108). Drifting between collusion and resistance, they reluctantly censors a foreign text to enable it to enter the host culture (ibid.). The agents involved in the selection of texts to be translated, the choice of translation strategies, as well as the production of paratexts, are manifold and are all interwoven (Wolf 2002: 50), giving rise to the “polymorphous nature of censorship and its slipperiness when applied to translations” (Billiani 2007: 3).

Finally, recent research in Translation Studies has shed light on the “multi-facetedness” of censorship (Ben-Ari 2010, Billiani 2007, cited in Tarif 2018: 394), perceiving it as a continuum, ranging from “extreme” or “overt” forms to “subtle” or “diluted” forms (Merkle, O’Sullivan, et al. 2010, Billiani 2007, cited in Tarif 2018: 394). Therefore, censorship not only works “according to the logic of punishment” (Billiani 2009: 28), by blocking foreign texts’ entry, as in the case of preventive censorship, or removing them from the system, as in the case of reactive

censorship. The participation of translation agents also help influence the various forms of rewriting (Merkle 2010: 19), on “the principle of correction, or in some cases of self-correction” (Billiani 2009: 28). Preventive censorship allows agents (translators, publishers, editors etc.) “a certain freedom of manoeuvre” (ibid.: 30), by employing various textual and paratextual strategies. And these occasionally lead to successful publication of some potentially subversive texts (ibid.). In this way, translation also functions as “a space for negotiating, and at times evading, these forms of censorship” (ibid.: 31).

2.3 Paratexts

2.3.1 The concept of paratexts: boundary and problems

Paratext is a part of Genette's general poetics of transtextuality, which has at its core a five-element schema containing intertextuality (the literal presence of one text within another, eg. quotation), paratextuality, metatextuality (one text commenting on another), hypertextuality (the superimposition of a later text on an earlier one, eg. imitation, adaptation, parody, etc.) and architextuality (one text representing another) (Macksey 1997: xviii-xix).

Genette defines a paratextual element based on its location (peritext within the book, including titles and subtitles, forewords, prefaces, notes, and afterwords, etc. / epitext outside the book, including interviews, correspondence, diaries, etc.), the date of its appearance (prior/original/later/delayed, etc.) and sometimes disappearance (shortened or deleted), its mode of existence (textual/iconic/material/factual), its sender (authorial/allographic/actorial, or shared) and addressee (public/private/intimate) (Genette 1997: 4; Macksey 1997: xix-xx). What federate this “heterogeneous group of practices and discourses” under the term “paratext”, however, is “a convergence of effects”, or functions (Genette 1997: 2). As “the most essential of the paratext's properties” (ibid.: 407), they mainly include presenting the text to readers, commenting on the text, and influencing its reception (ibid.: 1-2).

The definition of paratext is characterized by “its blurry borders, both inward-facing (towards the text) and outward-facing (towards the broader context)” (Batchelor 2018: 17). The dividing line between paratext and other text types (text or metatext) on the one hand, and paratext and external context on the other, sometimes turns out not to be clear-cut as expected. For example, the original note to discursive texts, which it modulates and “with which it has a relation of continuity and formal

homogeneity”, belongs more to the text (Genette 1997: 328), thus pointing to the paratext's lack of internal borders (ibid.: 346); allographic peritexts (e.g. allographic prefaces), especially posthumous ones, with their critical dimension, tend to blur the line that separates paratext (e.g. preface) from metatext (e.g. critical essay) (ibid.: 270). Moreover, Genette notes that the epitext, located outside the book, risks disappearing into “the totality of the authorial discourse”, i.e., everything a writer says or writes may have “paratextual relevance” (ibid.: 346). The existence of “factual” paratext (such facts as the age or sex of the author, or the era in which the text was written, that have paratextual effects like providing some commentary on the text and influencing how it is received) further complicate things, and Genette at one point goes so far as to claim that “in principle, every context serves as a paratext ” (ibid.: 8). This illustrates the blurry nature of the dividing line between paratext and external context. On the other hand, Genette warns against the rash to proclaim that all is paratext and the methodological hazards of annexing to a subject everything that comes within its reach and enlarging it infinitely in both internal and external directions (ibid.: 407).

In an effort to mark a territory for paratext, Genette adopts two criteria. The first is a function-based criterion. An element constitute part of a text’s paratext only when it achieves one of the paratextual functions, i.e., present the text, comment on it, or influence how it is received (Batchelor 2018: 12). This helps locate some of the paratextual elements at the overlapping sections. For example, a note that extends or modulates a text belongs more to the text, while one that comments on the text is part of the paratext (ibid.: 10). This alone being inadequate, Genette further distinguishes between deliberate paratextual functions (to present and comment on the text, or to influence its reception) and unintended paratextual “effects” or “value” of epitext (whose relation to the text is at best indirect) and of the factual paratext (which, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how it is received) (Genette 1997: 7, 346). He also claims some of the epitext (including interviews, author’s correspondence, journal, etc., whose function is not always basically paratextual) as potentially containing paratextual information, scraps or evidence, but not as paratexts in and of themselves (Batchelor 2018: 10-11).

In another more significant effort to contain the paratext, Genette adopts an author-focused criterion. He insists on a connection between paratext and authorial intention, and frequently uses it as the deciding factor for determining whether a particular element is to be considered part of the paratext (Batchelor 2018: 13). By definition, Genette maintains, something is a paratext only when “the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it, although the degree of responsibility may vary” (Genette 1997: 9). The paratext’s functionality, therefore, is “to ensure for the text a destiny consistent with the author’s purpose” (ibid.: 407) and “a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it ... in the eyes of the author and his allies”

(ibid.: 2).

However, Batchelor (2018: 14) points out, Genette generally adopts an inclusive approach towards paratextual elements in terms of their link to authorial intention, and appears to take a relatively broad view of who might be considered the author's associates, or allies. For example, Genette takes the publisher to be an authorial ally. Some publisher decisions, with regard to "the outermost peritext" such as the cover as well as "the material construction" like typeface, are possibly made in consultation with the author (Genette 1997: 16). Yet he also evokes the possibility for disagreement between author and publisher, when there is publisher encroachment on authorial prerogatives (ibid.: 23), or even "a complete and forceful takeover" (ibid.: 74).

Genette's insistence on paratext's connection with authorial intention and responsibility "creates significant contradictions at the heart of the notion of the paratext" (Batchelor 2018: 17). First, the existence of some of the publisher's peritext mentioned above, not sanctioned by the author or even going directly against his wishes, is incompatible with Genette's statement that all peritexts are paratextual. Second, the authorial criterion conflicts with Genette's "reader-focused" statement that every context in principle serves as a paratext (ibid.: 14). Actually, Genette's own paratext theory itself "refrains from offering an explicit definition of the term and carries a number of inherent contradictions" (ibid.: 142). And these contradictions "are magnified as soon as we try to adapt Genette's theory to translated texts" (ibid.: 14).

2.3.2. Paratext and translation

2.3.2.1 Genette's view of paratext and translation

Translation is among the three aspects of paratextuality that Genette has omitted in its discussion, alongside serial publication and illustrations (Genette 1997: 405).

Genette claims translation to be a practice with undeniable "paratextual relevance", especially when the author is collaboratively engaged in the process, by revising or checking the translated text, or when the translating task is undertaken by the author alone (Genette 1997: 405). This is based on the above mentioned function-based and author-focused criteria: the translations in these cases are thought to convey some kind of commentary on the original and offer an elucidation of how

the original is to be understood (Batchelor 2018: 19), deemed pertinent by the author. Since the paratext is fundamentally dedicated to the service of its text and always subordinate to it (Genette 1997: 12), it follows that the translation is put at the service of the original (Batchelor 2018: 19-20).

Yet Genette is not consistent in this theoretical standing, when it comes to examples of translated texts drawn on in his study. It is implied that translation “can be considered a text in its own right, with its own paratexts” (ibid.: 20). The translated text in some cases is treated as a later edition of the original text, and a translation’s paratext as a later paratext (Batchelor 2018: 21): in his discussion of the epigraph of the French translation of John Donne’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Genette 1997: 150), and the preface to the 1948 French edition of Au-dessous du volcan’s *Under the Volcano*, as well as the preface to the 1982 American edition of Kundera’s *The Joke* (ibid.: 174), for example. Genette in other places also categorises prefaces and notes written by translators to their translation as “allographic” (ibid.: 263, 322), i.e., “written by [a] third party and accepted by the author” (ibid.: 9). So generally in his typology, translations can be treated as later editions of the original texts; paratext of translations can be viewed as allographic later paratexts.

In either of the two aforementioned models (i.e., translated text as part of the original’s paratext, or the translated text’s paratext as the original’s allographic later paratext), the author of the original text is seen as the author of the translated text; translations are viewed as involving no change to authorship; and the translator, relegated to the role of an authorial ally, is deprived of any kind of authorship (Batchelor 2018: 21). Such views undoubtedly run counter to the prevailing understanding of translation in the discipline of translation studies whereby translation is seen as a creative process of rewriting (ibid.: 22). That is why Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that Genette’s translation-as-paratext notion, by presupposing a subservient relationship between translation and original, will “serve translation research little” (Batchelor 2018: 28).

There is one exception, however, in which Genette elevated a translator to the status of the original’s author. Genette’s (1997: 54) listed examples of authors who give themselves status-enhancing titles include Paul-Louis Courier, who is not an author, but a translator. In fact, he is not even the first translator, but the second, who produced in 1813 the revised version of the 1559 French translation by Jacques Amyot of the ancient Greek romance by ‘Longus’ (probably not his real name), *Daphnis and Chloe*, the book to which Genette is presumably referring here. Yet, by describing another translator Amyot as an allographic preface writer (ibid.: 263), Genette later reverts to the view of the translator as third party rather than as author (Batchelor 2018: 22), highlighting the inconsistency and occasional self-contradiction in his conceptualisation of authorship and translation.

Other examples provided by Genette suggest that the possibility for viewing translations as texts with their own paratexts is predicated not on a view of translations as later editions of originals, but a view of them as new texts, independent of their originals. For example, in his discussion of the cover of the French translation of Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus*, the cover of the translated text is not treated any differently to the cover of a non-translated original text (Batchelor 2018: 20, 25).

This is also shown in his discussion of allographic prefaces written by translators, when Genette states that the translator's preface ceases to be allographic when the translator is commenting on his own translation (Genette 1997: 264), presumably implying that the preface becomes authorial in such places (Batchelor 2018: 22), and thus evoking "the possibility of some level of creative intervention by the translator" (ibid.: 20). This last approach of Genette's, though adopted only sparingly by him, is in line with Tahir-Gürçağlar's suggestion that the usefulness of paratexts to translation research comes from viewing translations as texts in their own right (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002: 44, cited in Batchelor 2018: 29).

The contradictions and flaws in Genette's understanding of translations, with regard to paratext, has not prevented the paratext concept from being widely taken up in translation studies, but it has "led to a certain glossing over of certain aspects of Genette's definition and approach" (Batchelor 2018: 22). First, Genette's interpretation of translations as paratexts, which is fundamentally flawed and remains problematic for translation studies researchers, are not adopted by them. Instead, they have chosen to treat translations as texts in their own right. Second, when drawing on the aspects of Genette's paratext definition, translation scholars deliberately omit the connection between paratext and authorial intention (ibid.: 27). This means the translated text is more a new text than merely a later version of the original. Interested in not just what translations tell us about the source text, but also what they may say about the target culture (ibid.: 29), translation scholars have dropped Genette's conservative view of translation as transparent reproduction of an original, in favor of "paratexts as sites of translator intervention or adaptation of the text to its new environment" (ibid.: 25).

2.3.2.2 Translation scholars' view of paratext and translation

In fact, as Batchelor (2018: 31-32) points out, paratext has long played a significant role in the research field of historical and theoretical translation studies. By drawing a significant amount of their material from translators' prefaces and other paratextual material, translation scholars have been able to construct regional or national translation traditions, and produce anthologies of translation theories (ibid.). Since

Genette's theoretical exploration of the concept of paratext, it has opened up rich seams of enquiry and offered original perspectives in translation studies, which can be categorized into product-oriented, context-oriented and agent-oriented research (Batchelor 2018: 39).

Product-oriented research of translations' paratexts can fall broadly into two different categories, which, Batchelor notes, also feed into one another (Batchelor 2018: 168). The first sees paratexts as ends in themselves, and attempts to map the paratextual practices associated with translated texts. This is usually done in relation to a particular historical period or cultural context, and is often restricted by text genre or paratextual element (*ibid.*). When it comes to the study of individual paratextual features, the popular areas of concern are the translator's preface, notes, book covers, book titles, etc. Many studies also treat several types of paratextual material together rather than focusing on one type alone (*ibid.*: 26).

The second type of study investigates paratexts as the means to some other end (Batchelor 2018: 168). They are viewed as documents or artefacts that are of interest because of what they tell us about the translated text, or translation in general, or even a particular type of translation practice. They can, for example, help us gain deeper understanding of the position or status of translation within a given culture over a particular period of time, by looking at where and how the translator and fact of translation are acknowledged in paratexts, or examine prevailing or competing views about translation, as expressed in the paratextual material (*ibid.*: 169). Another example is Maialen Marin-Lacarta's (2017: 137-138) explanation of how an examination of translations' paratexts can be helpful to the study of indirect translation: to help identify the type of translation (direct or indirect), the Mediating Language and Mediating Text; to help examine attitudes towards indirect translation, the ML and MT; to provide information about the reasons for indirect translation; to help study the effects of indirect translation on the Target Text and the role played by mediation in creating the image of a foreign literature.

Context-oriented research of translations' paratexts often takes two broad approaches. That means paratexts can be used to understand the context in two ways: as documents which tell us about the context by virtue of having been shaped by the context; and as factors which may themselves have shaped the context. The first paratext-shaped-by-context approach leads to Pym's argument that the study of paratexts can reveal a great deal about the social context in which translations are carried out, especially with respect to target audiences (Pym 2011: 87). Cecilia Alvstad's (2012: 78-79) study reaches a similar conclusion that the paratexts he examined reveal more about ideas and values in the Swedish target culture than about the source texts, authors and cultures. Batchelor further points out that context-oriented research into translation paratexts are inseparable from the various so-called "turns" of translation studies, most notably the cultural and sociological

turns (Batchelor 2018: 34). One productive area concerns ideology and focuses on how translators, in societies with a dominant ideology, use paratexts to position themselves ideologically. This also intersects with the broader theme of translation and censorship (ibid.: 35). Paratexts can serve as places where translators signal their ideological sympathy or antipathy towards the author or text, and where they provide a frame within which the text itself is to be read (ibid.: 32). Actually, in this way, the translator, initially influenced by the context, may go on to strengthen or challenge the prevailing ideology via paratexts, in turn contributing to shaping the context (ibid.: 170). When it comes to paratexts shaping the context, another area of research is the exploration of how paratexts influence source culture images as well as source authorial images in target cultures (ibid.: 37).

The third category of translations' paratexts' study, focused on the participants, is not just an agent-oriented one, but also an expansion of the process-oriented translation studies. Holmes' process-oriented studies were concerned with what happens in the mind of the translator in the translation process. In recent years, however, the notion of translation process has been extended to the whole chain of successive events through which a translation comes into being. In this conception the translation process "is understood not as a psychological or cognitive phenomenon related to the individual translator but as a social phenomenon involving multiple agents" (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 6). This expanded translation process, or translation event as defined by Andrew Chesterman, starts with the client's request for a translation and ends with its reception by other agent on various levels (ibid.). Its studies are of great importance for deepening our understanding of the cultural and sociological factors affecting translation processes (Batchelor 2018: 176-177).

While the translator is doubtless the central agent of the translation process, the other agents, including publishers, editors, proof readers, graphic designers, literary agents, critics, and even the author of the ST, often exert a significant influence over the translator and the translated text (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 3). Compared with the translators, who are said to be often marginalised with regard to paratextual publishing decisions (Batchelor 2018: 39), yet whose names in modern times normally appears on the title-page, other agents almost always operate "from some position behind the scenes" and are by convention actually "more invisible" (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 3). With the vestiges of their involvement difficult or even impossible to detect in the translated text itself, the hard task of gauging their influence on the translation can only be fulfilled when they may become visible in the paratextual elements, especially the bulk of peritextual elements – from covers and titles to illustrations, that accompany the translation into the target culture (ibid.: 7). Mälzer notes the benefit to translation research of this shift of focus from cultural adaptations carried out by translators to those by the various agents of the publishing industry (Mälzer 2013, cited in Batchelor 2018: 39).

Despite the contradictions and flaws in Genette's understanding of translations with regard to paratext, the concept of the paratext has been widely taken up in translation studies. There is the research into literary fiction as well as other domains, including audiovisual translation, news translation, interpreting, and various non-fiction genres (Batchelor 2018: 26). And the interest has primarily been in analysing peritexts, rather than epitexts, of the translations, often in comparison with peritextual material of the original (ibid.).

Paratext mainly functions to present the text and to ensure "a better reception for the text" as well as "a more pertinent reading of it" (Genette 1997: 1-2). Its study can reveal a lot about "the social context in which translations are carried out, especially with respect to target audiences" (Pym 2011: 87). This way, it allows us to account more fully for both the translated text's production and its reception (Batchelor 2018: 2).

A large part of the existing studies are context-oriented, in close connection with the cultural and sociological turns (Batchelor 2018: 34), for example, the examination of the ideological influence on paratextual elements, using paratextual material as documentary evidence to obtain a deeper understanding of the functioning of target society (ibid.: 35). Paratexts can also prove useful in agent-oriented studies of the process of translation "as a social phenomenon involving multiple agents" (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 6). What's more, paratextual material is important in studying the image of a foreign literature; it can also provide "information about the stances of translators and their views on translation" (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 139).

2.4 Indirect translation

2.4.1 Prevalent practice and peripheral theoretical field

Indirect translation is a translation practice that has been with us since earliest times. One of the best-known examples is the translation of the Bible: modern Bibles are based not on the original source text, but on intermediate texts such as the Greek-language Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate by St Jerome and the King James Bible. Another example is the transmission of Buddhism to China. Rather than arrive in China directly from India, Buddhism moved through several intermediate kingdoms in Central Asia along the Silk Road, relying on one or more indirect translations of texts. Without indirect translation, Buddhism would never have reached China and become one of its three main religions (St. André, 2010: 82).

Examples also include world literature classics from peripheral cultures and languages. Indirect translation was and is still frequently the most efficient, and sometimes the only, means to establish cultural exchange between two peripheral linguistic and cultural communities. Without it, for instance, argues Pokorn, there would be almost no cultural exchange between the Slovene and Turkish cultures (Pokorn 2013: 175). Had it not for indirect translation, Chinese readers in the early 20th century could not have enjoyed the works of Ibsen or Cervantes, or H. C. Andersen's tales, whose introduction, at the very least, would have been seriously delayed (Li 2017: 185). Moreover, indirectness to this day remains common practice in literary translation, interpreting and audiovisual, among other fields (Washbourne 2013: 608).

However, despite its long-standing history and widespread use in modern times, the general attitude towards indirect translation has long been negative. It is stigmatized and treated like "some kind of disease to be shunned" (Toury 1995: 129, cited in Ringmar 2007: 1). Long a much neglected area of research, indirect translation received limited scholarly attention and interest, and remains marginal in translation studies (Pięta 2014: 16). This is reflected in translation theoretical research and translation policies as well as practice.

As pointed out by Ringmar (2007: 2), in a number of handbooks indirect translation is either not mentioned or only mentioned in passing. And in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, one of the most recent key reference works for the discipline, it is given a separate entry only in the second edition (under the name "Relay"). Furthermore, research primarily concerned with terminological, theoretical, or methodological aspects in the study of indirect translation has been far less frequent (Pięta 2017: 200).

When it comes to translation policies, a telling example can be found in the "UNESCO Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to Improve the Status of Translators" (UNESCO 22 November 1976), which suggests that indirect translation should be used "only where absolutely necessary". Cecilia Alvstad (2017: 151) also observes that the current cultural policies in Scandinavia clearly favor direct over indirect translation. Only in exceptional cases would it be possible for a translation via a third language into Danish, Swedish or Norwegian to get a grant from the relevant Scandinavian state institutions. Lastly, the prejudice against indirect translation is also reflected in the translation practice that the indirectness tends to be hidden, which further adds to the difficulties in its theoretical and historical research.

2.4.2 Prejudice against indirect translation

Indirect translation is generally assumed to automatically lead to inferior results in comparison with direct translation, increasing the distance to the ST. Mistakes in the MT are believed to be repeated; cultural adjustments made in the MT, which may be unnecessary or irrelevant for TT-readers (eg. omissions, amplifications, or the introduction of something specific of the mediating culture only) may be transferred into the TT (Ringmar 2007: 9-11; Schultze 2014: 513). Another hypothesis, which is difficult to test or prove, is that a translator using a MT may see his/her fidelity and loyalty to the author weakened and “(un)consciously take more liberties with a MT than he/she would with a ST (Ringmar 2007: 11). Worse, a series of mediations may lead to an increasing number of deviations, with each translator adding new ones to the previous version, resulting in accumulation of deviations every time a work is relayed (Schultze 2014: 513; Dollerup 2000: 24). So when translations have been through numerous relays, it may be very hard to recognize that they derive from the same original (Dollerup 2014: 25).

Actually, some of these common assumptions about indirect translation, not least its assumed inferiority to direct translation as well as the resulting increased distance between the ST and TT, are not supported by research (Pięta 2014: 23-24). They are demonstrated to be not always true. And cases have been cited where the ultimate TT is closer to the ultimate ST than the MT (Edström 1991: 10–11). Yet in spite of the ample evidence throughout history of successful and highly esteemed indirect translation, as well as of failed and inadequate direct translations (Ringmar 2007: 10), and despite Radó’s observation (Radó 1975: 51) that the result of an indirect translation depends on the talent of the translator as well as on the quality of the MT used (if both are excellent, the result can be on a par with or even better than a direct translation; if both are poor, it can be disastrous), the negative prejudices towards indirect translation, unfortunately, persists.

The long neglect of indirect translation by translation scholars also has to do with its incompatibility with the focuses of traditional translation research. Translation studies are generally based on the the dichotomy of SL versus TL, considering translation as a process dealing with only two language systems. The focus is on the ST and TT, which are also central to teaching and training of translation (Dollerup 2014: 22). And the predominant demand for closeness to the ST inevitably leads to the negative evaluation of indirect translation (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 113). Moreover, research in translation studies predominantly concerns the exchange between the so-called (hyper)central languages, whereas indirect translation tends to be carried out between the so-called (semi)peripheral languages (see Heilbron 1999), linguistic combinations less appealing to translation scholars (Pięta 2014: 17).

Last but not least, as James St. André (2009: 232) points out, the negative evaluation of indirect translation (or “relay”, in his terms) represents the internalized devaluation of translation itself, and replicates the stigma attached to translation itself. He notes the parallel between the historic mistrust of the translation process among general readers and a mistrust of indirect translation within the translation profession (St. André, 2010: 84). If translation always involves loss, as believed, then indirect translation must involve more loss; if a translation is a poor copy of the original, as assumed, then an indirect translation is inevitably a poor copy of this poor copy (Pięta 2014: 16). Thus the same paradox facing the studies of translation and indirect translation, both phenomena with a low symbolical capital (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 122-123).

2.4.3 Significance of research on indirect translation

Toury is among the first to highlight the value of studying indirect translation. According to him, “no historically oriented study of a culture where indirect translation was practiced with any regularity can afford to ignore this phenomenon and fail to examine what it stands for [...] not as an issue in itself, but as a juncture where systematic relationships and historically determined norms intersect and correlate (1995: 130). And the recurrence of indirectness should be taken “as evidence of the forces which have shaped the culture in question, along with its concept of translation” (ibid.: 129). Yet it is clear that what interests Toury most is not indirect translation itself, but the history, culture, systems and norms reflected in it. These are also what interests most translation researchers: the historical aspects such as prominent cases of indirect translation, prestigious mediating languages and literatures, contexts and motivation for indirect translation (Schultze 2014: 509). Meanwhile, as Ringmar notes, “it is almost impossible to examine literary exchange, especially historically, without coming across this phenomenon” (Ringmar 2007: 4). All this explains why most of the studies concerned with ITr are historically oriented (Pięta 2014: 21), and why ITr is usually researched in relation to direct translation (DTr) rather than in isolation (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 135). Translation research from the perspective of ITr has made a significant contribution by “challenging the conventional binarism in the study of translation or offering insights into the historiography of intercultural relationships and the complex role of intermediary centres in the cross-cultural transfer between peripheries (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 113). However, many studies of translation history still do not necessarily examine the mediated nature of translations, and many of those that consider indirectness only refer to it in passing (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 135). Until very recently in-depth

comprehensive studies with a specific focus on this issue, particularly discussions on the metalinguistic, theoretical or methodological level, have been sparse. And it is only in recent years research on indirect translation has received increased scholarly attention and gained more visibility in the translation studies community (Pięta 2014: 17). Its growing popularity is most evident from the noticeable surge in the number of relevant academic papers (in particularly the special issues in journals, such as the 2017/2 issue of *Translation Studies*) as well as monographs.

2.4.4 Reasons for indirect translation

A lack of competence in the ultimate Source Language, usually correlated with considerable geographical and/or linguistic distance and thus limited and sporadic contact between the source and target cultures (Ringmar 2007: 5), is often taken as the most obvious reason for indirect translation. This lack can be absolute, when literally no translator knows the SL, or relative, i. e., no available translator knows the SL (ibid.: 6). Yet, as Ringmar points out, “ITr is not always, and often not at all, a mere matter of lacking knowledge of certain source languages” (ibid.:1). It has also been shown that in order for ITr to occur, languages do not necessarily have to be distant from each other. For example, the literary transfer between Portuguese and Spanish, two languages neither geographically nor linguistically distant, was mostly indirectly mediated via French language and culture until the late 19th century (Bueno Maia 2012, cited in Pięta 2014: 21). So it is pointed out that the prestige of the mediating languages and cultures underlines the decision to choose texts from them as MTs (Ringmar 2007: 4).

Toury (1995: 134) is among the first researchers to draw attention to “the position of one literature in relation to other languages/literatures” when discussing indirect translation (second-hand translation in his terms). In light of the power relations between cultures/languages, Heilbron tries to consider the translation process from a world system perspective (Heilbron 2010: 6). This allows the understanding of a number of phenomena difficult to understand from either a source or a target culture/language perspective, such as why the literary transfer between two geographically and linguistically close languages, like Portuguese and Spanish, had to be done indirectly via a third language, French, an above-mentioned example.

This culture/translation system is a hierarchical core-periphery structure, with central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages. The significance of translations within languages depends primarily on their position within the world system (Heilbron 1999: 432), which not only implies that translations flow more from the

center to the periphery than the other way around, but also that the communication between peripheral languages often passes through more central ones (ibid.: 435). So in indirect translation, the SL and the TL are usually (semi)peripheral/dominated languages, whereas the ML is a central/dominant language (Ringmar 2007: 5). Therefore the recurrence of indirectness often reflects the power relations and hierarchies between literatures. That's why Pieter Boulogne believes that the recurring German and French mediating translations of Dostoevskij indicate that the Dutch literary polysystem was substantially subordinated both to German and French literatures (Boulogne 2007: 14).

Heilbron also points out that the size of language groups is clearly not decisive for their degree of centrality in the translation system (Heilbron 1999: 434). Some languages with a very large number of speakers, such as Chinese, Japanese and Arabic, only play a peripheral role in the world system as compared to more central languages (Heilbron 2010: 2). It is English that is by far the most central language in the world system of translation, with the largest share in the total number of translated books worldwide (Heilbron 1999: 433-434). And English translations are used, more often than other translations, as mediators in indirect translation (Ringmar 2007: 12). Most translations between a Scandinavian language and Chinese, for example, to this very day, tend to be in relay via English, found Xu Yanhong (1998) in her study of the translations of Danish texts into Chinese. Such is the increasing dominance of English that Wolfgang Bauer (1999: 10) went so far as to claim that it is gradually becoming the one and only mediating language in the world.

As shown by Audrey Heijns's (2003) research on Chinese works translated into Dutch, Pieter Boulogne's (2007) on the Russian author Dostoevskij's introduction into the Netherland, Pięta's (2012) on Polish translated literature in Portugal, and Maialen Marin-Lacarta's (2012) on reception of Chinese literature in Spain, the mediation of central literary systems happens as early as when the works to be translated are selected by the publisher, for both direct and indirect translations. That means the decision to publish a translation from a peripheral language depends on their existing translation in a central language. Even in cases of direct translation, previous translations into central languages often serve as indicators that a particular work/writer is worth translating (Ringmar 2007: 12). The works in question, especially when their translation is proposed by the publisher, are chosen on the basis of their position in the mediating literary system, with no regard to the position of the original in the source literature (Marin-Lacarta 2012: 6).

Furthermore, it is not just the translated text, but also the paratext and even reviews and criticism in the target culture, that are often based exclusively on the information provided by the mediating central culture (Marin-Lacarta 2012: 6). For example, Pięta notes, the favourable reviews cited, as well as the cover layouts and back-cover blurbs in the Portuguese direct translations, are on many occasions

identical to the ones used in the mediating English or French translations (Pięta 2012: 319). When commenting on a translated literary work, critics often draw their interpretations and critical views from those in intermediate languages (Li 2017: 192). This is what is called “indirect reception” by Špirk (2011: 59), i.e., “the indirectness of the reception of a literary work” (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 140), through the lens of another culture. This of course also works for indirect translations. Maialen Marin-Lacarta (2017: 141) cites a review of the Spanish translation of *Fengrufeitun* (Big Breasts and Wide Hips), a novel by the Chinese Nobel laureate Mo Yan, translated indirectly from Howard Goldblatt’s English version, and how it repeats ideas based on the English back cover, for example.

Besides the peripheral positions of the source and target languages in the world translation system, researchers have also discussed other factors, practical, ideological and commercial, which contribute to a preference for indirect translation. The practical reasons include unavailability of the original text and easy accessibility of a mediating text, relative geographical or linguistic distance between the source and target languages, lack of knowledge or lack of translators working in the pair, relative prestige of the mediating text, copyright issues, etc. Ideologically, there is the use of indirect translation as an instrument of control over the contents of the TT (Ringmar 2007: 7), a type of “hidden” censorship. A case in point is the frequent use of Russian, “the language of censorship”, as a ML in the former Soviet Union (Gambier 2003: 59).

Preference for indirect translation, in spite of competence in a particular SL, may also be dictated by the publishers’ commercial rationale, which gives priority to minimising costs, the quality of the TT, delivery on time and risk management, etc (Schultze 2014: 6-7). Translating from central languages tends to be less costly than from peripheral languages, thus offering the publishers an opportunity to economize on translation expenses (Pięta 2014: 25). In addition, contracting an experienced translator from the dominating ML is less risky than to try a less experienced translator from the SL. It helps in ensuring the high quality and timely delivery of translated texts (ibid.: 22). A high-quality MT, providing a clear and coherent interpretation of the ultimate ST, can make the next translator’s task much easier (Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989: 178 cited in Pięta 2014: 25). Meanwhile, filtered through the central and more prestigious cultures, indirect translation may better conform to tastes in the ultimate target community (Pięta 2014: 25). Good examples have been provided by Li Wenjie (2017) to show the internationalization of Andersen’s tales in their Chinese translations through intermediating process. She argues that some linguistic characteristics, inherited from their English MTs, often endow the Chinese TTs with a more international quality than the original Andersen’s tales. For example, the description of a dog’s eyes, in Andersen’s Danish text, as “as big as Rundetaarn (a round tower landmark in Copenhagen), becomes “as big as a

tower” in the English-mediated Chinese translation, thus rendering it more internationalized (Li 2017: 197), by dropping the local color.

2.4.5 Issues and solutions

2.4.5.1 Terminological issues and proposed solutions

Indirect translation is a phenomenon that is marked by “varying terminology, lack of consensus on the conceptual level and limited methodological recommendations” (Pięta 2014: 16). Among these, the absence of established terminology is the most obvious reflection of the under-theorized study of indirect translation and its marginal position within Translation Studies. The unsettled metalanguage, rightly described as “messy” by Pym (2011: 80), is characterized by “the coexistence of a plethora of similar but not necessarily synonymous terms” (Pięta 2014: 17). Different terms are often used with the same or analogous meaning, while the same terms are also often used with different meanings (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 115).

Discrepancies between terms denoting the ITr process and/or its end text is the most evident metalinguistic problem. For example, in the 10 works consulted by Alexandra Assis Rosa, Hanna Pięta & Rita Bueno Maia (2017: 127 note3), terms used for the process and/or the end text include “indirect translation” (Chan 2004; Classe 2000; Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997), “relay translation”(St. André 2009; Ringmar 2010), “second-hand translation”(Popovič 1976), and “pivot translation”(Malmkjær and Windle 2011). More terms can be found in the *de Gruyter Handbuch* (An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, Kittel et al., 2004, 2007, 2011), such as “intermediate translation”, “intermediary translation”, “mediating translation”, “secondary translation”, and so on. Furthermore, despite Dollerup’s (2000: 1) differentiation between “indirect translation” (where the MT is not intended for a genuine audience of its own) and “relay” (where the MT is a published work in its own right), as well as Kittel’s (1991: 26, cited in Pięta 2012: 311) distinction between “intermediate” (first-hand) and “mediated” (second-hand) translation, many other scholars use these terms interchangeably. The terminological discrepancies can also be found in terms used for the intermediate texts and their corresponding languages, as well as for the end texts and their languages (see Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 116).

In their attempts to promote a certain degree of terminological standardization, in their metalinguistic surveys, Ringmar (2007: 3), Pym (2011: 80) and Pięta (2014: 18) all favor the term “indirect translation”, on the ground that it is easily transferable

between languages, has a straightforward antonym (i.e. direct translation), and is often used by practitioners and researchers alike, among other things. The designations for the chain of texts and languages in ITr process were also proposed: the ultimate ST/SL > mediating text/language > ultimate TT/TL (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 115).

2.4.5.2 Conceptual issues and proposed solutions

When it comes to the absence of conceptual agreement on indirect translation, three things are especially worthy of note. The first problem concerns how many languages are involved in the whole indirect translation process. The important question here is: should intralingual translation, an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language (Jakobson 1959: 233), be included in the indirect translation process? For example, the most quoted definition by Kittel & Frank (1991: 27) as “any translation based on a source (or sources) which is itself a translation into a language other than the language of the original, or the target language” stipulates that indirect translation involves three languages, thus excluding intralingual translation.

Definitions of indirect translation, differing in terms of the number of languages involved, then may be grouped as follows: (a) those whereby the number of languages is not imposed (Gambier 1994: 413); (b) those whereby ITr involves (at least) three languages (Kittel & Frank 1991: 3; Ringmar 2010: 141; Pym 2011: 80; St. André 2009: 230); and (c) those whereby ITr involves at least two languages (Toury 2012, 82; Shuttleworth & Cowie 2014: 76). Groups (a) and (c) allows the inclusion of intralingual transposition in indirect translation, whereas (b) does not. Both Susanna Witt (2013), who studies *podstrochnik* translation in the Soviet Union involving a crude intermediary in the target language, and Geraldine Brodie (2018), who studies the translation procedures in modern London theatre involving an intermediary version in English, argue for the advantages of a broad and flexible definition of indirect translation including intralingual translation in the concept, for the significance of the intermediary activity to be fully explored.

The second conceptual problem concerns how many and what type of mediating texts are involved in indirect translation. Many important definitions, by their description of the mediating text, for example: “a translation into a language other than the language of the original, or the target language” (Kittel & Frank 1991: 3), “a translated text ... into a third language” (St. André 2009: 230), “another translation (into a language other than the original or the target language)” (Ringmar 2010: 141), and “an intermediate translation in another language (than the SL)” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 2014: 76), suggest one MT in the ML is involved. However, the actual

communicative situations, as noted by Rosa, Pięta & Maia (2017: 119), may be rather more complex: they tend to involve “one or more texts in the ultimate SL, one or more texts in a mediating language, one or more texts in several mediating languages, and sometimes mediating texts in the ultimate TL, too”. Yet many definitions of indirect translation fail to reflect this reality.

The earliest theoretical discussion, to our knowledge, of “compiled translation”, involving combinations of earlier translations in the TT, is by Jiří Levý in 1963 in his *The Art of Translation* (2011). Radó (1975: 51) argues for “a combination of the direct and indirect methods”, using texts in both the original and the intermediate language. Then, from Von Stackelberg’s “eclectic translation” – when the translator uses several mediating translations alternately or simultaneously, often in different languages (Von Stackelberg 1987, cited in Pięta 2012: 315), to Toury’s (1995: 134) “compilative translation” -- when several intermediate translations in one or several languages, or even a combination of the ultimate original and translation(s) thereof, are used, and to Cay Dollerup’s (2000: 1, 8) “support translation” -- when translators “consult translations into other languages than their own target language” in search of satisfactory solutions to certain problems, they all describe different degrees of indirectness. In these the translator uses isolated fragments of other versions rather than the entirety of another translation as in “pure” indirect translation (“relay”, in Dollerup’s terms), though an enormous area exists in between and contains all sorts of fascinating combinations (Dollerup 2000: 8). These combinations are best described in Rosa, Pięta & Maia’s (2017: 122) tentative classification of indirect translation, which designates translations involving one mediating text as “indirect”, those with “more than one mediating text in one language” as “compilative indirect”, and those involving “more than one mediating text in more than one language” as “compilative mixed indirect”.

Such compilative translations, which involve collaboration on the sociological level and multiple mediating texts on the textual level, have been praised by some scholars as an effective way not just to make up for some of the shortcomings of indirect translation and to overcome its pitfalls (see Radó 1975; Ivaska & Paloposki 2018; Brodie 2018; Hekkanen 2014), but also to diminish what Hadley (2017) termed “concatenation effect”, a tendency for ITr to move further away from the original (Ivaska & Paloposki 2018: 34). Their specific advantages include helping ascertain the accuracy of measurements and metric units (ibid.: 37), clarifying some items that could not be found in dictionaries (ibid.: 41), minimizing possible errors in any single intermediate text (Radó 1975: 51), helping to comprehend the subtleties of the original work (ibid.), and permitting translators to develop their own approach to the original within a wider context of receptions (Brodie 2018: 341). Done well, compilative translations can result in a version better than the intermediary text and even closer to the original (Hekkanen 2014, 61-62). These advantages also explain

why, even when a translation is done directly from the original, there are cases involving the translator's reference to a third language version, as observed by Xu in her study of Danish literary works translated into Chinese (Xu 1998: 19).

Another important conceptual issue is the classification of directness. According to the degree of directness, for example, indirect translation can be divided into second-hand translation and tertiary (or third-, fourth-hand, etc.) translation. According to the presentation of indirectness, there can be hidden / covert indirect translations vs. marked / overt ones. Distinction can also be made according to the intended receiver of the MT, i.e., those with the mediating text intended for a wider readership vs. those with the mediating text intended for use by the translator only ("relay" vs. "indirect translation", in Dollerup's terms). The most important attempt at a systematic classification of indirect translation is by Alexandra Assis Rosa, Hanna Pięta & Rita Bueno Maia (2017). They also, in an attempt to reflect and keep up with the complex and constantly evolving practice of indirect translation, propose a particularly flexible and inclusive approach to the concept, imposing no restrictions on the various types of indirectness, such as the number and type of mediating texts and languages (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 120). Rather, based on these variables: the number of MTs, the number of MLs and the type of MLs, they suggest a classification system consisting of 10 categories, by jointly using the labels: direct, indirect, compilative or mixed translation (ibid.: 2017: 121).

Nonetheless, Rosa, Pięta & Maia (2017: 121) admit that their radically open approach is not enough to tackle the last conceptual problem, related to "the often-fuzzy conceptual boundaries that hinder a clear delimitation of its scope" (Pięta 2017: 198). There is still no academic consensus as to where exactly indirect translation begins and ends, and how it correlates with other translation types, such as back-translation, interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation, retranslation and adaptation, etc (ibid.: 206). Actually, such terminological and conceptual instability can be seen in Translation Studies in general (and in various specific topics in the discipline), so it seems unrealistic to expect ITr research to be an exception (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 115). We will resume the discussion of indirect translation's correlation with neighboring translation types, in the following section on retranslation.

2.4.5.3 Assumptions about indirect translation

There are many assumptions, both by general public and by researchers, about indirect translation, such as the aforementioned one that it generally leads to inferior results in comparison with direct translation, increasing the distance to the ST.

Another notable assumption is by Ringmar, who tentatively suggests that ITr coincides with “a low book-per-translator ratio” (Ringmar 2007: 6). This hypothesis has been supported by some research, such as Pięta’s on Portuguese translations of Polish literature, yet counterevidence can also be found (Pięta 2012: 319). Another assumption by Ringmar is that “an ITr is normally followed by a direct translation, rather than the other way round” (Ringmar 2007: 6). This echoes Toury’s (1995: 133) prediction that the tolerance of and recourse to ITr are bound to diminish with a growing emphasis on adequacy. It also aligns with Heilbron’s claim that indirect translation has become much less common (Heilbron 1999: 436).

This assumption that ITr is becoming rarer and rarer seems reasonable; it makes sense that indirect translations as a result of geographical and cultural distance will gradually diminish as a closer relationship develops. While a large body of work support it, ample proof against this can also be found. For example, Marín-Lacarta’s (2012) study shows the directness of literary translation from Chinese into Spanish going from a majority of direct translations in 1978–2000 to a majority of indirect translations in 2001–2009. From 2001 to 2009, 25 Chinese novels have been translated indirectly (15 from English, eight from French, one from Italian and one from Spanish into Catalan), compared with only 8 novels translated directly (Marín-Lacarta 2012: 2). Of the seven Spanish translations of Chinese Nobel Literature Prize-winner Mo Yan, six are indirect translations from Howard Goldblatt’s English version (*ibid.*). Pięta (2012: 318) reaches similar conclusion in her study, finding over 30% of Portuguese book-length translations of Polish literature published between 2001 and 2010 to be indirect. So what contributes to this increase in indirect translations in modern times? The main reason seems to be, as Maialen Marín-Lacarta (2012: 3) argues, the role of publishers and the influence of the world translation system. Previously Spanish translators would suggest works to be translated, a practice changed after 2000, when publishers instead started to select Chinese works for translation on the basis of their position in the anglophone and French literary systems. So this trend towards indirectness proves the development of a world translation system mediated by dominant / central literary systems (*ibid.*: 6). Actually, as Ringmar also rightly points out, although the adequacy norm that prescribes direct translation for high-prestige literature is still in existence, a future increase in indirect translations cannot be ruled out (Ringmar 2007: 12), especially between peripheral literatures in an increasingly globalized world. And the decreasing tolerance towards ITr can be reflected in a growing number of hidden indirect translations, presented as if they were translated directly (Marín-Lacarta 2012: 2).

2.4.5.4 Methodological issues and proposed solutions

Though research on indirect (literary) translation mostly share the methodology of translation history (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 124), it does call for the consideration of some important issues peculiar to it, not least the verification of (in)directness, the identification of the mediating languages and the determination of the mediating texts.

Attention has to be drawn here to the controversy over the necessity of identifying the MT, however. Though many scholars see it as an indispensable part of the study of indirect translations, different voices do exist in the translation research community, especially since the development of the target-oriented frame of reference in the discipline, which has considered it “as more than legitimate to engage in TS without the existence not only of a mediating text, but also of a ST (e.g. pseudotranslation) or a TT (non-translation) (Pięta 2017: 204). Špirk, studying Czech literature translated into Portuguese, for example, holds that “it is perfectly legitimate to do without the mediating texts”, when the focus of research is to know what impression the readers from the target culture (who know neither the SL nor the ML) can gain, though he admits that “including the mediating texts (MTs) would be likely to produce more (micro-)textual results” (Špirk 2011: 56-57). The study by Li, of ITrs of Andersen’s tales in China, also reveals that if a study aims at disclosing the reasons behind the disparity between ST and TT, or if it attempts to explain how the indirectness has influenced the TT, and hence the images of ST in the Target Culture, then MTs ought to be included in order to reach solid findings (Li 2017: 187).

With the aim of verifying the (in)directness and identifying the MLs and MTs, Pięta (2012: 315-316) proposes a tripartite methodology, consisting of peritext analysis, epitext analysis and ST-MT-TT comparative analysis. Combined with Maialen Marín-Lacarta’s (2012) and Rosa, Pięta & Maia’s (2017) reflections on methodological issues, it is presented, with some minor modifications, as follows:

The first step involves careful examination of peritextual elements of TTs, such as titles, covers, introduction, preface, blurbs, notes, illustrations, etc (Pięta 2012: 315-316). Various claims relevant to ITr are sometimes made in the paratexts; identical titles, translator’s notes, illustrations etc. in the TT and possible MT can also serve as indicators of ITr (Ringmar 2007: 9). Yet the fact that a text is an ITr is often concealed, too (ibid.), due to the negative perception of ITr as a “necessary evil” instead of a common phenomenon that is worth studying (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 135). In the case of hidden ITrs, the ST’s title and the TT translator’s name appear in the paratext, but with no indication of any other translator or any mediating text (MT) or mediating language (ML) (ibid.: 136). So the paratextual claims of direct translation cannot always be trusted (Ringmar 2007: 1), and information must be mined from various sources to determine whether a translation is direct or indirect (Marin-Lacarta

2017: 135). But an examination of paratextual elements of translations, as Maialen Marin-Lacarta (ibid.: 138) argues, can be useful for at least five reasons:

- (1) to identify or rectify the type of translation, ML and MT;
- (2) to examine attitudes towards ITr;
- (3) to provide information about the reasons for ITr;
- (4) to help study the image and reception of a foreign literature and, more importantly, the role played by mediation in creating that image;
- (5) to provide information about translators' views on translations, which are useful for examining the effects of ITr on the TT, and on attitudes towards ITr, MLs and MTs.

The second step consists of an analysis of epitexts, including interviews, reviews, correspondence, diaries, etc., in search of biobibliographical data on translators. Moreover, contextual information, such as that on translators (their place of residence, education, language skills, access to publications), the historical context of the target culture and the source-target cultural exchange, the *linguae francae* in a particular time and place, the book market and the publishing process, may all help the identification of the most feasible mediating languages and texts.

Building on the information retrieved from the first two steps, a circumscribed list of possible MLs and MTs can be drawn up. Then comes the third step, which consists in the textual comparison of the ultimate source, potential mediating and ultimate target texts. This is done both on a macro-structural level, focused on chapter and paragraph division and chapter titles, and on a micro-textual level, on sample excerpts, with special attention paid to transliteration of names, loanwords, cultural phenomena (e.g., measurements), additions, omissions, substitutions and misunderstandings (Pięta 2012: 316). Identical deviations from the ST, shared by the TT and the possible MT, may serve “not only as evidence of the fact of mediation as such, but also as a clue to the actual mediating languages and text” (Toury 1995: 134).

2.5 Retranslation

2.5.1 Retranslation and its bordering concepts

The two most frequently quoted definitions of retranslation are Koskinen & Paloposki's (2010: 294) “a second or later translation of a single source text into the

same target language” and Tahir Gürçağlar’s (2009: 233) “either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself”. However, like many metalanguages in translation studies, this term is problematic and undertheorized, which is reflected not just in terminological issues, but also in the fuzzy conceptual boundaries that hinder a clear delimitation of its scope. Therefore, to understand the notion of retranslation inevitably involves understanding its correlations and overlaps with other neighboring concepts and translation types, including intralingual translation, revision, adaptation and indirect translation, among others.

2.5.1.1 Retranslation, intralingual translation and revision

Some scholars, notably Gambier and Pięta, equate retranslation with intralingual translation. Gambier (1994) defines retranslation as a translation of an already translated message into the same language (e.g. Chinese to English and then again into English) (cited in St. André 2009: 230). Following Gambier, Pięta (2014; 2017) and Rosa, Pięta & Maia (2017) in their discussion of indirect translations also treat retranslations as texts mediated by preexisting text(s) in the ultimate target language (L1–L2–L2), such as a translation for children into Portuguese based on a pre-existing Portuguese version for a different reader. Since revision can be classified as Roman Jakobson’s (1959/2000) intralingual translation, i.e. a rewording of signs in one language with signs from the same language, Gambier’s (1994) and Pięta (2014; 2017) and Rosa, Pięta & Maia’s (2017) views can also be applied to revision and see it as synonymous with retranslation.

However, Koskinen & Paloposki (2010) and Tahir Gürçağlar (2009), who adopt broader definitions of retranslation, note its mutable border and problematic relationship with revision. Revision, i.e., “editing, correcting or modernizing a previously existing translation for re-publication” (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 294) can be conducted for various reasons: to correct mistakes or minor errors, to keep up with the standardization process of a language or the aesthetic values of the time (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 45-47), to cater for different age-based or national/regional audiences, to restore previously censored or expurgated texts, and even to plagiarize (Linder: 57). Viewed by Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 44) as a continuum, at one end revision might entail “simple copy-editing” such as few orthographic improvements, minor linguistic amendments or syntactic changes. At the other end of the continuum the text might be extensively or even entirely reworked, not indicating any closeness to the previous translation and thus blurring the dividing line between revision and retranslation (Paloposki & Koskinen *ibid.*: 44-45). Moreover, revisions can be done with comparison to the original text in some cases

and without reference to it in others. Some questions can therefore be raised: “how much change can there be in the revision process for the translation still to be the same, i.e. under the name of the previous translator, and where is the line to be drawn to a new translation?” (ibid.: 44), and should the involvement of the source text be treated as a criterion for revision or retranslation? The answers have conceptual implication. Vanderschelden (2000: 1–2), for example, sees revision as not just involving making changes to an existing TT, but also “retaining the major part, including the overall structure and tone of the former version”. Cay Dollerup (2014: 22) thus opposes classifying translators’ revisions of their own rendition as retractions, on the ground that translators will rarely reject their former produce in its entirety and tend to preserve many passages from their previous translations intact. Pym, on the other hand, see the involvement of the ST as a necessary criterion and recognize modified existing translation (revision) as a subset of retranslation only when it involves “significant reference to the ST” (Pym 2011: 79), whereas Xu & Tian (2014: 247), who subsume edited translation (revision) under retranslation, impose no such requirement.

Koskinen & Paloposki (2010: 294) also point out that versions may get labeled as revisions or retractions rather arbitrarily. A completely renewed text is sometimes still labeled a “revision”, while a revised version of an earlier translation may end up being classified as a “retranslation” (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 45). What’s more, some texts are hybrids, containing chunks of revised earlier translation and chunks of retranslation (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 294). Hence the difficulty in marking any clear boundaries between retranslation and revision (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 36). Therefore, they argue that the distinction between first translations, revisions and retractions is more a question of a continuum where “different versions seamlessly slide together or even coalesce”. And even a continuum might be too simplified an idea, as revision and changes may happen “at various levels of the text” (ibid.: 47).

2.5.1.2 Retranslation, indirect translation and reprints

The attitudes among translation scholars towards retranslation’s relationship with indirect translation can be divided into four categories. First, it may be used as a synonym of indirect translation (cf. Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 76), along with intermediate translation, mediated translation, and second-hand translation. This can even be seen in the clauses from the “UNESCO Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to Improve the Status of Translators”: “(c) as a general rule, a translation should be made from the original work, recourse being had to retranslation [i.e. indirect translation] only where

absolutely necessary;” (UNESCO 22 November 1976). With the growing adoption of the term “indirect translation” among researchers, this meaning of “retranslation” has been dropped.

Second, some researchers, including both Koskinen & Paloposki (2010) and Tahir Gürçağlar (2009), try to exclude indirect translation from their discussion of retranslation. The same distinction between the two concepts is made by Pym, whose defined retranslation falls into two categories: translations which return to the ST and start from scratch, and revisions with significant reference to the ST, and who argues that the term “should not be confused with ‘indirect translations’” (Pym 2011: 79-80), which involves a third language. And Cay Dollerup, by maintaining that retranslation “involves only two languages” (2014: 2), in effect restricts it to direct interlingual translation and so expels indirect translation from its territory, as does Daniel Linder, who states that retranslation “establishes a new, direct link to the source text” (2014: 69).

The third group of scholars, notably Hanna Pięta (2014, 2017), who adopts a narrow definition of retranslation as L1–L2–L2 intralingual translation and a broader definition of indirect translation, subsumes the former under the latter. She also claims that definitions of indirect translation which impose no restrictions on the number of languages involved (e.g. Gambier 1994: 413) and those whereby ITr involves at least two languages (e.g. Toury 2012: 82) make it possible to consider retranslation (i.e., intralingual translation, in her terms) as a subset of indirect translation.

Finally, despite Koskinen and Paloposki’s (2010: 295) claim that subsuming indirect translation to retranslation is “more misleading than useful”, there is no shortage of such examples. St. André (2003: 59) takes retranslation to mean both “translation twice into the same language” and “translation into a third language” (indirect translation). Similarly, Xu refers to the two categories of “direct retranslation” and “indirect re/translation” (Xu 2002: 193). And Taivalkoski-Shilov, researching six Finnish retranlations of Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, includes in his corpus translations done via an intermediary translation from the original. He argues that although the indirect retranlations do not have the same source text as the direct ones, they do have the same original text by Defoe. He dismisses Koskinen and Paloposki’s (2010) definition of retranslation, “a second or later translation of a single source text into the same language”, as “too narrow” and modifies it to fit the purposes of his study: a second or later translation of a single original text that has been rendered **directly or indirectly** into the same language (Taivalkoski-Shilov 2015: 61, my emphasis). Li Wenjie, in her study of Chinese translations of H. C. Andersen’s tales, argues that indirect translations, often the results of retranlations, owe their enhanced complexity to the properties of retranslation they naturally bear (Li 2017: 183).

Unlike the aforementioned translation types, reprint, another significant

bordering concept, has relatively clear-cut boundaries with retranslation. Researchers, such as Xu & Tian (2014), tend to exclude reprints of the same translation by the same or different publishers from their studies of retranslations. Paloposki & Koskinen, however, combine them with their study of retranslations, seeing them as “the obvious first alternative for retranslation” (2010 : 34). This is in line with Pym’s (1998: 83) idea that whereas retranslation strongly challenges the validity of the previous translation, reprint tend to reinforce that validity. Sturge (2002: 159) thinks reprints can be accounted for by the commercial success and continued saleability of previous translations, while Koskinen and Paloposki (2003: 35 note4) also explain them with concerns of economy, i.e., “a desire to keep a stock of works available for the readers” (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 34). Both reprints and retranslations typically involve classics, while Paloposki and Koskinen wondered why some classics are reprinted while others retranslated (ibid.). Their study indicates the impact of publishers’ profile: while young Finnish publishing houses seem to favor retranslations, the older ones focus on reprints (ibid.: 34-35).

2.5.2 Hybrid retranslated texts and their categorization

In actual reality, texts labeled as “retranslation”, which is far from a monolithic category of text production, can have a varied and hybridized translation history (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 44). For example, there can be cases where parts of the text have been retranslated, perhaps more than once, whilst other parts have only been translated once, and some parts have been reprinted, revised or abridged (ibid.: 39).

Cecilia Alvstad & Alexandra Assis Rosa (2015: 1) make an attempt to categorize the inter-textual relations between retranslations and their sometimes rather complex web of source texts. They are presented as follows, after slight modification:

- a. use of one or several versions of the original text: single/compilative interlingual retranslation;
- b. use of one or several previous TL translations: single/compilative intralingual retranslation;
- c. use of the original text(s) and one or several previous TL translations: compilative inter- and intralingual retranslation;

Additionally, by mentioning cases involving the use of one or several ML translations (Alvstad & Rosa 2015: 10), they seem to treat indirect translation as a subset of retranslation. If we include it, or perhaps even Rosa, Pięta & Maia’s (2017: 122)

classification of indirect translation into “indirect”, “compilative indirect”, and “compilative mixed indirect” ones, the categorization of retranslations can get much more complicated.

2.5.3 Reasons for retranslation

2.5.3.1 Coordination and aging factors

Researchers have examined the various reasons that prompt a retranslation. Perhaps the most simple reasons are some retranslators’ ignorance of the presence of an earlier translation (Venuti 2003: 25), or the lack of coordination and communication among publishers (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 234). Paloposki & Koskinen cite the case in Finland before its signing the Bern agreement on copyrights in 1928, where a lack of coordination between Finnish translators and publishers led to the “collisions” of two or more translations of the same book appearing more or less simultaneously (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 35). It sometimes also has to do with the change of source texts over time (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 294), like the publication of a revised or expanded source text (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 235).

Paul Ricoeur attributes the urge to retranslate to the “dissatisfaction with regard to existing translation” (2006: 7). However, this perceived poor quality of first translations can be hypothetical or actual. Antoine Berman (1990) claims that first translations are somehow poor and lacking, but they pave the way and subsequent translations can make use of them to bring the source text’s true essence through to the target language (see Brownlie 2006). This idea was operationalized in Chesterman (2000) and is often referred to as the Retranslation Hypothesis (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 295). While the Retranslation Hypothesis is probably the best-known academic claim about the nature of retranslation, the ageing of translations is one of the most common arguments in reviews and media discourse in favour of new translations (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 30), as well as the focus of the common sense explanations (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 296). Paloposki and Koskinen argue that these two explanations could be seen to “coalesce into one” (2010: 30), as they are both based on “the premise that the cause for retranslation lies with a deficient previous translation” (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 296). However, the existence of many cases of simultaneous or active retranslations (see Pym 2014: 82) is a useful reminder of time not being the only affecting factor (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 33). And the Retranslation Hypothesis has also been shown by many case studies to be an

insufficient explanation for retranslations, a further discussion of which we will give in the following part. Though the hypothesis about inherently deficient previous translations can be untenable, the discovery in actual reality of mistakes or misinterpretations in the first translation can serve as legitimate justification for retranslation (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 235).

2.5.3.2 Interpretative factors

To give a different interpretation is another important motivation for retranslation, put forward by researchers, notably Brownlie (2006). The new interpretations may stem from the source text itself, the readers (including the translators), or from the context (Brownlie 2006: 152). When it comes to the text itself, a reinterpretation can be based on “allusions, ambiguity or obscurity of the text or passage in question” (ibid.: 153). Brownlie also points out that certain genres of text, notably literary and religious texts, which are open-ended, readily lend themselves to multiple interpretations (2006: 152). In addition, she points to the fact that reinterpretation occurs at all textual levels. Compared with entire reinterpretations of long texts, it is probably more common to see new interpretations and corresponding translations of chapters, passages, or even odd phrases and sentences (ibid.).

The new interpretations can result from the increased knowledge of the source text, author and culture (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 296). Retranslations “undertaken with the distance afforded by passed time” are referred to as “cold” retranslations, which can take advantage of the previously accumulated reception and research knowledge (Vanderschelden 2000: 8). Power struggles may also result in conflicting interpretations, as shown in St. André’s (2003) cited Anglo-French rivaling retranslations of Chinese works. And sometimes introducing a new interpretation of the source text means fulfilling a different function or addressing a different readership, such as issuing children’s versions of adult classics (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 235; Alvstad & Rosa 2015: 12). However, though a text itself contains the possibilities for a new interpretation, argues Brownlie (2006: 153), it is a new context which gives birth to a reinterpretation informing a retranslation, which can in turn have an impact on the context.

Paloposki and Koskinen argue that the answer about why certain texts are repeatedly translated while others are translated only once probably has more to do with the context of the retranslations than any inherent characteristic of the source text (2010: 29). Susanne Margret Cadera and Andrew Samuel Walsh, in their research project on retranslations in peninsular Spanish, discover that “there is not always a clearly identifiable relation between the importance of authors in their original culture

and the retranslation of their work” (2017: 1). And St. André also found, contrary to common assumption, that the original texts’ “literary merit in the source culture does not seem to play a large role in determining why these texts were repeatedly translated” (St. André 2003: 59). For example, the Yuan dynasty (1206-1294) play *Zhao shi Gu'er* (The Orphan of Zhao), though not considered outstanding by Chinese critics, was retranslated over and over again into European languages, whereas the acknowledged masterpiece of Yuan drama, *Xi xiang ji* (Western Chamber Romance), was only translated once in the latter half of the nineteenth century (St. André 2003: 61). Another example he gives is the Chinese novel *Hao qiu zhuan*, a formulaic bestseller from a minor and often despised genre of “scholar-beauty romance”, which became the most-translated Chinese work of fiction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which is probably still unsurpassed today by such acknowledged Chinese masterwork as *Hongloumeng* (Dream of the Red Chamber) (St. André 2003: 64). St. André identifies eight interrelated factors behind the counter-intuitive translation phenomenon, most of them arising out of concerns in the target context, in particular the national partisanship within academia and the Anglo-French rivalry in Sinology (ibid.: 59).

2.5.3.3 Factors of ideology and norms

According to Brownlie (2006: 150), retranslations are undertaken because of the changes in ideologies and/or norms (linguistic, literary, and translational) in the target culture. Language, poetics, and notions of approved translational behaviour, as well as ideologies, evolve over time. So translations tend to get unacceptable when they no longer conforms to the current ways of thinking or behaving (ibid.).

Kujamäki's (2001) research on Finnish-German translations shows that retranslations are largely governed by shifts in the ideological context of reception and Finland's changing image in Germany. In the 1921 German retranslation of Aleksis Kivi's *Seitsemän veljestä*, the ideology of promotion of a national identity is evidenced in the footnotes providing careful explanations of elements of Finnish culture. The ideology of Finland distancing itself from Slavic ties is evidenced in the footnotes emphasizing Finland's links with Western Europe. In the 1935 retranslation of the same work, the then prevailing German ideology of a superior Nordic race and culture, considered to be the forefathers of Germany, is evidenced in that any negative comment about Finland or the Finns in the original text is omitted or toned down.

Venuti discusses how, during the nationalist movement after 1968, the Québécois retranslation of canonical drama was conducted in an attempt to construct a homogeneous national identity on the basis of Québécois French (Venuti 2013: 101).

He also emphasized the role of reinterpretations in retranslation and their correlation with considerations of ideology and institutional pressures. Retranslations can maintain and strengthen the institutionalized interpretations of a canonical text. Alternatively, they can challenge that interpretation. Venuti cites as an example Tyndale's Bible translation, whose interpretations are grounded in Protestant theology, and which was thus treated differently by the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church. In the case of non-canonical texts, they might be retranslated within a new ideological context, to achieve canonicity through inscription of a different interpretation and realization of a particular ideological agenda. This has occurred in the feminism-guided retranslation of neglected women writers (Venuti 2013: 97-8).

Literary norms can affect not just the choice of texts to retranslate, but also the retranslation strategies. For example, the dominance of a neoclassical aesthetic in 18th century Britain was instrumental in the repeated translation of classical epics, as pointed out by Venuti (2013: 106). Brownlie's (2006: 161) comparison of retranslations in Victorian times and those in contemporary times demonstrates the effect of literary norm on the translation strategies of sensual explicitness. In Victorian times, when the dominant norm in the writing of novels was a certain "delicacy" of expression, novels had to be written with young innocent girls in mind as prospective readers. Hence the unacceptability of sensual explicitness in renderings. By contrast, in contemporary English literature, coarse language and explicit reference to sex and sensuality are acceptable, which tends to be preserved in the retranslations.

Language change can lead to the need to update or modernize the wording and terminology used in earlier translations (Hanna 2006: 194). Brownlie gives a striking example of a change of linguistic norms reflected in the translations. The French "fille", meaning loose woman/prostitute, is translated as "gay women" in the late-19th-century English version, which meant a loose woman at that time. But in contemporary English the previously used term "gay women" means a lesbian. So the later translators were obliged to switch to contemporary language in order to avoid miscomprehension (Brownlie 2006: 162).

Du-Nour's study of retranslations of children's books into Hebrew shows the influence of linguistic and translation norms on retranslation: while earlier translations were marked by a less readable, bible-like style which reflected the prevailing norm for translation in the 1920s, "readability" is shown to be a major concern in later retranslations (Du-Nour 1995: 331). And the statement on the title page of a late-19th-century translation, with a large number of minor changes including substitutions and omissions, that it has been undertaken "without abridgment" would be unacceptable today, due to the change in translation norms with respect to the completeness and "faithfulness" of a translation (Brownlie 2006: 163).

There can be a clear overlap between social ideologies and literary, linguistic or

translational norms, in that what is considered acceptable in literature, language and translation is affected by contemporary social ideologies and values (see Brownlie 2006: 161). Although retranslations usually conform with reigning norms and ideologies, Brownlie (2006: 151) notes, on occasion they may set out to challenge such values (for example, the aforementioned Tyndale's Bible). Moreover, Brownlie also stresses the importance of the particular context of production. She explains the divergence between two translations produced in the same time period, the late 19th century, with more specific situational contexts: one of them was produced by a private society, not subject to censorship, and therefore able to subvert the dominant Victorian mores (ibid.: 165). The particular context of production is a source of "heterogeneity within the same time period", leading to very different translations being produced during one time period (ibid.: 167). Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 46) also agree with her that the local context is often conclusive in the final make-up of the re-translation.

With the changes in ideologies and norms, retranslations might serve the purpose of "restoring previously censored, expurgated and abridged translations to a fresher state of fullness" (Linder 2014: 60), thus giving texts "what they had been stripped of or what in them had been misrepresented or had been altered for specific purposes" (ibid.: 69). For example, Zhu Jiarong's first Chinese translation in 1998 of *A Lost Paradise*, by Japanese writer Junichi Watanabe, eliminated all its explicit sexual content, mostly for moral reasons. And in 2010, some 12 years after her first abridged translation, an unabridged, fully-made retranslation came out, this time restoring and faithfully reproducing all the previously omitted explicit sexual descriptions in the original (Tan 2015: 324).

By recognizing translator's preferences, idiosyncrasies, and choices as another source of "heterogeneity within the same time period", Brownlie acknowledges the role of the translator as interpreter (Brownlie 2006: 167). Her idea is echoed by Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 46), who think translators and other agents should be given more emphasis in the study of retranslation. Venuti also foregrounds the role of the individual retranslator, arguing that "rettranslations typically highlight the translator's intentionality because they are designed to make an appreciable difference" (Venuti 2013: 100), though he does not dismiss the influence of trans-individual factors (ibid.: 101). Some retranslations may originate purely from a translator's personal appreciation of a source text (ibid.). Retranslators may seek to establish himself as an authority, such as St. André's example of Sir John Francis Davis, whose desire to be acknowledged as an authority on Chinese culture motivated his retranslation of *Hao qui zhuan* in 1829 (St. André 2003: 64). They may also aim to maintain, revise, or displace the prevailing translation norms in a given culture (Venuti 2013: 100).

2.5.3.4 Commercial factors

As “it may often be cheaper to recycle an already existing translation than to commission a new one”, Milton has discussed the recycling of existing translations, particularly literary classics, by publishers attracted by the prestige, cost-effectiveness and guaranteed sales associated with their publication, such as the recycling (adaptation) of a more formally-worded Clube do Livro edition into a shorter, less formally-worded, illustrated edition for a juvenile market (Milton 2001: 62). What’s more, Lee & Liao’s (2018: 187) findings about the retranslation of best-selling romantic novels most clearly demonstrate the force of market factors. Generally perceived as cheap, disposable, and of little value to collectors, the genre has limited inherent literary merits. Meanwhile, with a very restricted target of purpose and readership, this type of novels have little need for reinterpretation of the ST for a different purpose or readership (Lee & Liao 2018: 198). Therefore, commercial consideration and market factors play the decisive role in their retranslation, a low-cost and low-risk investment for the publishers involved (ibid.: 187). Retranslation in this case also serves the function of canon formation, by helping to establish a piece of work as a classic (ibid.: 194).

Examining the translation boom in the 1990s in mainland China, Xu & Tian conclude that “commercial considerations may drive publishers to produce their own version in order to capture a segment of a lucrative retranslation market” (Xu & Tian 2014: 244). However, if this commercial drive goes unchecked, it might result in a chaotic book market as well as the prevalence of shoddy translations and plagiarism, as happened with China in the 1990s (ibid.: 252) and Turkey (see Şahin, Duman, Kaleş, Gürses & Woolls 2019). Tengyuan, who by comparing the footnotes and the texts proper convincingly proves Zhang Longsheng’s 1995 translation of *Pride and Prejudice* is basically a plagiarized version of two previous translations, sharply points out the nature of some retranslations in the 1990s:

“The producers of some retranslations were not foreign-language professionals in the strict sense of the word. They were college-student ghost-writers or people who were fairly well-versed in Chinese. They conducted “re-interpretations” of existing Chinese versions of the world’s literary classics. Their source text was Chinese and the target text was also Chinese. Such a “retranslation” might eventually be better than the previous translation, but, inevitably, misreading, mistranslation and distortion of the source text may also occur. What is worse is that the re-translator infringed the copyright of the previous translator.”

(translated and cited in Xu & Tian 2014: 253).

In another study, plagiarism is revealed to be “a widespread, organized, and quasi-institutionalized phenomenon” in the Turkish retranslation context (Albachten

& Gürçağlar 2019: 6).

Finally, many scholars (e.g., Pym 2014; André 2003; Brownlie 2006; Paloposki & Koskinen 2010) have criticized the assumed monocausality in retranslations and referred to a multiplicity of different factors in different combinations, including the previously mentioned changes of the original text and its potentials for new interpretations, the aging of the previous translations, translators and other agents' profiles and their intentionality, contextual changes in terms of broad historical, sociocultural, ideological and political, literary, linguistic and economic coordinates, and more specific situational contexts.

Chapter 3. Materials and methodology

3.1 Type of research

This study is primarily empirical research, whose essential idea is to use data, either quantitative data in numerical form or qualitative data in non-numerical form, as the way of answering questions, and of developing and testing ideas (Punch 2014: 2-3). In other words, “it seeks evidence which supports or disconfirms hypotheses, or generates new ones” (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 58). This research also takes a mixed-methods approach, presented by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) as the third research paradigm mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches. As “today's research world is becoming increasingly inter-disciplinary, complex, and dynamic”, the need arises for many researchers to complement one method with another, thus drawing from the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses of both (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004: 15). Many research projects have both qualitative and quantitative elements. For example, the qualitative stage may come first, as we set up and define the concepts and categories we need; and the quantitative aspect may come in later during the analysis stage, if we want to make claims about regularities, tendencies, frequencies or distributions (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 65). Moreover, qualitative data and quantitative data can be synchronized for better result, for the reasons that “all qualitative data can be coded quantitatively” and “all quantitative data is based on qualitative judgment” (Ochieng 2009: 17).

In the present study, several methods are used to collect or analyze data, both those typically associated with qualitative research, like historical research and case studies, and those associated with quantitative research, such as corpus analysis (ibid.: 23). The quantitative aspect is most evident in “the use of numeric data and statistical data analysis” in the study of translation history, which has been successful in revealing long-term historical patterns of change as well as the aggregate context and structures of history (Zhou & Sun 2017: 99).

3.2 Models of research

There have been some basic models of research in translation studies, each with their associated theories and variants. Williams and Chesterman distinguishes three types

of models: comparative, process and causal. Although the first two model-types “may well be open to a causal interpretation”, causality is overt, central and explicit only in the causal model, which bring in contextual variables and help us explain “why the translation looks the way it does, or what effects it causes” (2002: 53). The causality can be established on three levels: the translator’s cognition (translator’s knowledge, attitude, identity, and maybe even their personality and life experience as a whole), the translation event (the source text, the client’s instructions, translator’s tools, payment, deadlines, etc.) and the socio-cultural factors (norms, history, culture, ideology, censorship, the status of the languages involved). Factors on all three dimensions “have an influence on the final form of the translation, the translation’s linguistic profile”(ibid.: 54-55). But translations themselves also have various effects, both on readers and at the socio-cultural level (ibid.).

There have been various concepts, approaches and theories associated with different variants of the basic causal model of translation (ibid.: 55-56). Saldanha and O’Brien (2014) divide translation research models into four types: product-oriented, process-oriented, participant-oriented, and context-oriented. However, based on the assumption that there cannot be purely descriptive research because “any (good) research necessarily takes into account possible explanations”, they propose another way of mapping their model onto Chesterman’s: “to classify it in its entirety as a causal model that recognizes three different dimensions of causality (linguistic, cognitive and contextual)” (Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 6).

Saldanha and O’Brien’s proposal to classify their model in its entirety as a causal model on different dimensions of causality (2014: 6) is a similar approach to that used by Pym, who concludes that “causation is more likely to be diffuse and multiple” since so many factors are involved in translation (2014: 144). Applying the range of Aristotle’s causes to translation, Pym (ibid.: 149) distinguishes between four causes: material or initial cause (the assumed source text, language, communication technology), final cause (the purpose, the use, the position or function within a target culture, the ideal completion of an action), formal cause (an idea of what a translation is, norms), and efficient cause (the translator). As pointed out by Pym, all these causes are necessary for us to have a translation, and “none of these causes can be accorded any a priori dominance” (2014: 158). However, in the research process, “there can certainly be debates about which factor or combination of factors is dominant” (Pym 2014: 149). Meanwhile, it is possible for us to pick one or more factors to focus on, and then “the focus of our observations” will impose certain restrictions in terms of the model type and its variant we choose (Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 5).

When it comes to the model we use in this study, it is important to stress that: 1) following Saldanha and O’Brien (2014: 7), we attempt to maintain a looser link between methods and schools of thought so as to stay flexible in terms of what to take and discard from each methodology and from each school, and what methods and

theories to combine in the research; 2) we have adopted the causal model in the present research. What's more, despite the plural nature of causation in translation studies, we have chosen to focus on socio-cultural factors in Chesterman's causal model. So it is also a context-oriented research in Saldanha and O'Brien's models. And given the association between our theoretical background (systems theory, norm theory and manipulation theory) and Pym's model, our focus is on his final cause and normal cause. Besides, attention has also been given to translators as the efficient cause in Pym's model, showing some participant-oriented tendency in Saldanha and O'Brien's model.

3.3 Research questions and hypotheses

To begin at the beginning of a research, we must first identify at least a tentative research question (Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 16). Williams and Chesterman (2002: 16) point out that the major research questions in translation history are: What? Who? How? And Why? In a more elaborate way, D'hulst (2010: 398-399) identifies the "formal objects" of translation history: *quis? quid? ubi? quibus auxiliis? cur? quomodo? quando?*

The question of "what?" or "quid?" has to do with which texts have been translated (or not translated), along with the selection criteria and the selection procedures of the translated texts (D'hulst 2010: 400). To answer such questions first and foremost requires the establishment of bibliographies of translations (*ibid.*). Furthermore, what has been written on translation, especially reviews of translated works, can help us gain insights into their reception (D'hulst 2010: 400; Pym 2014: 17).

The question "how?" or "quomodo?" is mainly concerned with translators' strategies, translation norms, as well as their changes in time and in space (D'hulst 2010: 402; Williams & Chesterman 2002: 17). Relevant studies serve "to link the micro (i.e. textual) and macro (i.e. social/historical/ intercultural) aspects of Translation History" (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 17). Williams and Chesterman (*ibid.*: 18) also include in this category the discussion of the roles of translations, their effects, functions and reception. Yet in D'hulst's (2010: 403) typology this is related to the question of "cui bono?". What's more, the historical study of the production, evolution and effects of translation theories is also taken into account in his discussion. Similarly, D'hulst's questions of "ubi?" (where have translations been written, printed, published, distributed? the centrality and periphery of the places) and "quando?" (the cline patterns and temporal categorization of translations) can somehow be covered in Williams and Chesterman's "what?" and "how?" questions. Yet D'hulst's questions of

“quibus auxiliis?” has more to do with ideology, patronage and censorship.

The question of “who?” or “quis?” concerns translators themselves, viewed from numerous angles: their intellectual and social backgrounds, their intellectual practice and production, their relations with publishers, editors and authors as well as overall network relations (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 17; D’hulst 2010: 399). The people involved in translation, i.e., translators, who tend to be “intercultural”, along with “their social entourage (clients, patrons, readers)” are seen by Pym as “the central object” of translation history (2014: ix-x). Moreover, he emphasizes the recognition of “the properly human dimension of documents and actions as processes of change” (ibid.: 6). D’hulst also calls for more attention to translation scholars, especially their role in the evolution of Translation Studies (2010: 398-399).

The question of “why?” or “cur?” might be extended to “why do translations occur or why do they occur the way they are (with their specific forms and functions)?” (D’hulst 2010: 401). To answer it we need to understand “the interplay between many factors (translation procedures, norms of target cultures, political and economical constraints, etc.)” (ibid.). Pym (2014: 6) sees “why?” as the most important question and explaining “why translations were produced in a particular social time and place” as the first principle of translation history (ibid.: ix).

Since the present research can be typologically accommodated within Pym’s (2014: 5) “translation archaeology”, which is “a set of discourses concerned with answering all or part of the complex question ‘who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?’”, our initial research question pertain to one basic aspect “what”: What literary works were translated from Czech into Chinese? The question appeared justifiable on two grounds: “First, it should not have been done before. Second, the people carrying out the research must have an interest in it” (ibid.: 15). To render the list of material, or catalog, more homogeneous, the final research questions are formulated as follows: 1. What Czech literary works were translated into Chinese, in book form or in journals? 2. How was Czech literature translated into Chinese? 3. Who translated Czech literature into Chinese and what are their features? 4. Why was Czech literature translated the way it was in mainland China? The fourth formulation is especially important due to what Pym (2014: ix-x) calls “the first principle” of explanation of social causation in translation history. The hypothesis to be tested has been formulated as follows: there are patterns or tendencies in the translation of Czech literature into Chinese, which has possible contextual explanations.

3.4 Material, catalog and corpora

From the above discussion about hypotheses, which have to be supported or falsified by data or evidence, it is obvious that “methodology cannot be considered in isolation from the body of the material to which it applies” (Špirk 2011: 101). In translation history, the material usually comprises “translational documents (either translations as documents or documents on translations)” (Pym 2014: 38). They may also be categorized into “primary texts”, i.e., translations, showing what translators have actually done, and “secondary (theoretical or critical) statements about what translators should be doing, what they want to do, or what they want to be seen to be doing” (ibid.: 111). These are more specifically bibliographies of translated works, documentary material concerning translators, para texts (prefaces, book covers, etc.), translation reviews and past translation theories (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 91). Among these, bibliographical data on translations (what was translated when) is the most essential.

Lists function as “basic tools for translation archeology” since “little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations” (Pym 2014: 39). They “help force the recognition of contexts”, placing translational documents within a context formed by other translational documents, and allow “the quick testing and discarding of weaker hypotheses” (ibid.: 40). Pym (2014: 38) makes distinctions between catalogues and corpora as different kinds of lists. Translation catalogues are “lists of translations within a specified field for which the ideal is to have data on all the translations” (ibid.). The primary function of a catalogue is to reach maximum completeness, which is closely related with “the ideal of empirical research being devoid of subjectivity”(Pym 2014: 48-49). However, he notes that “there is always some subjective agenda at stake” (ibid.: 49) and “completeness is always relative” (ibid.: 53). Moreover, inclusive linguistic, temporal and territorial criteria would lead to “an excessively large and undifferentiated corpus” (Pięta 2010: 10). Hence the necessity of corpora, “lists of translations drawn up according to strictly controlled criteria” (Pym 2014: 42), to address specific questions. Catalogues are necessary for the extraction of corpora from it. To move from the former to the latter is to “reduce the list to representative dimensions adequate to the specific problem to be solved” (ibid.), thereby “forming an object of study” (ibid.: 42). The resulting corpora “can then be subjected to a series of operations including the application of working definitions, the plotting of distributions across space and time, and explanatory analyses of the resulting forms” (ibid.: 38).

To establish a catalogue of translations from Czech into Chinese, data will be gathered from:

- 1) Bibliography of Books in the Republic of China Period (1912-1949): Foreign

Literature;

2) Bibliography of Classic Literature Books Translated in Mainland China (1949-1979);

3) The Chinese National Bibliography;

4) China Archives of Publications;

5) Quan Guo Bao Kan Suo Yin (CNBKSY)

The next stage consists in reducing the list (catalogue) of translations discovered to a smaller field of some more specific importance. In order to arrive at “a reasonably extensive yet manageable and balanced corpus” (Pym 2014: 67), the decision has been taken to include only translations of literature (for adults) from Czech into Chinese published in mainland China.

The corpora will be analyzed in terms of the source languages, genre, the authors, the publishing houses and the translators. The analyses will be presented in tables, graphs and diachronic distribution curves, which help offer a sense of control over otherwise unruly data. They can also confirm or deny the minor hypotheses, suspicions or hunches that surface as we go along compiling the lists, such as the “retranslation hypothesis”. Pym compares archaeological lists and networks to “bones awaiting muscles to make them function” (2014: 106). It is the social constraints, which are the muscles, that enable us to know how the translations were actually produced and received. Somehow, we come to a world of data, look at what translators do and get some idea of activity; we count and arrange things; we observe certain regularly repeated features. Then we have to progress to “the dimension of abstract objects” which constrain the activity and allow things to change. It is necessary to account for these patterns in terms of social norms (ibid.: 110).

Since it is not possible to look at all the aspects and factors involved, we usually select a few aspects and try to understand how they are related to one another (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 83). These “aspects of reality that we are trying to connect, as a way of understanding them better” are referred to in many disciplines as variables (ibid.). They can also be simply understood as “something that changes within a given range of options” (ibid.: 84). In translation studies, where we try to see “how aspects of translations are related to aspects of the wider world”, two kinds of variables are dealt with: text variables, which have to do with the translations themselves, including “the existence and form of a translation (or set of translations)” and context variables, which have to do with the world outside the translations, including anything in the spatial, temporal or social environment of the translation that could be relevant to it (ibid.: 85-86). Our analysis of the corpora will take in

account such context variables as source-language variables, translator variables, publication form variables, publisher variables, socio-cultural variables, etc., to examine the effect of context on text, the effect of text on context, and the relations between text and context variables themselves.

3.5 Case studies

In translation studies, a case can be anything from a translated text or a translator to a translation institution and even a literary system. It can also be a process or an event (Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 207). More complex case studies focus on multiple units (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 65). A case might be selected for study because it is typical of the population we are interested in, or because it is unusual or unique (ibid.; Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 207). Case studies, carefully chosen for their relevance and for the significance of the issues they will raise, can help to formulate hypotheses, improve on previous theories, and provide insights into “the complex mechanisms through which social, political, cultural and ideological forces shape translations and are shaped by them” (Saldanha & O'Brien 2014: 233).

Our case studies in this research will be comparative textual analysis of the translated texts. The researcher in every translation history project, according to Assis Rosa, “should start by observing the back-drop and moving on to the particular case study, moving from context to text, or from macro to micro” (2013: 39-40). And the micro-textual comparative study, points out Toury, could involve a number of parallel translations into one TL, at one point in time or at different points in time, or several parallel translations into different languages (Toury 2012: 95-98). We therefore chose five texts for the textual comparison, including the original Czech text and four translations in both Chinese and English. One of the Chinese translations is a direct one from Czech, and the other indirect from English. The units of comparative analysis are the parallel textual segments in these texts. And our operations on some representative parallel textual segments will involve attempts to establish regularities of behaviour and to reconstruct the translation strategies adopted.

Chapter 4. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1921-1949

China embarked on the introduction of Czech literature relatively late, only in 1921 during the New Culture Movement, which began in 1915 and was focused on attacking traditional values and bringing in new ideas from abroad to transform the nation. Some knowledge of its prologue, which are given as follows, will help better understand why the introduction of Czech literature happened at this time and in such a way as it did.

4.1 The background to the beginning of Czech literature's translation in China: the third translation peak in Chinese history

It was only in the late 19th and early 20th Century that China started importing western literature, though translation of foreign texts in China goes far back to the first century: the year 65 AD during the Eastern Han dynasty, when a Chinese religious delegation was dispatched to India where they brought Buddhist scriptures back to be translated into Chinese (Qi 2012: 2). That turned out to be a millennium-long translation project, resulting in the rendition, from Sanskrit to Chinese, sometimes via Central Asian languages, of around 2,400 sets of scriptures in 9,100 volumes (ibid.: 3). This is generally accepted to be the first translation peak in Chinese history.

The second peak is thought to be the translation of science books during late Ming and early Qing Dynasty in the 17th and 18th century, largely joint efforts by the Western missionaries in China and their Chinese scholar-official partners. Despite historical records of the presence and activities of Moravian and Bohemian missionaries in China in this period, there is no mention of them taking part in translation³.

This second translation peak pales in comparison to the third one, starting in late Qing Dynasty in the second half of 19th century, when China saw an explosion of

³ Despite the start of Czech-Chinese literary exchange in as late as 1921, the communication between China and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (including Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) actually began much earlier. The earliest known Czech in China was Wenzel Pantaleon Kirwitzer (1588/1590-1626), a Moravian missionary who arrived in China in 1619 and stayed until his death in Macau. According to Czech tibetologist Prof. Josef Kolmaš, in the late 17th century and 18th century, during the reign of Qing emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, eight Bohemian Jesuit missionaries came to China, including Karel Slavíček (1678-1735), Leopold Liebstan (1667-1711), Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708-1780), Johann Waller (1708-1759) and Florian Bahr (1700-1771), all of whom also served as court musicians or artists (Huang 2005: 839).

unprecedented numbers of volumes of Western books on science, technology, philosophical and sociological works, as well as literature. So what lies behind this dramatic change?

It all started with the First Opium War (1839-42), when British fleet of warships sailed halfway around the world to attack coastal Chinese cities, in retaliation for the massive amounts of illegal opium China had confiscated from British traders and disposed of. The Qing army and navy's pre-industrial weapons and ships of course stood no chance against Britain's powerful cannons and fleets. The resulting Treaty of Nanjing (1842) forced China to open its door to the opium trade, to pay restitutions in the amount of 21 million dollars, to open important ports to British trade and residence, and to cede Hong Kong to the British. This was soon followed by other Western powers forcing similar unequal treaties on China. The post-Opium War world, in Qi's words, was "a time of rude awakening for the Chinese", wakening them from their millennium-old dream of past glories, real or imagined (Qi 2012: 4), and ushering in a turbulent century of national crises, reforms, revolutions and wars before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In the face of Western encroachments, strengthening and modernizing China, by learning from the West, started to assume the utmost importance. And translation came to be recognized as the vital channel through which Western knowledge could be imported (Lee 2018: 245).

As a result of some Chinese intellectuals' pioneering efforts as well as the socio-political exigency, the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century saw an unprecedented scale of translated Western works in science, technology, social sciences, economics, law, history and finally literature. For example, according to Xiong Yuezhi (1998: 33-34), between 1900 and 1911, the number of books translated was twice that of the preceding 90 years.

4.2 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: What

Our data from this period include 105 translations, which correspond to 60 Czech source texts originally written by 25 Czech authors⁴. These include retranslations of the same work by different translators, but not republications of the same translation (by the same translator) in different books or journals. The relevant writers and their

⁴ The data include 4 folk songs whose authors are anonymous (not listed in the table). Moreover, 9 translations of Slovakian literary works, though labeled as 捷克 [Czech] or 捷克斯洛伐克 [Czechoslovak] in the Chinese source, are excluded from our data. 3 translations whose authors cannot be determined are also excluded.

translated works (most of them, published in literary journals, are individual short stories and poems) are listed as follows:

No	Work	Writer	Genre	Year(s) of publishing
1	Obyčejná vražda (The ordinary murder)	Karel Čapek	Short story	1931
2	Sbírka známek (The stamp collection)			1941
3	<i>Matka</i> (The Mother)* ⁵		Drama	1940;1944
4	<i>Bílá nemoc</i> (The White Disease)			1939
5	<i>Věc Makropulos</i> (The Makropulos Affair)			1926
6	Měl jsem psa a kočku (excerpted)*		Essay	1934;1945
7	Když bolí zuby (Toothache)*			1931;1933; 1936
8	Zahradníkův rok (The Gardener's Year) (excerpted)			1941
9	Ostrov (Island)*	Karel Čapek & Josef Čapek	Short story	1928;1928 1929;1932 1935;1942 1947;1947
10	Živý plamen (Living flame)*			1929;1929 1931;1932 1933;1941

⁵ Those translated more than once in this period are marked with “*”, and therefore have more than one year of publishing.

				1946	
11	<i>Ze života hmyzu</i> (The Life of the Insects)		Drama	1933	
12	<i>Adam stvořitel</i> (Adam the Creator)			1934	
13	Upír (The Vampire)*	Jan Neruda		Short story	1927;1929 1929;1934 1936;1940 1944
14	Byl darebákem (He was a rascal)*		1944;1949		
15	Blbý Jóna (Stupid Jóna)		1921		
16	Matičce (To my mother)*		Poetry		1942;1942
17	Prosté motivy			1949	
18	Jsou-li andělé ženy? (Are angels women?)		Essay	1935	
19	Horník (Miner)*		Petr Bezruč	Poetry	1921;1942 1948
20	Maryčka Magdonová*				1942;1942
21	Ostrava	1929			
22	Červený květ (Red flower)	1939			
23	Výlety páně Broučkovy (The Excursion)	Svatopluk Čech	Short story	1921	
24	Člověk, jenž vydal básně (A man who published poems)			1922	
25	The Deal ⁶			1923	

⁶ There are a number of works whose Czech titles have not been found and are therefore presented in English.

26	Písň otroka (Songs of a Slave) (excerpted)		Poetry	1942
27	Flétna (Flute)			1922
28	Poesie a prosa (Poetry and prose)	Jaroslav Vrchlický	Short story	1931
29	Cigánovy housle (Gypsy's violin)*		Poetry	1941;1943
30	Husy (Geese)*	Božena Viková-Kunětická	Short story	1930;1933 1935;1941 1944;1947
31	Spiritless			1925
32	The Death of Louise			1943
33	The Lost Paradise		Poetry	1942
34	Letter	Josef Svatopluk Machar		1942
35	Magdalena		Verse novel	1945
36	Bezdětná (Childless)*	Ignát Herrmann	Short story	1930;1932 1938
37	Vánoční koledy (excerpted)			1923
38	Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války (The Good Soldier Švejk) (excerpted)	Jaroslav Hašek	Novel	1944
39	Finanční tíseň (Financial difficulties)		Short story	1940
40	O kominíkovi (Chimney worker)		Short story	1941
41	Balada o nenarozeném dítěti (The ballad of the unborn child)	Jiří Wolker	Poetry	1943

42	V ledovém objetí	Antonín Sova	Poetry	1937
43	Lyrické vteřiny duše			1942
44	<i>Hubička</i> (A Kiss)	Karolína Světlá	Short story	1929;1929 1931;1933 1935;1935
45	U rotačky (At the rotary)*	Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod	Short story	1934;1941
46	Voják*	František Halas	Poetry	1937;1946
47	Koho by ráda	František Čelakovský	Poetry	1921
48	Na písčité půdě (On the sandy soil)	Růžena Svobodová	Short story	1930
49	Don Juan zasněný (Don Juan dreamy)	Josef Šimánek	Short story	1934
50	Hlad (Hunger)*	František Langer	Short story	1942;1949
51	Smrt hraběte Kryštofa des Loges (The Death of Count Christopher des Loges)	František Xaver Šalda	Short story	1942
52	Špatné dítě (The naughty child)*	Otakar Theer	Short story	1940;1945
53	Jaro (Spring)	Josef Václav Sládek	Poetry	1942
54	Bez názvu (Untitled)	Karel Toman	Poetry	1942
55	Křehké štěstí (The fragile happiness)	Fráňa Šrámek	Short story	1949
56	Reportáž psaná na oprátce (Notes from the Gallows) (excerpted)	Julius Fučík	Memoir	1948

Table 4.1 Czech writers and their works translated in 1921-1949 mainland China

With regard to the numbers of translations and their proportions in the total number of 105, the most translated writer is K. Čapek (and J. Čapek), followed by J. Neruda, B. Viková-Kunětická, P. Bezruč, K. Světlá, S. Čech, J. Vrchlický, I. Herrmann and J. S. Machar. The remaining 15 writers all have either one or two translations. These are shown in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2⁷.

The most translated Czech writers, K. Čapek (and J. Čapek) and J. Neruda, come not as a surprise, given their international fame in the period under study, especially the fact that they had already been acclaimed in the dominant cultures. Yet the high translation rates of B. Viková-Kunětická might be somewhat out of expectation, especially considering the lower translation rate or even absence of some more canonized writers in the Czech literature, such as S. Čech, K. H. Mácha and B. Němcová.

⁷ When it comes to the Czech writers translated in the first period, the difference should be noted between more or less contemporary (with respect to the year of publishing) writers (such as Čapek, Bezruč, Hašek) and the 19th century writers who had already become classic (Neruda, Vrchlický, Čelakovský, etc.).

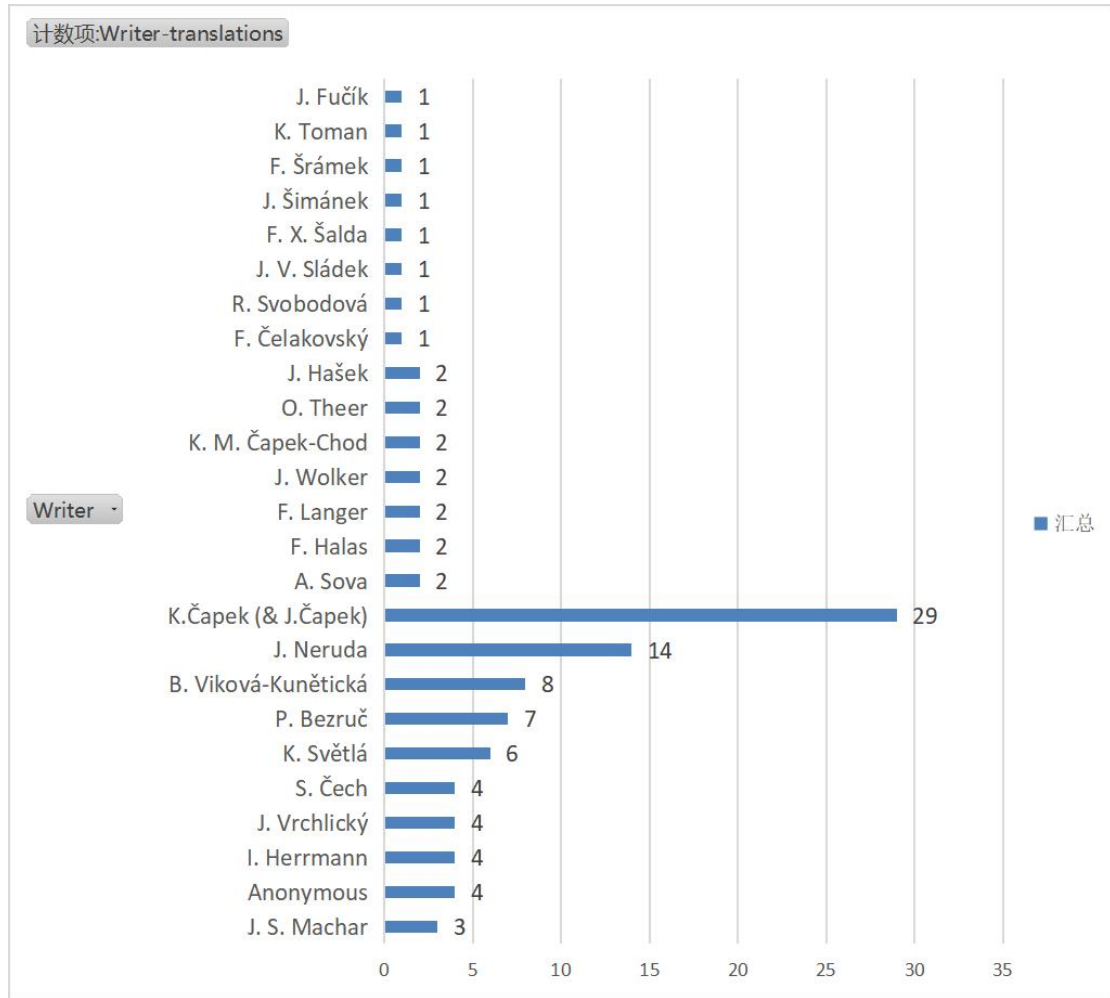


Figure 4.1 Czech writers and the numbers of Chinese translations of their works in 1921-1949

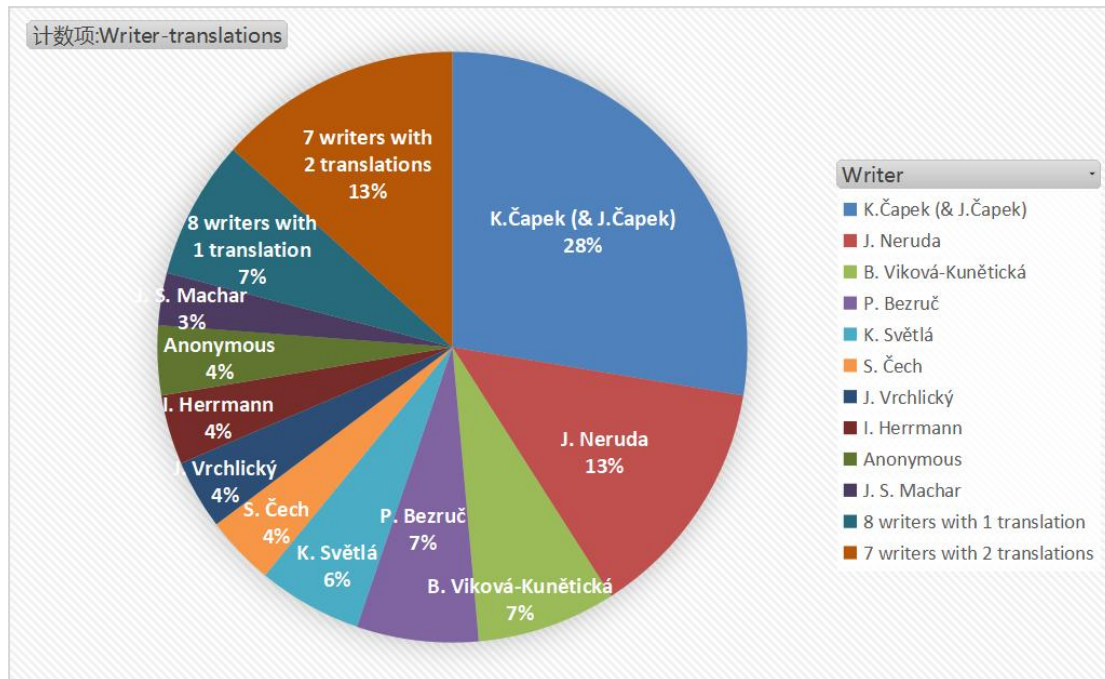


Figure 4.2 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech writers in 1921-1949

It can be seen from Figure 4.2 that this period's Chinese translations of Czech literature are very concentrated, with the first two writers accounting for more than 40%, and the 15 least translated authors making up just 20%.

As far as the genre is concerned, the 105 translations are 59% short stories (62 translations corresponding to 27 original texts by 16 writers), 22% poems (23 translations of 17 poems by 11 poets), 7% essays (7 translations corresponding to 4 original texts by 2 writers), 5% dramas (6 translations of 5 Czech plays), and 4% folk songs (corresponding to 4 anonymous folk songs in Czech). The others include an abridged translation of J. Hašek's novel *The Good Soldier Švejk*, a rendition of J. S. Machar's verse novel *Magdalena*, and J. Fučík's memoir *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), together making up 3%.

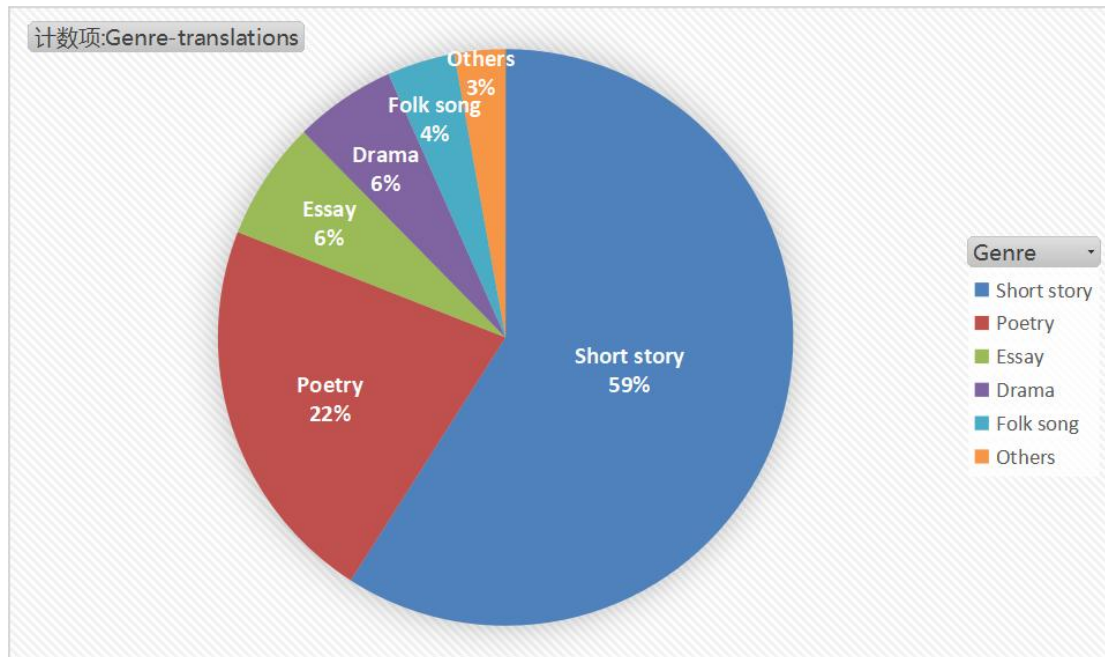


Figure 4.3 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949 in terms of genre

Some literary genres show a strong correlation with the variable of writers. For example, the 5 translated plays are all by K. Čapek (& J. Čapek), with 3 by the elder brother and 2 by both of them. The translated essays are all by K. Čapek, with only one exception by J. Neruda.

4.3 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: How

4.3.1 The dominant role of literary periodicals

One striking feature in this period's Chinese translation of Czech literature is the dominant role played by literary periodicals. A majority of the translations were published in them, whereas just a small number appeared in book form, as Figure 4.4 shows:

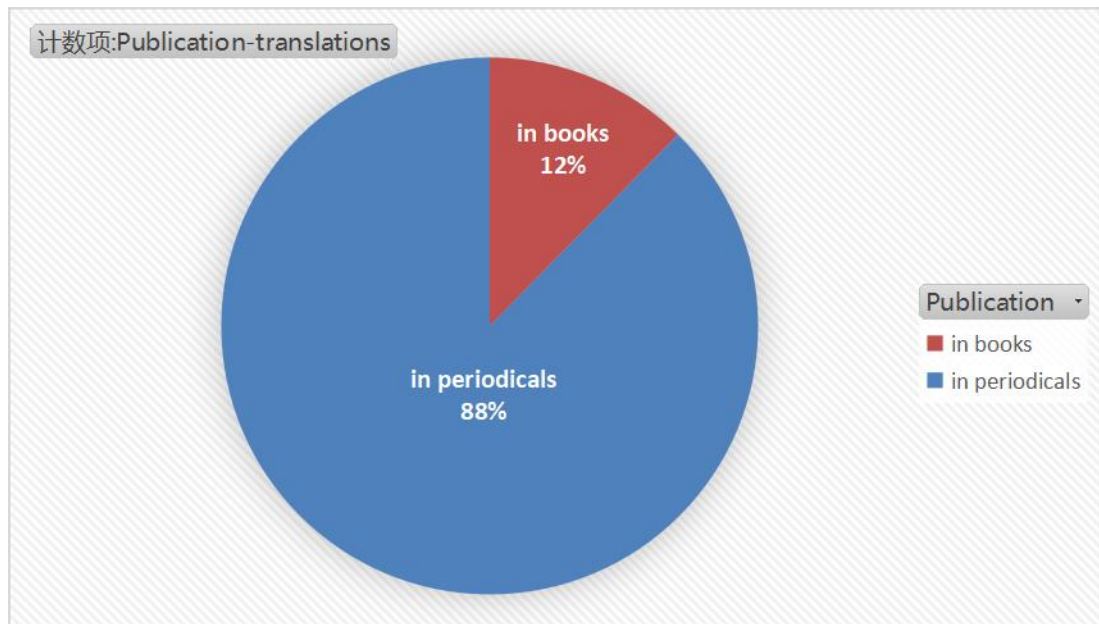


Figure 4.4 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949 in terms of publication forms

It has to be noted that these cover only new translations and retranslations, while the cases of republished translations in books after their first appearance in periodicals are not included. Of the 13 translations published in books, 5 are book-length works, while 5 are included in anthologies of short stories by writers of mixed nationalities, and another 3 in Wei Huangnu's *Jieke yiwen xuan* (Collected Czech literary works), the first Chinese collection of translated Czech works, including both new translations and republications of previous ones in journals.

There are altogether 57 periodicals involved in publishing 92 translations of Czech literature, almost one third of which are found in the 6 main ones (see Figure 4.5): *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), *Shi* (Poetry), *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), *Xiyang wenxue* (Western Literature), *Wenxue* (Literature) and *Dongfang zazhi* (The East).

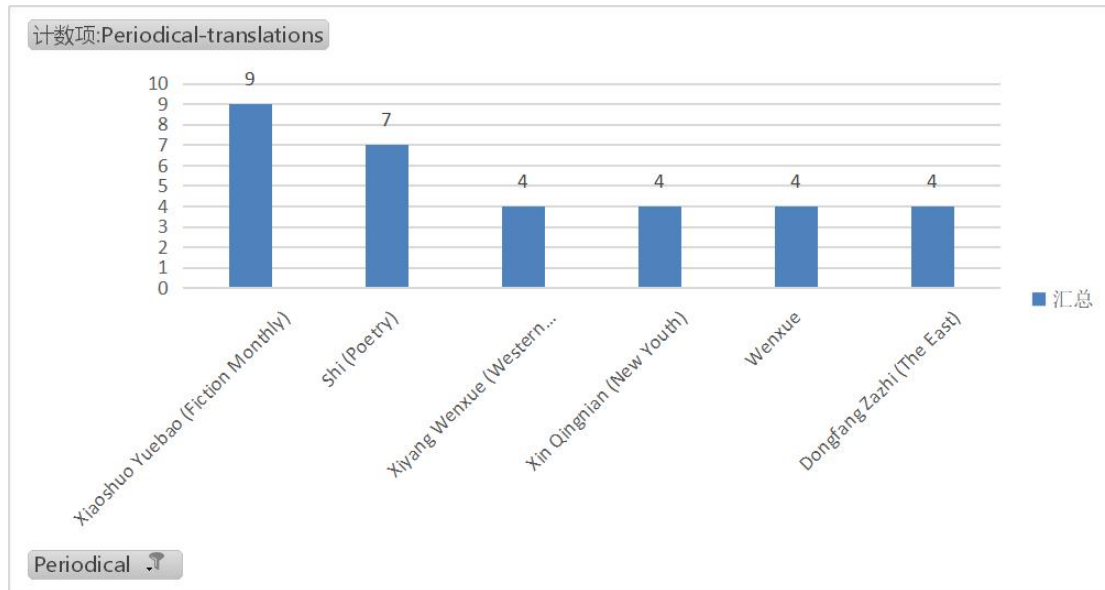


Figure 4.5 Main periodicals with most Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949

The first ever Czech literary works in Chinese, four anonymous Czech folk songs translated by Zhou Zuoren, were published in 1920 on Vol. 8:3 of *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), a pioneering and leading periodical in the New Culture Movement. However, the introduction of Czech literature got started in earnest only one year later in 1921. On Vol. 12:8 of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), another prominent periodical in the period, Jan Neruda's short story "Blbý Jóna (Foolish Jona)" was translated by Mao Dun, editor of the journal as well as a leader of the social and literary movement. *Xiaoshuo yuebao*'s 10th issue in 1921 is the famed "Special issue for literature of the harmed peoples", which introduced Czech literature with Lun Xun's "Jindai jiekewenxue gaiguan (An overview of modern Czech literature)", translation of an excerpt from Josef Karásek's German version *Slavische Literaturgeschichte* (History of Slavonic Literature). There were also translated introductions to the literature of Poland, Finland and Serbia, etc. Published in the same issue were translations of two poems by P. Bezruč and F. Čelakovský, as well as that of S. Čech's short story "Výlety páně Broučkovy (The Excursion)".

The periodical *Wenxue* (Literature), founded in 1933, published a 1934 special issue for "The literature of smaller nations", introducing 28 works by 26 writers from 17 countries, including Poland, Hungary, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Brazil, Argentina, etc. Translations of two Czech works, ie. K. M. Čapek-Chod's "U rotačky (At the rotary)" and J. Šimánek's "Don Juan zasněný (Don Juan Dreamy)", appeared in this issue, followed by A. Sova and F. Halas' poems later in a 1937 issue.

The Czech works translated in *Xiyang wenxue* (Western Literature) and

Dongfang zazhi (The East) are almost all short stories, by J. Neruda, K. Čapek (& J. Čapek), S. Čech, I. Herrmann and R. Svobodová, with just one exception, K. Čapek's excerpted essay "Zahradníkův rok (The Gardener's Year)". In contrast, another journal *Shi* (Poetry), as its name indicates, published exclusively poems. With 7 translated poems by 6 Czech poets, it is not matched by any other periodicals in this period.

4.3.2 Indirect translation

Another defining feature of this first phase's Czech literature translation is indirect translation. Since the first ever Chinese known to translate from Czech is Wu Qi, whose first translated work came in publication only in 1957, and our extensive paratextual (both epitextual and peritextual) and contextual examination has produced no evidence of any translators' knowledge of Czech at this time, the conclusion is that the 105 Chinese translations in the first period are all indirect. Great efforts have been taken to reconstruct the Mediating Languages used in their translation, mainly based on epitextual and contextual information about the translators' life-experience, educational background and their translation activities, combined with the information on the availability of the text in possible MLs.

Just a very small number of the translations gave explicit information about their indirectness or the MLs used. We've been able to establish some translations' directness and the MLs, in two situations: when the peritext explicitly states them (which is very rare because it is not the paratextual norm during the period), or when various epitextual and contextual materials show the translator in question knew or used just one foreign language in his/her translation activities. In reverse, we haven't been able to determine the MLs used in other translations, for two reasons: because of the lack of information about the translator concerning the languages he/she knew or used, or because epitextual and contextual material indicates that the translator knew or translated from more than one foreign language. And the Mediating Languages used are distributed as follows:

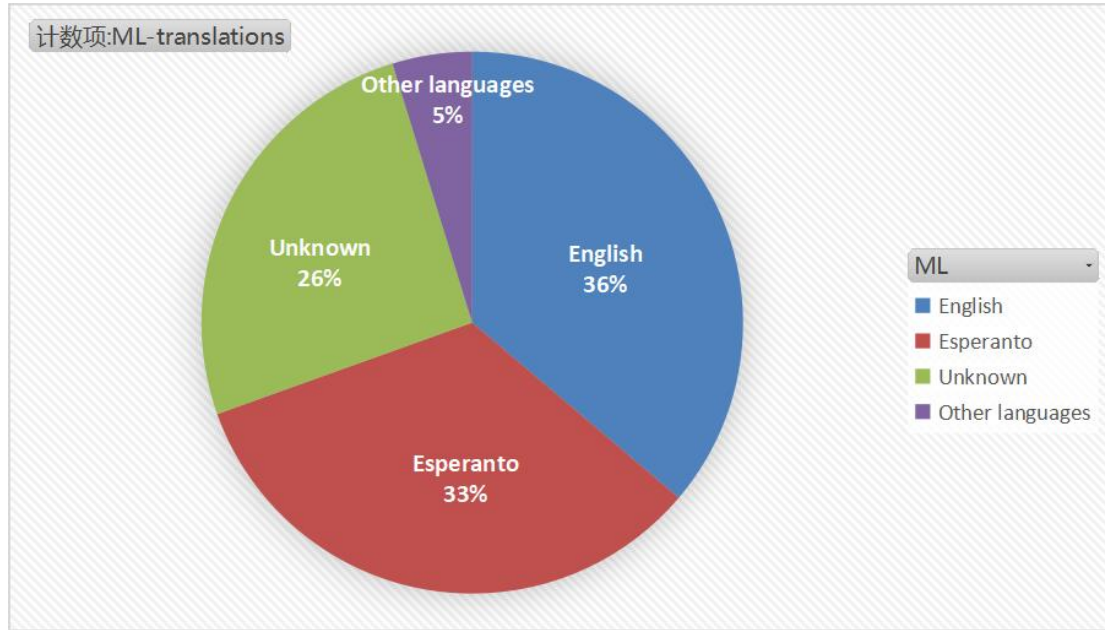


Figure 4.6 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949

There are 26% of the translations whose MLs cannot be determined, mainly because paratextual material shows that the translator knew or translated from more than one foreign languages or more than one countries' literature. In this case, there is the possibility that they might have used one of the languages, or Esperanto, but lack of more direct evidence makes it hard to identify which one it is. For example, Wu Xinghua translated from English and German languages, Cai Shi from English and French literature, Tan Weihan English and Russian literature, and Zhu Wen English, French and German. Though, generally speaking, English is more likely to be the ML they used in translating the Czech works, we think it better to refrain from making a definite conclusion, before more direct evidence is found.

With respect to retranslation rate and volume-per-translator ratio, an interesting comparison can be made between the two major mediating languages, English and Esperanto. English had a higher retranslation rate: an average Czech work was translated 1.9 times in English vs. 1.2 times in Esperanto. Esperanto had a much higher volume-per-translator ratio: each translator translated 4.4 Czech works via Esperanto compared with 1.4 works via English.

ML	works	translations	translators	Retranslation rate	Volume-per-translator ratio
English	20	39	27	1.9	1.4

Esperanto	26	31	7	1.2	4.4
-----------	----	----	---	-----	-----

Table 4.2 Comparison of English and Esperanto as MLs in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949

4.3.3 Retranslation

Another notable thing is retranslation, i.e. a work is translated more than once by different translators. Of the 60 Czech works translated in this period, 42 have just one Chinese translation, while 18 were translated more than once, which are shown as follows:

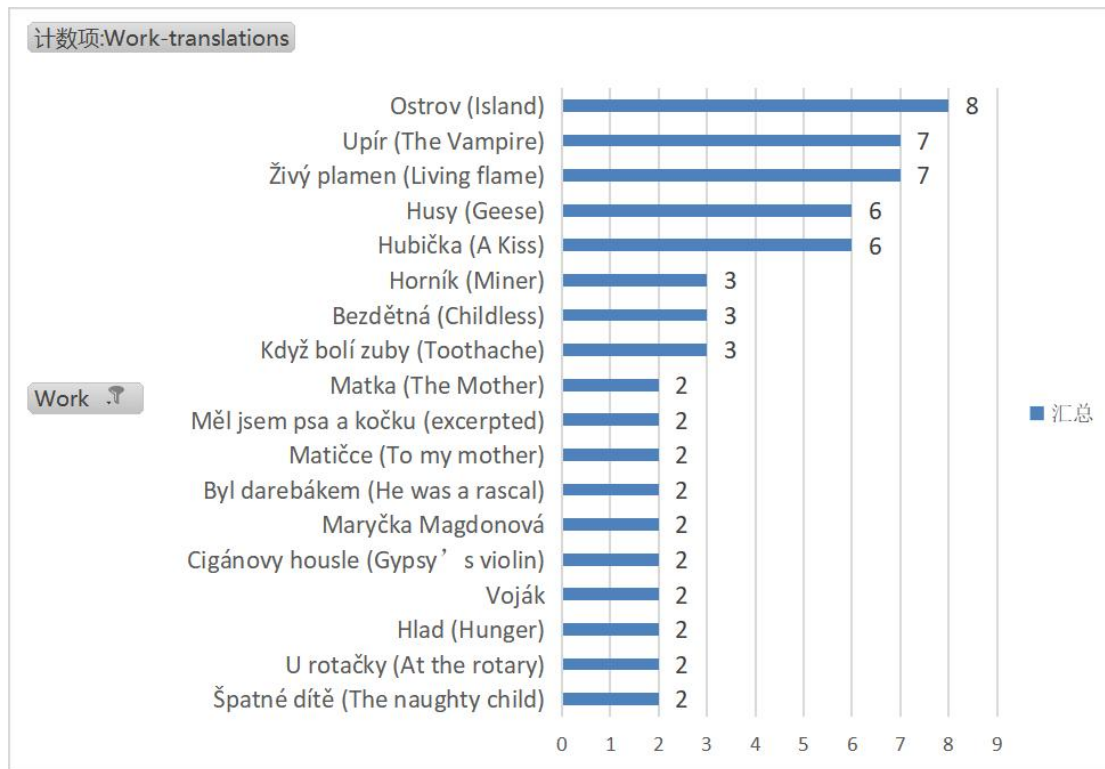


Figure 4.7 The most retranslated Czech literary works in 1921-1949 mainland China

A strong correlation can be observed between retranslation rates and genre: the most translated works are largely short stories: for example, K. Čapek & J. Čapek's "Ostrov (Island)" (8) and "Živý plamen (Living flame)" (7), and J. Neruda's "Upír (The Vampire)" (7). The two short stories by female writers, B. Viková-Kunětická's "Husy (Geese)" and K. Světlá's "Hubička (A Kiss)", were both translated 6 times by different translators. The most translated essay is K. Čapek's "Když bolí zuby (Toothache)", and the most translated poem P. Bezruč's "Horník (Miner)", both of

which came into 3 Chinese versions.

Another correlation has been found between retranslation rate and the MLs used. The most retranslated works, it turns out, were rendered via English, demonstrating the dominance of this lingua franca.

4.3.4 Textual and paratextual features

Close examination of the translations in this period reveals a wide range of textual features, which reflect the polar opposites of translation methods used in producing them. At one extreme is a very free adaptation of Karel Čapek's play *Věc Makropulos* (The Makropulos Affair), the first book-length Chinese translation of Czech literature, in 1926. It is marked on the cover as “改译”, meaning “adapted and translated”. Actually, it cannot be considered a translation in the strict sense, but more of a combination of adaptation and creation. The translator made omissions, additions and alterations to adapt to the Chinese way of thinking. The end product turned out to be a Chinese story remodeled on the Czech work, with the names of places and characters replaced by Chinese ones. At the other extreme are very literal translations (in relation to the MLs) of Czech works. Actually, they conformed so strictly to the source texts that they appear awkward and unnatural to modern Chinese readers. Between the two extremes are translations that somewhat struck a balance between acceptability and adequacy (in respect of the MLs). The language is readable, natural and not far from the modern literary Chinese used nowadays.

The paratextual materials in this time period also show heterogeneous features. First, due to the lack of translation standardization and coordination, the writers' names were presented in a wide variety of ways. Some translations gave them as they are in the original Czech language, which produced few disputes. But many, in compliance with the target norm, chose to transliterate them with Chinese characters. Though the transliterations all sounded familiar, they varied a lot in the Chinese characters selected. For example, there are 10 variations for the Chinese transliteration of Čapek (either in K. Čapek or the Čapek brothers), 7 for J. Neruda and 5 for P. Bezruč. These might cause confusion by making the readers think they are different authors. Second, most of the time the writers were marked with [捷] or [捷克] (Czech), or the full form of the country name [捷克斯洛伐克] (Czechoslovak), though in a few rare cases this information went missing. There were even the extreme cases when the text was marked as a translation but did not indicate the original author, which might be the side effect of indirect translation. Third, some translations, in books or periodicals, were published without prefatorial or

introductory paratext, as what Genette terms “naked text” (Pellatt 2018: 173). But it was more common for them to be accompanied by a short introductory passage about the writer. Sometimes a brief overview of the Czech literature was provided, including the literary context. Other times the paratext was presented on a more personal note, stating why the translator got interested in these countries’ literature and how he/she gain access to the texts. Fourth, the indirectness of Chinese translations, as a norm of this period, was not marked bibliographically. As a result, there is very limited explicit peritextual information regarding the languages or the texts used for translation. Our data about the MLs in indirect translations have been reconstructed mainly on the basis of epitextual and contextual information, including the translators’ life experience, educational background and their translation activities, combined with the information on the availability of the text in possible MLs. Fifth, some translations appeared in special issues of literary periodicals. For example, there were special issues of the literature of “oppressed peoples” or “smaller nations” in three important periodicals *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), *Wenxue* (Literature) and *Maodun yuekan* (Maodun Monthly), which involved 6 translated Czech works. The short story collections in book forms were variously marked as works “from smaller nations”, “from Central Europe”, “from the European continent”, or simply “from world literature”⁸. Sometimes the book chose its name from one of the short story titles it contained. These special issues and collection names, by presenting the texts together as belonging to the same group, might indicate a “paratextual construction of sameness” (Batchelor 2018: 38).

4.4 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: Who

The translation of Czech literature in this time period involves 64 translators, a majority of whom have just one translation. Those translators with more than one translation are shown in Figure 4.8, followed by brief introductions of the most important and prolific ones.

⁸ Some books got published as part of a series of “Short fictions from world literature” or “Short fictions from modern world literature”, etc.

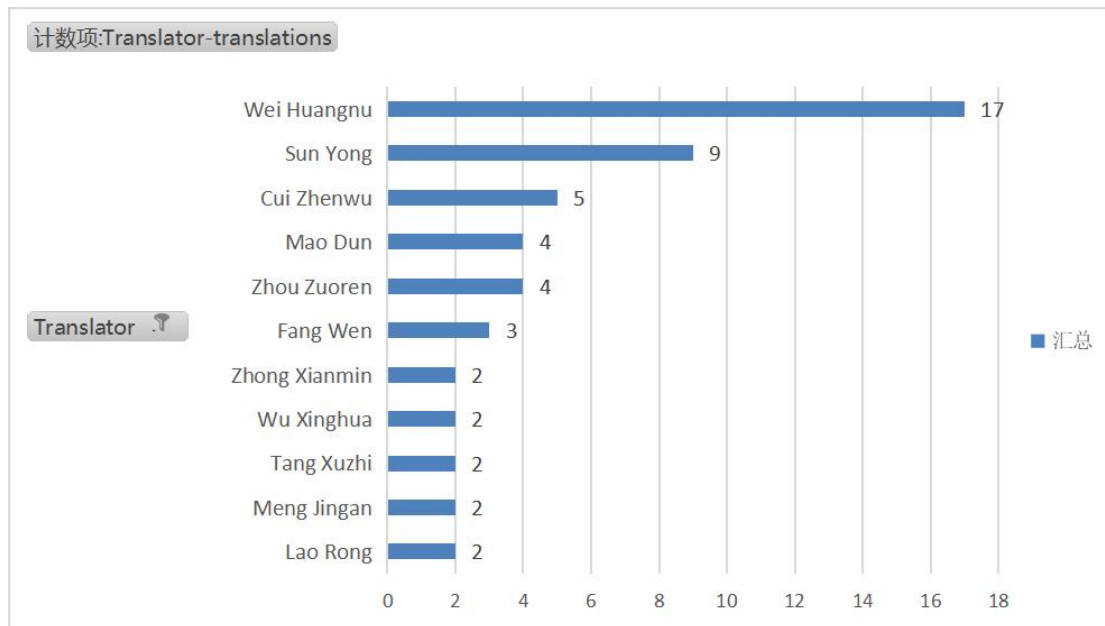


Figure 4.8 The translators with most Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949

Lu Xun (pen name of Zhou Shuren, 1881–1936): Though he translated no Czech literary works, but an excerpt from Josef Karásek’s German version *Slavische Literaturgeschichte* (History of Slavonic Literature) retitled “Jindai jiekewenxue gaiguan (An overview of modern Czech literature)”, our discussion would not be complete without mentioning Lu Xun, the leading and most ardent advocate of the introduction of Czech literature as part of the “literature of the oppressed peoples”. More than just a fiction writer, essayist, and poet, Lu Xun is generally acknowledged to be the father of modern Chinese fiction and remains a cultural icon in China. His short story “Kuangren riji (Diary of a Madman)” is the first ever written in the modern style in Chinese fiction, whose publication in May 1918 was a milestone. He left three collections of fiction and 14 collections of essays, as well as poems, translations, and scholarly work, a literary heritage that still exerts a powerful influence on Chinese writers today (Ying 2010: 122, 125). Lu Xun knew Japanese and German, and used them to translate works from different countries, mainly Russia. In the “Translator’s Words” following his translation of Josef Karásek’s introduction of Czech literature, Lu Xun wrote that “Among the Slavs, the Czechs have the most ancient people and the richest literature” (Lu 1921: 37; my translation).

Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967): Younger brother of Lu Xun (Zhou Shuren) and an essayist. Like his elder brother Lu Xun, he was a leading intellectual in the 1920s and an important writer in the New Culture Movement. His work as editor of major literary journals including *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), as wells as his essays and translations, made him an influential figure in modern Chinese literature (Ying 2010:

287). Zhou knew English, Japanese, ancient Greek and Esperanto and translated from them. The first ever Czech literary works found in Chinese, published in 1920, are four Czech folk songs Zhou translated from Esperanto, which were anonymous as part of traditional folk heritage.

Mao Dun (1896–1981): Like Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, Mao Dun is another forerunner in the New Culture Movement in the early 20th-century China. He left indelible marks in modern Chinese literature, through his own writings and his work as a translator, editor, and publisher, as a literary critic and theoretician, and later as the minister of culture from 1949 to 1964 (Ying 2010: 134). Mao Dun knew only English and most of his translations were done indirectly. The first Czech literary work in Chinese translation with its author specified is Jan Neruda's short story "Blbý Jóna (Stupid Jóna)", translated by Mao Dun as "Yuben de Qiuna" and published in 1921. Later in the same year, he translated 3 more Czech works by S. Čech, P. Bezruč and F. Čelakovský respectively, also their first time to be introduced in China.

Wei Huangnu (1918-2006): A translator, writer and later a Russian literature researcher. Wei learned Russian at college (though he translated Czech literature only from Esperanto), before becoming chief editor of literary journals and a professor at universities. When young he also taught himself Esperanto. Besides translating, he wrote and published collections of essays. Wei is the most productive Czech literature translator in our data of this period, with 17 translations involving 11 Czech writers, most of them poets. In 1949 and 1950 Wei published the first ever 3 anthologies of Czech literature in Chinese translation. These are collections of poems and/or short stories by mixed Czech authors, some of which are republications of his translations published in the first period's periodicals.

Sun Yong (1902—1983): He worked as a post office chief, middle school teacher and an editor. Sun studied English and Esperanto in his youth by himself. Besides translations, he also published some of his own poems and essays, though today he is better remembered as a translator. Sun Yong produced 9 translations of 7 Czech writers' short stories and poems, the second most after Wei Huangnu.

An examination of their life experience and career reveals a few characteristics shared by most of the translators in this period. First, they are not just translators, but most of the time also writers or editors. The earliest among them, such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun, are influential intellectuals who played a prominent role in the development of modern Chinese literature. Second, almost all of them knew English or Esperanto, and translated the Czech literary works via these, while also translating from other national literatures via either of the two languages. Third, their introduction of Czech literature mostly happened only in this first period, in the 1920s to 1940s. One notable exception is Lao Rong (we will come back to him later), whose translation of Czech literature persisted until the second period in the 1960s, and then

into the 1980s, the third phase in our survey.

4.5 Czech literature translated in 1921-1949 China: Why

4.5.1 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949

4.5.1.1 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949 Czech lands

On November 14, 1918, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) was elected the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, a post he would hold until 1935 as a result of subsequent reelections by the National Assembly. The new state included one-quarter of the population of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as one-fifth the territory and two-thirds of the industrial base (Mahoney 2011: 146). The traditional image of the First Czechoslovak Republic is “a peaceful, moderate, and stable democracy guided by a philosopher-president” (ibid.: 148). By the end of the 1920s, impressive results were achieved in the overall volume of production, with considerable growth in both industrial and agricultural productions compared with their prewar levels (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 458), which allowed the nation to enjoy a good measure of economic stability and prosperity (Mahoney 2011: 156).

In 1929, however, Europe entered a decade of crisis as a global economic crisis and the growing threat of political extremism threatened the Versailles System, with “increased support for the Communists on the left and the fascists and extremists on the right” (ibid.: 157). The economic crises of the 1930s had also intensified nationality issues, with the Sudeten German Party changing into an effective instrument of Nazi expansionist politics and Pan-Germanist ideology (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 464).

Masaryk resigned the presidency in 1935 due to health problems and Edvard Beneš was elected as the second president of Czechoslovakia in December 1935, whose faith in collective security in Europe had resulted in a 1925 agreement with France, strengthening its military commitments to Czechoslovakia in the event of a German military threat (Mahoney 2011: 155). Another treaty in 1935 with the Soviet Union guaranteed Soviet assistance in the event of a direct military threat to Czechoslovakia, but only on condition that the French fulfilled their own treaty commitments from 1925 first (ibid.: 160).

By 1936, the Czechoslovak government faced growing threats not only from an external aggressive Nazi Germany, but also from an internal German ethnic minority, which was becoming more radicalized and ready to turn to Hitler's regime for support (ibid.: 163). In the meantime, Adolf Hitler frequently accused Czechoslovakia of suppressing national rights, denounced its alleged atrocities committed against the ethnic minorities, and promised to ensure the liberation of the Sudeten Germans (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 470). On the other hand, Great Britain and France embraced a policy of appeasement in hopes of avoiding war with Nazi Germany. At the Munich Conference of September 29th 1938, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Neville Chamberlain and Édouard Daladier, the four leaders of Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France, signed an "agreement" on the ceding of the Sudetenland to Germany. The ensuing German annexation resulted in the loss of approximately 38% of the total area of the Czechoslovak Republic and 36% of its population (ibid.: 481), along with a significant proportion of Czechoslovakia's textile, glass, chemical, iron and steel production and vast reserves of lignite and black coal (Mahoney 2011: 168). The Munich Agreement, in both its content and the method of its acceptance, "represented an unprecedented breach of international law and the sovereignty of an independent state, and the trampling of all rules of civilized behaviour between states" (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 473). With its catastrophic political, economic and even moral impact, "the trauma of Munich remained in the Czech consciousness for decades" (ibid.: 474).

On October 5, 1938, with President Beneš's resignation from his office, the first Czechoslovak Republic came to an end. Beneš departed Czechoslovakia on October 22, stopping in London before continuing on to North America, where he quickly established contact with the American government and Czechoslovak émigré organizations (Mahoney 2011: 168-169). And he would remain the primary representative of Czechoslovak interests abroad (ibid.: 172). In November 1938, the Slovak autonomy was formalized and the country's name changed to "Czecho-Slovakia". On March 14th 1939, an independent Slovak Republic under Tiso's leadership was established. On March 16th, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established under the authority of a Reich Protector. Despite the disintegration of the Czecho-Slovak republic, the idea of Czechoslovak statehood lived on, and the restoration of Czechoslovakia as an independent and sovereign state within its pre-Munich borders became the unifying element of their activities and the ultimate goal for many social classes and resistance groups (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 489).

Open repression by the occupiers soon followed, with thousand of Czech citizens arrested and transported to concentration camps in 1939, and the closing of Czech universities in November, as a means of suppressing opposition and criticism among the Czech intelligentsia (Mahoney 2011: 173). But the mass demonstrations and organized resistance persisted. At the same time, Czechs and Slovaks abroad began

organizing military units. Czechoslovak pilots and soldiers contributed to battles in Europe and over the Atlantic, such as the defense of France and the Battle of Britain in 1940 (ibid.: 174). Czechoslovak resistance abroad, especially the formation of a Czechoslovak army abroad under the Czechoslovak National Committee (ČSNV) established in October 1939, played an unusually significant role, because it influenced the process of recognizing the right of Czechoslovakia to revive itself (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 494). The Czechoslovak government in exile was recognized by the British government and the United States of America in July 1941; the signing of a Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement in the same month recognized the republic in its pre-Munich form, without restrictions or conditions (ibid.: 496). The resistance inside the Protectorate culminated in the assassination of the deputy Reich Protector Reinhard Heydrich on May 27th, 1942, who died several days later as a result of his wounds (ibid.: 497). The successful assassination triggered immediate and violent response from the Nazi, who in the following weeks arrested and executed thousands of Czechs and slaughtered the citizens in the villages of Lidice and Ležáky (Mahoney 2011: 179).

In 1942 the Munich Agreement was declared as invalid by the British government in August and by the French National Committee representative in London, General Charles de Gaulle, in September (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 498). In December 1943, Beneš's signing with the Soviet government of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Cooperation marked another important step in Beneš's diplomatic plans, providing critical guarantees of national independence and the prevention of another Munich betrayal (Mahoney 2011: 181). With the departure of the Germans and the surrender of the Reich government to the Western Allies and the Soviets on May 7–8, World War II reached an end in the Czech Lands (ibid.: 191). Between 1938 and 1945, an estimated 360,000 Czechoslovak nationals lost their lives through the actions of the German occupiers (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 522).

The years 1945 to 1948 represent a pivotal period in the history of Czechoslovakia, when domestically the Communist Party emerged as the strongest political party in post-war Czechoslovakia, and internationally the USSR was showing growing interest in shaping the state policies of Czechoslovakia as one of the countries belonging to its sphere of interest (ibid.: 511-512).

The nationalization of the industrial and banking sectors was implemented in October 1945, championed mainly by the Communists and Social Democrats. Another major component of the economic transformation in post-war Czechoslovakia was land reform. The year 1947 had a far-reaching implication for Czechoslovakia, for two things: the change of Soviet political focus from Germany towards the USA as its enemy, and the rejection at the Cominform meeting of a Czech parliamentary path to socialism (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 536-537). The government

crisis in February 1948 led to the collapse of parliamentary democracy in Czechoslovakia and the establishment of a Soviet-style socialist state (ibid.: 551). The takeover of power by the Communist Party was followed by the launch of a new wave of nationalization, with the result that privately-owned businesses virtually ceased to exist, and the state assumed a monopoly in the economy. These had a negative impact on the future of the Czechoslovak economy (ibid.: 556).

4.5.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1921-1949 China

On January 1, 1912, Sun Yat-sen was installed as the first president of the new Republic of China. Despite his very brief presidency and the fact that he seldom held real power, Sun Yatsen was “the most influential of the Chinese revolutionaries who sought to regenerate their nation by removing foreign control and reasserting China's independent character” (Lynch 2010: 17) and remains “the only modern Chinese leader respected by all Chinese” (Lary 2006: 4). There were afterwards two attempts to restore the imperial system, including one by the second president, Yuan Shikai, whose death in 1916 ushered in the chaotic period of the warlords with an enfeebled central government authority. Some major regional warlords were supported by different foreign powers, like the British and Japan.

China's intellectuals, who had been disillusioned by the failure of the 1911 Revolution and the Republic to achieve real advances for the country, were further dismayed by the news of China's humiliation at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 (Lynch 2010: 37). Despite the fact that China, as a response to the appeal of the Allied powers, declared war on Germany in August 1917 and sent a body of some 200,000 laborers to the Western front, the victorious Allies, gathered at Versailles in France, informed the Chinese that Germany's concessionary rights in China's Shandong province were not to be returned to China but were to be transferred instead to Japan (ibid.: 38). This was a direct reneging on the commitment made by the Allies which had persuaded China to enter the First World War on their side. The Chinese delegation refused to accept the settlement but their protests were simply ignored. The news from Paris sparked angry street demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919 and then around the nation. The May 4th Movement was an important part of the New Culture Movement, a watershed in Chinese modern history, which called for fundamental reforms in China's language, literature, culture and society. It also played an important part in Chinese politics by preparing the ground for the reorganisation of the GMD (Chinese Nationalist Party) in 1919 and the creation of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) in 1921 (ibid.: 37-39).

As Diana Lary said (2006: 10), for most of the duration of the Republic era,

warfare determined the course of events, first the rule of the warlords (1916-27), then the GMD's unification efforts against the warlords and its encirclement campaigns against the Communists (1927-37), then the Japanese invasion and occupation (1937-45), and finally the resumed Civil War between the GMD and the CCP (1945-49).

The Nationalist government under Chiang Kaishek, despite its recognition by the Western powers and the Soviet Union as the legitimate government of China, had proved unable to tackle China's most urgent social and economic problems (Lynch 2010: 69). Many regions were still under the control of warlords, who refused to obey orders from the central government, or to remit tax revenue (Lary 2006: 90). The Communists were confined to some poor rural areas, usually on the borders between provinces. Furthermore, the government's heavy dependence on foreign support led to China's reliance on foreigners, particularly in economic and financial matters (Lynch 2010: 64). The Chinese troops were vastly inferior in terms of equipment and training, compared with their counterparts in the west or Japan.

Japan's occupation of China's northeast Manchuria in 1931 was a prelude to its full-blown invasion into China's heartland in 1937. In the early years of the war China was quite alone on the international plane, having no hope of any outside help (Lary 2006: 121). The western powers "recognized and paid verbal tributes to Chiang Kaishek as leader of the Chinese people in their resistance to the aggressor", but "Western commercial links with Japan were maintained" (Lynch 2010: 105). As pointed out by Michael Lynch, the Western oil companies' volume of trade with Japan actually increased between 1937 and 1941 "as they sought to cash in on Japan's growing military need for fuel" (ibid.).

Japan, Germany and Italy signed an anti-Communist protocol in November 1937, before establishing the Axis in September 1940. In December 1937, after spirited resistance and the refusal of its defenders to surrender, the then Chinese capital Nanjing eventually fell to the Japanese attackers. What followed was "one of the worst atrocities in twentieth-century warfare" (Lynch 2010: 108), known as the Nanking Massacre or the Rape of Nanking. During "a sustained month-long programme of murder and terror", 300,000 Chinese people were slaughtered, and 20,000 girls and women were serially raped regardless of their age (ibid.). The savage atrocities of the Japanese after the fall of Nanjing appalled international opinion. It has to be pointed out that the Japanese war crimes happened not just in China, but in Korea and Southeast Asian countries they invaded in the WWII as well. As a matter of fact, the issue of "comfort women" (females from the conquered countries forced to work in the brothels specially set up for the Japanese troops) remains to this day a major sore point in the South Korean-Japanese relations.

By the end of 1938, China was divided into a series of different zones, each

under a different regime. The official GMD government of China, which had moved its capital in Chongqing, controlled the vast interior of western and southern China. The communists, whose base areas were scattered through north China, usually in the remote border regions between provinces, claimed Yan'an, a city in northwestern China, to be their capital. Japan established several collaborative puppet regimes in the occupied areas of China. Meanwhile, the International Settlement and the French Concession in Shanghai, an area of ten square miles encircled by Japanese armies, which came to be called the "solitary island (gudao)", was home to 4 million people, many of them Chinese refugees from occupied China. Apart from the full-scale battles, resistance in the form of guerrilla warfare were carried out throughout Occupied China. Many parts, therefore, were under no permanent control and contested for the duration of the war (Lary 2006: 129).

The Sino-Japanese War, after Japan's Pearl Harbor attack on the US Pacific fleet and the American declaration of war on Japan on December 8th 1941, entered its second phase and became part of World War II. From that time on, China was seen by the Allies as a chief means of defeating Japan and was supplied with vast resources to turn it into a base of operations (Lynch 2010: 115). Four years and tens of millions of casualties later, Japan's surrender, following the atomic bombing by the USA, brought the war to an end in August 1945, a form of defeat which gave "a sour taste to the victory in China" (Lary 2006: 146). The Japanese troops' death toll in the eight-year Chinese war is estimated at 440,000, 39% of their total loss in WWII; China suffered some 35,000,000 casualties, most of them civilians.

With the end of the Japanese war, the resumption of an intermittent civil war was imminent between the GMD (nationalists) and the CCP (communists), who had formed a United Front against the warlords in 1924-1927 and then a second alliance against the Japanese in the 1930s and 40s. The US president Truman, in 1945, sent General George Marshall to China, to try to broker a power-sharing deal and a GMD-CCP coalition (Lynch 2010: 120). However, the two parties' mutual distrust was too deep to resolve, and in June 1946 the truce finally broke down, with the GMD beginning a major campaign to recover the Communist-controlled Manchuria.

At the beginning all the advantages seemed to lie with the GMD under Chiang Kaishek, who enjoyed the support of the USA, in the form of millions of dollars worth of military equipment and 55,000 US marines as military advisers (ibid.: 125). Yet, as it turned out, despite the U.S. support and their greatly superior troop numbers, the Nationalists failed to secure the eventual victory. British historian Michael Lynch attributes the GMD's failure to "the poor showing of the GMD militarily, politically and economically" and the fact that they "had long since forfeited the support of the majority of the Chinese people" (ibid.). With the loss of the mainland, the Republic of China government and its remaining GMD forces led by Chiang Kaishek retreated to the island of Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Communist Party of China took over all of

mainland China and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949.

4.5.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1921-1949

Due to the limited numbers of official historical documents on the relationship between the Republic of Czechoslovakia and the Republic of China, we decide to resort to another source: the periodicals and newspapers in the Republic of China era, both literary and non-literary ones, especially those on current affairs, which reflected the Chinese attention to the Czech lands at that time. The Republic of China, founded in 1911, and the Republic of Czechoslovakia, founded in 1918, established diplomatic relations only on Feb 12th 1930, when they also signed a bilateral commercial agreement in Nanjing, the then Chinese capital (Shi 1996: 148).

Yet examination of the Republic era periodicals and newspapers shows Chinese attention to this distant people started right before the establishment of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in 1918, when 22 news articles reported on the Czech legion who fought in Russia during the First World War. This interest stemmed from the fact that China also took part in the war on the side of the Allies (see Section 4.5.1.2). In the 1920s there were 306 articles on Czechoslovakia. Apart from current news and literary translations, these also include introductions of Czechoslovak parliamentary, legal and educational systems. In early 1931, Chiang Kaishek, then president of the Republic of China (ROC), met the first Czechoslovak ambassador to his country. On Aug 13th 1931, the embassy of the ROC was set up in Prague, which after Nazi Germany's control of Czechoslovakia was closed in 1939.

The year 1938 saw an explosion of articles on Czechoslovakia, due to the Munich Conference's significant implications for the looming world war. Of the 3217 newspaper and periodical articles in the thirty years from 1918 to 1949, 774 were published in 1938, almost a fourth of the total. As a "smaller and weaker" people itself despite its size, the Chinese had learned what it felt to face overwhelming aggression in a hostile world, and what it felt to be betrayed by so-called allies. Chinese newspapers and periodicals reported on the whole process with sympathy, and later disappointment, and finally doubt that Great Britain and French's appeasement of Nazi Germany by abandoning Czechoslovakia would satisfy the insatiable appetite of a fascist aggressor. On Aug 26th 1941, the Republic of China's government acknowledged the exile Czechoslovak government headed by president Edward Beneš, and reestablished an embassy in London, before moving it to Prague the following year.

Another smaller peak of published articles about Czechoslovakia was in 1948. The 228 articles this year, though not comparable with the 774 in 1938, more than

doubled the 100 articles in 1947 and tripled the 63 in 1946. On the threshold of a socialist political system itself, the Chinese press took renewed interest in the economic and political transformations in the Czech lands, especially the February takeover of power by the Communists. The comments ranged from the leftist hailing of the event as “a triumph of the people” to the rightist lamentation that “Czechoslovakia has been ruined by communism”. In October 1949 when the People’s Republic of China established diplomatic relationship with the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the embassy of the Republic of China government, already moved to Taiwan, was closed (Song & Ding 2015: 257).

4.5.2 Literary norms in 1921-1949 China

4.5.2.1 Publishing industry and literary periodicals

This historical period was marked by the flourishing of China’s modern publishing industry, another sub-system in the polysystem intersecting with the literary system, which emerged as a result of the mass replacement of traditional wooden block printing and lithography by movable-type printing, a more advanced technology imported from the West (see Brokaw & Chow 2005, and Deng 2009). According to Deng (2009: 69), in 1872-1949, 4194 literary periodicals were created in China. The time period 1921-1949 under examination is one when new literary journals in the country mushroomed. Their numbers went up from 475 in 1917-1927, to 1490 in 1928-1937, and then to 2027 in 1938-1949 (ibid.: 15, 70). Many of the literary journals combined native works with translations of foreign ones and introductory articles about foreign literatures, authors and their works. Though mostly short-lived, they acted as a chief venue for the publication of literature, including translated literature. That’s why Deng (2009: 62) claims that Chinese literature in late Qing Dynasty and the republican period centered around periodicals and newspapers. It also explains why the majority of translated Czech literary works in 1921-1949 appeared in periodicals.

4.5.2.2 Rise of fiction in the literary system

Literary system, like any other systems, is characterized on the synchronic axis by the permanent competition between the various sections, or strata, for the central position,

and on the diachronic axis by the victory of one over another (Even-Zohar 1990: 14). With regard to the Chinese literary system, it was traditionally identified with poetry and essays, which belonged to the canonized literature in the central stratum. Their literary norms, models and texts were accepted as superior by the dominant circles within the native culture, and their conspicuous products are preserved to become part of the historical heritage. By contrast, fiction was part of the non-canonized literature, with its norms and texts rejected by the dominant circles as vulgar and inferior, and its products often forgotten in the long run by the community. What's more, the study of traditional Chinese literature was focused on poetry, along with essays. There was, however, a dramatic shift at the turn of the 20th century, which saw the elevation of fiction in its status as a literary genre, regarded by some scholars as the mark of the transition from Chinese classic literature to a modern one (Deng 2009: 20).

The rise of fiction in the early 20th Chinese literature was largely credited to the “Xiaoshuo geming (Fiction Revolution)” in 1902 advocated by Liang Qichao, who overthrew the traditional hierarchy of literature and promoted fiction to the highest position, considering it the most important vehicle of renewing the country and renovating the people of a nation. Not only did Liang Qichao championed the ideas of “new fiction” in theory, he also made great endeavors in practice, translating and writing political fictions, and establishing the first modern Chinese fiction journal *Xin xiaoshuo* (New Fiction) (Jiang 2006: 49). Despite their utilitarian attitude in viewing fiction as a tool of social reform, Liang and his allies contributed to the removal of the prejudice against fiction, opening the way for an unprecedented upsurge of fiction writing and translating. For example, in the four years 1906-1909, 278 fiction books were published in China, a five-fold increase from the 50 books in the previous four years 1902-1905 (Deng 2009: 22). Many of the literary periodicals launched in the same period were devoted entirely to fiction (both Chinese and foreign), as indicated by their names: *Xin xiaoshuo* (New Fiction), *Xiuxiang Xiaoshuo* (Illustrated Fictions), *Xiaoshuo shijie* (Fiction World), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), *Xinxin xiaoshuo* (Latest Fiction), to name but a few. When it comes to Czech literature, the abundance of short stories is linked to the fact that they were mostly published in periodicals, whose limited space turned out to be more suitable for short fictions.

4.5.2.3 Coexistence of heterogenous literary norms

Norms are believed to “translate general values or ideas shared by a community into performance ‘instructions’ for concrete situations, to specify what is culturally appropriate and what is inappropriate, thus giving rise to strategies of action and lending them both form and justification” (Toury 2012: 63). In this sense, Lefevere’s (2010: 26-27) concept of “poetics”, which concerns “what the role of literature is, or

should be, in the social system as a whole”, can be seen as a fundamental part of a society’s literary norm. Lefevere also identifies a double control factor in the literary system: the “professional” within it, including the critics, reviewers, teachers, translators, and the “patronage” outside of it, represented by persons, groups or institutions with the powers to “further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (ibid.: 14, 15). In a literary system with “differentiated patronage”, i.e., “when the economic component remains independent of the ideological one,” competing critical schools will try to elaborate their own canons conforming to their poetics or ideology, and establish these canons as the only “real” one (ibid.: 29). This was what happened in the early 20th century China: different literary communities promoting rival poetics, with their own idea of “what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole” (ibid.: 26-27).

Literary Research Society (Wenxue yanjiu hui), founded in 1921, was one of the earliest literary organizations in the 20th century China, as well as the country’s most influential literary association in the 1920s, attracting a large number of well-known writers and intellectuals, many of whom also translated foreign literature. Literary Research Society was an ardent promoter of “wenxue wei rensheng (literature for life)”, “a literature that offered realistic portrayals of contemporary life and sober examinations of social problems in an attempt to advance changes in society” (Ying 2010: 112). It used its publications, notably the literary periodical *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), to introduce foreign literature to its members and the general public, particularly realist works from Russia and the so-called “oppressed peoples”⁹. For example, writers whose works the Literary Research Society translated included Russian writers such as Leo Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov, Maxim Gorky, Ivan Turgenev, and those from smaller nations like Jan Neruda, Karel Čapek, Henrik Ibsen, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Rabindranath Tagore, Hans Christian Andersen, and many others. In a similar vein, the Left-wing Association of Chinese Writers, the most influential literary organization later during the 1930s, promoted a “revolutionary literature” with the explicit purpose of effecting political and social change.

By contrast, there are other literary organizations and writers who put more emphasis on the artistic aspect of literature. The most notable example is the Creation Society, especially in the early stage since its establishment in 1921, when it promoted “art for art’s sake” value and stressed the individualistic and romantic aspects of literary expression. A famous debate took place in 1925 between it and the Literary Research Society, on the nature and direction of literature. The Creation Society were actively engaged in translating masterpieces of various genres like symbolism, futurism, and expressionism, etc., and demonstrated a preference for Romanticism.

⁹ Its focus on these did not preclude its members, who naturally had personal preferences, from translating works from other countries or of other schools, such as those by Roman Roland, Guy de Maupassant, Lord Byron and Oscar Wilde, etc.

Classics by prominent literary figures, such as Lord Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Walt Whitman and Oscar Wilde, accounted for a large proportion of their translations (see Guo 1998). Other writers leaning toward the artistic function of literature included Zhou Zuoren and Lin Yutang of the Yu si she (Language Society), and Liang Shiqiu of the Xinyue she (Crescent Moon Society), among others. They displayed a belief in the aesthetic purpose of literature in their creative writing and translation, and tended to keep a distance from the burning social and political issues.

The Butterfly School (Yuanyang hudie pai) refers to middlebrow romantic fiction writers in the early 20th century, who saw literature as purely a venue of entertainment, as opposed to the New Culture leaders who regarded it as an artistic expression of the self or a realistic portrayal of life. Although rejected by the elite, the Butterfly School writers enjoyed popular success (Ying 2010: 133), by catering to the taste of the populace. They specialized in writing popular fiction, particularly love stories and romances, a kind of commercial art seeking to entertain the common readers, most of whom merely took up literature as a way of entertaining themselves or escaping from the complex social circumstances (Jiang 2006: 56). The translating activities conducted by the Butterfly school were more focused on western contemporary literature.

The coexistence of heterogeneous poetics and literary preferences in this period led to the diversity in the foreign literature translated, though the realist literary norm became increasingly the mainstream, with China entering the war-torn years of the 1930s and 40s.

4.5.2.4 “Literature of the oppressed peoples”

“Literature of the oppressed peoples” is an important concept in the studies of modern Chinese literature as well as Chinese translation history. But it has remained a vague concept in that there has been a lack of widely acknowledged definition or even a commonly accepted term. It has been referred to in various studies as “literature of smaller nations” or “literature of the harmed peoples”, etc. Examination reveals some notable features of this notion.

First, “the oppressed peoples” is an extensive concept with a wide scope. Generally speaking, it covers most of the world’s nations and peoples in Europe, Asia, Latin-America and Africa, except for a few imperialist powers including Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the United States and later Italy and Japan. Hua Lu reckons that, in the 2 billion people in the 1920s world, it covered about 1.6 billion, who were politically, economically and culturally under the oppression of those dominant

powers (1934: 790).

Second, it is a dynamic concept changing with time. Italy and Japan were considered the oppressed peoples before the 1930s when they were relatively weak and facing the aggression of western powers, but ceased to be so when they became imperialist oppressors themselves¹⁰.

Third, the conception is subjective, motivated by the dominant ideology of the time in the target Chinese culture: keen awareness of an existential crisis and the necessity of self-strengthening in the face of imperialist aggression. In this case, it is the target culture and its concerns that determined which aspect of a foreign culture was stressed, which was not because the foreign cultures in question necessarily felt “oppressed” in any inherent sense, but because they had been assigned this quality: namely, from the recipient vantage point.

Fourth, the promotion of “literature of the oppressed peoples” tended to result in a partial and slanted representation of the source literatures. For example, He Chengzhou (2001: 199) observed that, of the 39 translated Norwegian literature in books in the Republican era, 24 were by Henrik Ibsen. In the 1920s, some of Ibsen’s problem plays came in more than one Chinese translation, such as *An Enemy of the People* (two) and *A Doll's House* (three), whereas none of his verse plays were translated (ibid.). That’s why some felt that Ibsen was “appropriated” for sociopolitical use and turned into a social reformer, with inadequate attention paid to the literary aspects of his works. Nonetheless, the literature’s effects on modern Chinese society were real, as Qi claims: “it would be hard to imagine where women in China would be today, sociopolitically and economically [...] without them having seen Nora leaving the doll house with a door slam” (2012: 82)¹¹. On the other hand, one paradoxical fact is that in a world dominated by a few major cultures and a time when knowledge of minor languages were almost nonexistent, the choice was often not between “partial” translations or “complete” translations, but between translations

¹⁰ Russia, another strong power, is somewhat special in that its literature was mainly “for life”, concerned with social problems and giving voice to the oppressed in the lower class. Hence Lu Xun’s remarks in one of his essays: “[...] Then I knew that Russian literature was our teacher and friend, because I saw in it the kind soul of the oppressed as well as their sufferings and struggles” (Lu 2005: 473). That’s why Russian literature has generally been seen as belonging to the “literature of the oppressed peoples”, though the country itself was not exactly one of “the oppressed peoples”.

¹¹ The conception of “oppressed peoples” is subjective, motivated by the dominant ideology of the time in the target Chinese culture: keen awareness of an existential crisis and the necessity of social reforms and self-strengthening in the face of imperialist aggression. Therefore, there is a close connection between the literature of “oppressed peoples” and realism. That’s why translations of the Norwegian literature, which also belonged to “literature of the oppressed peoples”, were mostly of Ibsen’s problem plays, in line with the social reformist ideals in the early 20th century China.

or no translations. Anyway, it is safe to say that without promotion of “literature of the oppressed peoples”, the landscape of Czech literary translation history in republican China would be much more barren than it is today.

Fifth, there is no one single feature shared by all “oppressed peoples”, and attempts have been made to sub-categorize them. Hua Lu in his 1934 essay divided “the oppressed peoples” into three groups (1934: 789-792): the peoples of color in colonies or semi-colonies, who were oppressed politically, economically and culturally by the western powers, such as Indians in Asia and black peoples in Africa; the ethnically minor peoples within some countries, who had lost political independence but still retained it culturally or economically, and refused to be assimilated by the dominant ethnic groups in the same country, such as the Irish people in the United Kingdom, the Catalans in Spain, the Armenians in the then Soviet Union, and the Flemings in Belgium; the smaller national countries newly-emergent after WWI, who were politically independent but whose economic and cultural development were still constrained by the dominance of world powers, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Finland, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Latin-American countries, and many others. Song Binghui argues that the Chinese feelings towards the “oppressed peoples” could be mixed: sympathetic towards those who were still under total control of imperialist and colonial powers, and inspired by those who had obtained political independence (Song 2003: 7). When it comes to the then Czechoslovakia, it apparently belonged to the newly-independent smaller nations from whom China could draw inspiration.

Last but not least, the term “oppressed peoples”, “harmed peoples” or “smaller nations” indicated no condescension but genuine empathy on the part of the advocates of their literatures’ introduction to China. This is shown by some of their comments:

The qualities of human nature which are crushed but remains are the truly valuable. ... Their harmed and crushed souls move us, because we are sad that we ourselves are also the victim of unfair systems; their souls standing firm after being crushed move us even more, because it convinces us that gold can be found in the debris of human nature, and that there’s light at the end of the tunnel.

(Mao 2001: 401-402; my translation)

Having seen many harmed peoples in the world, such as the Polish, the Czech and the Jews, all have their immortal art and literature, I believe that the Chinese people, even when one day we are broken and devoured by the powers, must and will have our own immortal art and literature, which will nourish and revitalize the spirit of our people, until it comes into new life and rise again.

(Mao 1921: 1; my translation)

4.5.3 Translation norms in 1921-1949 China

4.5.3.1 Text selection

Examinations have revealed the main contributing factors behind the selection of Czech literary texts and themes to be translated: the poetics, the socio-historical context, and the restriction of the MLs.

The introduction of Czech literature as part of the “literature of the oppressed peoples”, championed by the Literature Research Society, who was also a strong promoter of realist literature, explains why a majority of the Czech writers and their works translated in this time period are national-based or social-oriented, including those that are social-critical (Petr Bezruč’s poems, Svatopluk Čech’s poems and satirical fictions, Josef Svatopluk Machar’s poems, etc.), those dealing with urban life of Prague, especially the life of the lower classes (Jan Neruda, Ignát Herrman and Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod’s short stories) and rural life (Karolína Světlá’s fictions), those that are folk-based (František Čelakovský and Josef Václav Sládek’s poems), plus works of the patriotic poetry by František Halas and the proletarian poetry by Jiří Wolker. Actually, these fit perfectly the comments by Irene Elber that, for the New Culture intellectuals represented by Lu Xun and others, “works that dealt with social injustice and oppression, national identity and emancipation, the urban poor and the toiling peasants were particularly attractive” (1985: 127).

Another important social theme is feminism and women’s status in society, as shown in the selection of Czech works by women writers (Karolína Světlá, Božena Viková-Kunětická, and Růžena Svobodová’s short stories) (though they cannot be considered feminists in the current sense of the word, these female authors contributed to the thinking about the position of women), along with Josef Svatopluk Machar’s satirical verse novel. This is because the emancipation of women and gender equality was a significant component of the modernization agenda of the New Culture Movement, which sought to transform China into a modern nation. The popularity of the theme was testified by the huge success of Ibsen’s play *A Doll’s House*, with its main character Nora becoming synonymous with awakened and liberated women (Ying 2010: 209). In fact, Božena Viková-Kunětická’s “Husy (Geese)” and Karolína Světlá’s “Hubička (A Kiss)”, both translated 6 times, were among the most retranslated Czech works in this period.

As far as literary schools are concerned, besides the works with realist and national orientation that belonged to the Ruchovci (or National School) and The Májovci (May School), other literary schools can also be found, such as Vrchlický’s poems representing the more “cosmopolitan” Lumír school keen to absorb Western

European trends, and poems by the impressionist poet Antonín Sova. What's more, variations in themes can be observed, especially in the translations of Karel Čapek's detective short stories, his essays about the ordinary and the everyday such as toothache and cat, as well as his light-hearted *The Gardener's Year* (*Zahradníkův rok*), a year-round guide to gardening. These varieties reflect the heterogeneous co-existing poetics in the period under survey, though they were limited in numbers. On the other hand, this limitation, as is the striking absence of some important Czech literary schools, such as the Romantic poets Karel Jaromír Erben and Karel Hynek Mácha, the Symbolist poet Otokar Březina, the Decadents like Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic and Karel Hlaváček, the Poetists like Vítězslav Nezval and Jaroslav Seifert, and the Catholics, shows the aforementioned (see Section 4.5.2.4) partial and slanted representation of the "literature of oppressed peoples" (though it must be admitted that in many cases the absence is also related to those authors' unavailability in the mediating languages).

Another noteworthy phenomenon, which demonstrates the influence of the socio-historical context, is the emergence of war-themed or anti-war works in the 1930s and 1940s, especially following the breakout of a full-scale war between China and fascist Japan in 1937 which later became part of the WWII. Wang Jiankai, for example, estimated that, among the British and American literary works imported into China between 1937 and 1945, those with subject matter of war accounted for nearly a third (2003: 210). The Czech examples in our data are Karel Čapek's anti-fascist plays *Bílá nemoc* (The White Disease) and *Matka* (The Mother), Jaroslav Hašek's war satire *The Good Soldier Švejk*, František Halas' patriotic poems, and Julius Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows).

To sum up, the "literature of oppressed peoples" promotion explains the dominance of social-oriented or national-based Czech works in republican China, as well as the slanted nature of the introductory activities in this period. On the other hand, the coexistence of heterogeneous poetics in the target literary norms underlies the presence of alternative literary schools and themes. Furthermore, literary translation trends and the emergence of particular themes in a period, such as war, can be a reflection of the concrete socio-historical context. Finally, if we take into account the fact that the 1921-1949 Czech-Chinese translations were exclusively indirect, then it becomes clear that they were not just conditioned by the access in the original culture and the needs in the target culture, but also their availability in the mediating cultures/languages (chiefly English and Esperanto, in this case).

4.5.3.2 Translated literature in the literary polysystem

According to Even-Zohar (1990: 47), translated literature, which is normally relegated to a peripheral place, can assume the central position in a literary polysystem, in three major cases, “which are basically various manifestations of the same law”:

- (a) When a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is “young,” in the process of being established;
- (b) when a literature is either “peripheral” (within a large group of correlated literatures) or “weak,” or both; and
- (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature.

Actually, these three cases all applied to the Chinese literature at the turn of 20th century. From the viewpoint of the Chinese literature itself, it was undergoing a “turning point” from classical literature to a modern literature, due to crises in the socio-political context. With regard to the Chinese modern literature, it was “young” and yet to be established. Lastly, from the perspective of literatures in the world, Chinese literature was “peripheral” within the group of correlated world literatures.

It was previously noted that the focus of modern Chinese translation history started with western science and technology, before shifting to social sciences and literature. When translated literature maintains a peripheral position, Even-Zohar points out (1990: 48-49), it becomes a major factor of conservatism, adhering to traditionally dominant norms in the target literature. From a linguistic standpoint, early literary translators stuck to using the long-established classical Chinese, the sanctioned classical style of language for formal and public communication by the literati and the scholar-official class (Qi 2012: xii). Some later shifted to a combination of classical and vernacular Chinese. Meanwhile, the prevalence of non-adequate translations showed free translation, rather than close adherence to the original, to be the translation norm during this early stage. Translators felt free to make deletions or additions to the original, and it was also common for some of them to make comments wherever they felt necessary. There can be a few explanations for the tendency of free translation and adaptation in the early 1900s. The first concerns the aptitude of translators at that time. For late Qing translators who generally had a poor mastery of foreign languages, abridging and adapting was a convenient way of solving the problems in translation, not to mention there were translators like Lin Shu who knew no foreign languages and depended on collaborators in the process of rendition. Secondly, translators were pretty safe from criticism from readers, few of whom were qualified to point out errors. As a matter of fact, accuracy was not the primary consideration of readers, who tended to extol the virtue of reading well (Pollard 1998: 11-12). Thirdly, the influence of the mediating texts and culture should not be overlooked. For example, the Japanese translations had acted as the primary intermediary in Late Qing importation of western literature. Given that free translation

and adaptation were in vogue in the Meiji era Japan, a considerable proportion of deviations from the original was caused by following the doctored Japanese versions (Jiang 2006: 53). Finally, translations in this early stage did not even claim to be accurate for the most part (ibid.). They were described in the peritexts as “yishu” (translated and narrated), “bianyi” (edited and translated) or “jiyi” (adapted and translated). The first book-length Chinese translation of Czech literature, *Changsheng jue* based on Karel Čapek’s *Věc Makropulos* (The Makropulos Affair), demonstrates the residue of this translation norm, already outdated and relegated to the periphery at the time of its publication in 1926.

Even-Zohar talked about the “lack” of a repertoire in the target literature, which may then “be filled, wholly or partly, by translated literature” (1990: 47). And Toury talked about target cultures resorting to translating “precisely as a way of filling in gaps” (2012: 21). It’s only that, in the case of foreign literature translation in republican China, the gaps range from mere textual entities to literary models, and to the literary language itself.

The New Culture proponents called for the establishment of a new literature, written not in classical Chinese, but in the vernacular Chinese, which would be accessible to the broad masses, not just the intellectual elite. So one task for the translated literature, at the service of the “young” literary system, was “to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue”, and “to make it serviceable as a literary language” (Even-Zohar 1990: 47). As with many other nations (cf. Laura Ivaska & Outi Paloposki 2018), translation played an important role in the formation of the modern Chinese literary language. Lu Xun and his allies subscribed to the idea that linguistic Europeanisation, through the literal translation method, which “introduces not only new content but also new means of expression” (Lu 2004: 159), could help fill the perceived gaps in the Chinese language (Lee 2018: 248). With the Europeanized style gradually gaining acceptance, the literary language used for writing and translation began to show visible changes, for example, “the sentences were becoming much longer, more complex, with introduction of modifying phrases and clauses; the patterns became more varied with use of the passive voice and moods (real condition versus subjunctive)” (Qi 2012: 70). That’s why many of this period’s Chinese translations of Czech literature, by using the sometimes extreme literal translation method, are filled with Europeanized syntactical structures that a modern Chinese reader would find difficult to read.

4.5.3.3 Indirect translation and the international cultural system

To understand the role of translations in a target-culture, Johan Heilbron argues that “it is by no means sufficient to analyse them as being part of the literary system of the target-culture”, and that it is also essential “to consider target-cultures as a part of an international system” (1999: 440). He believes it is the international position of national cultures that determine the role of translations (ibid.). Viewing indirect translation in the light of power relations between cultures/languages, Ringmar makes an assumption that “the SL and the TL are small/dominated languages, whereas the ML is a dominant language” (2007: 5). Maialen Marin-Lacarta echoes this by talking about “a globalized system of transmission of texts that are mediated by dominant literary systems” (2012: 6). That partly explains why Czech and Chinese, two peripheral languages in the international system, had to conduct their literary communications in a mediated way.

However, the most obvious reason for indirect translation, as Ringmar (2007) argues, is lack of knowledge of the SL. In the case of the republican China, this lack was “absolute”, i.e. literally no translator knew the original Czech language. Ringmar considers this absolute lack “perhaps the least interesting”, since there is no real choice between indirect and direct translation (2007: 6). Yet Alexandra Assis Rosa, Hanna Pięta & Rita Bueno Maia argue that the target culture still made a choice “between (indirect) translation and non-translation”, signaling “a cosmopolitan openness to distant cultures” with which it feels a rather urgent need to communicate (2017: 127-128).

With regard to the possible reasons for the languages’ mediation, the intermediary role of English offers no surprises, given its dominant position within the international cultural transfer achieved by means of translation (see Heilbron 1999 and Hanna Pięta 2012). Knowledge in the early 20th Century China about English came from a few main sources: missionary schools in some port cities, colleges that taught English at university level, and Chinese students educated in and returning from America and the Great Britain (Xiong 1998: 30-34). Moreover, the availability on the market of English monolingual dictionaries as well as English-Chinese dictionaries contributed to the general improvement in translation quality (Pollard 1998: 11).

The use of Esperanto as a mediating language, however, seems peculiar and deserves more attention. Created by Polish ophthalmologist L. L. Zamenhof in 1887, Esperanto is the world’s most widely spoken constructed language¹². In 1905, the first

¹² <https://esperanto-usa.org/esperanto/en>

World Esperanto Congress, an ongoing annual conference, was held in Boulogne-sur-Mer, France, which ratified the Declaration of Boulogne, establishing several fundamental premises for the Esperanto movement. The congress has since been held in a different country every year, with the exceptions of the world war years and restricted to online-only during the 2020 COVID pandemic. There are at present more than 100 periodicals published in Esperanto, and more than 30,000 books have been published in the language¹³.

Despite one of the pronouncements in its 1905 congress that the Esperanto movement is exclusively a linguistic movement and that no further meaning can ever be ascribed to it, Esperanto has in certain historical periods been associated with anarchism, socialism, regional nationalism and even espionage, which led to its suppression by Nazi Germany, Francoist Spain and the Stalinist Soviet Union.

The first half of the 20th century saw a rapid growth in the number of Esperanto speakers in China, as well as in Japan, the Americas and some parts of Europe. Many New Culture intellectuals and writers, including Lu Xun, were Esperanto users. Two reasons have been proposed for its acceptance in China. First, Esperanto's vision of different peoples living in harmony and all nations united in a common brotherhood echoed the concept of "datong shehui", an ideal future society described in ancient Chinese Confucian classics. Second, despite its seemingly neutral standpoint, Song Binghui argues (2003: 123), Esperanto inherently entails sympathies towards smaller nations and opposition to linguistic and national dominance¹⁴. Hence its appeal to anarchists, Utopians, socialists¹⁵ and "many other modern Chinese intellectuals who had social reformist ideals to rid China of weakness and poverty and to live in a fair and harmonious world" (Song 2003: 123, my translation).

Some scholars (eg. Hanna Pięta 2012) see the non-markedness of indirect translations as a sign of intolerance of them, whereas Laura Ivaska & Outi Paloposki argue that the lack of information may also be a sign that indirectness was "a default practice" (2018: 35). Here we subscribe to this "default" view, because the prevalence of indirect translations in the examined period shows no sign of "intolerance". For the majority of indirectly translated Czech literature, therefore, the lack of information on their indirect status and their MLs most likely indicates the default indirect translation

¹³ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Esperanto>

¹⁴ This is evidenced by the opposition to Esperanto's recognition at the League of Nations and its vetoing in 1923 by the French delegate, Gabriel Hanotaux, who saw the constructed language as a threat to French's position as the international language. See: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: Esperanto Spurned - TIME content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,727293,00.html

¹⁵ Ulrich Lins (see 2016) points to the disapproval Esperanto encountered from influential Marxist leaders including Marx, Engels and Lenin.

practice in the republican era.

4.5.3.4 Retranslations

James St. André considers indirect translation (“relay translation” in his term) and retranslation separate phenomena or even opposites, as the former is frequently associated with “a lack of qualified translator” while the latter implies “a plethora of translators” (St. André 2003: 77). In the case of Czech literature translations in the republican China, which is characterized by invariant indirect translations and abundant retranslations, it seems they can be described this way: indirect translation can be associated with a lack of qualified translator in the original language, while retranslation can imply a plethora of translators in the major mediating languages.

Susam-Sarajeva draws attention to “the non-existence of retranslations” (2003: 5), indicating that works translated only once, like non-translations, can reveal “the mechanisms and conditions of inclusion and exclusion of foreign works in a given culture” (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 236). It seems plausible to add here that the translation and hence retranslation scene in a translated literature can be complicated by the phenomenon of indirect translation. In this case, the translators do not have the entirety of the original literary repertoire to choose from, but only those available in the MLs, especially the dominant MLs.

It seems the 5 most retranslated Czech works can be put into two categories. In the first category are short stories by the most internationally acclaimed writers, dealing with universal themes of human nature: love, passion, death, and fear. These include K. Čapek & J. Čapek’s “Ostrov (Island)” (translated 8 times by different translators) and “Živý plamen (Living flame)” (7 times), and J. Neruda’s “Upír (The Vampire)” (7 times). In the second group are short stories by women writers, including B. Viková-Kunětická’s “Husy (Geese)” (6 different translations) and K. Světlá’s “Hubička (A Kiss)” (6 translations).

Moreover, Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 35), in their research of translations in Finland, point to a lack of coordination between translators and publishers as a cause of retranslations, or what they term “collisions”, when multiple versions of the same work may have appeared more or less simultaneously. This happened prior to Finland’s signing the Berne agreement in 1928, an international agreement governing copyright, as in the late Qing and early republican China.

Cadera and Walsh, in their study of translation history in Spain, reached a conclusion “contrary to the initial hypothesis proposed”, discovering that “there is not

always a clearly identifiable relation between the importance of authors in their original culture and the retranslation of their work” (2017: 1). This in some way also applies to our study (see Section 4.3.3), which shows instances of established authors from the canon of the original Czech literature whose works were not retranslated, or even not translated at all. In other cases, the phenomenon detected was the precise opposite; that is, some works that were not so canonized in the original literature, or at least not seen as very representative of a canonized writer, got translated many times. The reasons for the lack of retranslations in some cases and the abundance of them in others is certainly an interesting topic.

Jiang Qian, in her study of science fiction translation in the 20th century China, provides a remarkable example, which sheds light on the motivations of retranslation. *The Shape of Things to Come*, seen as “one of H. G. Wells' second-class works”, was translated and reprinted with an unusual enthusiasm in the 1930s. Data show seven Chinese retranslations of the novel in 1934-1939 and six republications of the earliest 1934 translation up to June 1936 (Jiang 2006: 56-57). In the novel H. G. Wells predicted the coming of WWII on the Christmas day of 1940 (whereas the real one began on September 1st 1939) as well as the Japanese full-scale attacks on China in 1935 (the real one began in 1937) (ibid.: 59-60). The key to the popularity in the 1930s of this second-class work of Wells’, obviously, can only be found in the relevant historical background of the decade (ibid.: 63). Actually, this seems to have more to do with the target Chinese socio-historical context than just the global situation, considering most Europeans in 1938 were still under the illusion about appeasing Nazi German aggression and avoiding wars. As a smaller and oppressed people itself, despite its size, the Chinese people felt more urgently the specter of war, and, based on their past experiences, had little illusions about appeasing aggressors just by giving them what they wanted. In this respect, the popularity of H. G. Wells’ *The Shape of Things to Come* in the 1930s China was largely due to the fact that it had struck the right chord in the Chinese audience (ibid.: 67), who were also consoled and inspired by Wells’ prophesy of China's ultimate triumph over Japan in the novel (ibid.: 64). This example demonstrates no identifiable relation between the canonicity of the work in their original culture and its retranslation, but confirms Toury’s claim that “Translators may therefore be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating [...]” (Toury 2012: 6).

4.5.3.5 Translation theories and debates in the target culture

Gideon Toury identifies two major sources of data to be used in reconstruction of translational norms: textual and extratextual (2012: 87). The latter, explained by him as “explicit arguments or pronouncements” by translators, can be seen as belonging to

translation theories, especially in the case of republican China, when all of the translation theorists are translators themselves. Although Toury noted translator arguments' probable disparity with translators' actual behavior and suggested their treatment "with utmost precaution", he acknowledged "the legitimacy of them as sources of data for controlled study of norms" (ibid.: 88).

Anthony Pym, who argues that all translation history is comprised of three parts, that is, translation archaeology, historical criticism, and explanation, regards past theories about translation as an integral part of translation history (2014: 5). In Pym's view, debates, which are mostly triggered by norm transgressions, can provide some useful shortcuts to the study of norms. So he points out that the analysis of past translation theories and debates should "reveal the values at stake in the particular historical conjuncture concerned" and thus "provide very good indications of what kind of norms were important in a particular historical field" (Pym 2014: 124).

The most important translation debate, happening in the late 1920s and early 1930s China, has been variously described in English as "fidelity" vs. "readability" (Jiang 2006: 69), literalism vs. liberalism or Europeanization vs. Sinicization (Chan 2004: 23). Lu Xun, the leading figure in modern Chinese literature, was a promoter and practitioner of literalism characterized by close formal correspondence to the original texts. He argued that this would contribute to the improvement of the Chinese language, which he thought was not precise enough in its manner of expression, by incorporating European linguistic elements, especially syntactic structures, through translation. In terms of translated Czech literature, this debate is reflected in the polar opposites of very liberal adaptation using free translation method and Europeanized textual forms resulting from literal translation method, with the latter gradually gaining dominance.

Despite the large number of texts translated indirectly in China at the turn of the 20th century, we have found no discussion concerning indirect translation in the early stage, nor any apparent desire for direct translating expressed by reviews and critics of the period. The emergence of discussion concerning ITr in literary reviews can coincide with "an increased focus on authors' style and originality, coupled with the wider language skills of new and potential translators" (Ivaska & Paloposki 2018: 36). Liang Shiqiu (1929) insisted on translating from the original language and criticized Lu Xun's translation activities, which were frequently based upon secondary sources. Lu Xun, on the other hand, took a practical attitude and pointed out that indirect translation was ultimately legitimized by necessity and reality. Without indirect translations, he stressed, Chinese readers would have had no access to the works of Ibsen or Cervantes, or H. C. Andersen's tales, etc (Lu 1984: 238). With respect to the introduction of Czech literature to China, Lu Xun's support of indirect translation is obviously a more realistic approach in this historical period.

A discussion about retranslations occurred among translators and literary critics in the 1930s. In contrast with those who considered retranslation as a waste of resources, Lu Xun (1984: 242-243) was in favour of retranslating important literary works, arguing that it could be justified on the ground that language is changing all the time, that retranslation would encourage competition between translators for better quality, and that the retranslator could benefit from the old translation in his or her pursuit of “perfection”. Mao Dun, another strong supporter of retranslation, commented that more than one translations of the same work could provide research material for translation scholars or translators to compare different methods of translation so as to improve translation quality (Mao 1984b: 19). When it comes to Chinese retranslations of Czech literary works, they were more of a result of the target cultural market’s demand in this period, which will go through a radical shift in the centralized cultural production of the next period.

4.5.3.6 The significant role of translators

The competition between translation norms for the central place in the translated literature system are in a large part embodied by the most important agents in the system, i.e., translators. In synchronic terms, different groups of translators tend to abide by and promote different sets of norms (Toury 2012: 66). In diachronic terms, there is always the possibility of a translator deviating from the dominant norms, which under some circumstances may lead to changes in the system (ibid.: 68, 87). Toury believes this has to do with a translator’s status. In contrast with “novice translators”, who are more likely to play safe by complying with mainstream norms, experienced translators with considerable recognition and prestige can afford deviations from prevailing patterns of behavior. When they are followed by others as well, a new norm will be regarded as having been introduced into the system (Toury 2012: 77). Though this analysis makes sense, it seems not very adequate to explain the translation scene in the republican China.

Compared with Toury, Even-Zohar and Pym seem to see a bigger picture of the target polysystem, beyond the mere distinction between “novice” and “experienced” translators. When translated literature occupies a central position in the literary polysystem, Even-Zohar argues, it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem as an innovatory force. In this case, it often is the leading writers or prospective leading writers who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations (Even-Zohar 1990: 46-47). This is what happened in the early 20th century China’s Czech literature introduction. Actually, some of the translators are not just writers, but also editors, literary critics and social activists. Pym sees “the multiple nature of their employment” as a major key to translators becoming active

causes of translations. Some translators' status and competence in other professional activities can give them "considerably more social and intellectual power than they would otherwise have as just translators" as well as "relative financial independence" (2014: 156). Some translators, he points out, are active effective causes and able to challenge power structures "precisely because they do more than translate" (ibid.). Lee (2018) approaches the issue from another angle and discusses translators' self-perceived identities. In his view, the Chinese translators in the early 20th century took on themselves the identities and therefore responsibilities of "literary and linguistic revolutionaries", "cultural rejuvenators" (to expose the Chinese people to alternative sociopolitical discourses that departed from the traditional native culture), "social activists" (to use translation as "a tool of activism and a catalyst for social transformation"), and ultimately "national saviours" (Lee 2018: 245-247). Their self-perception as much more than just translators or even writers explains why the republican era Chinese translators were so concerned with the social, cultural and language problems. Therefore, understanding the significant role of translators in the republican China's socio-historical context allows us to better answer a series of questions concerned with translated Czech literature in this period, especially the text and theme selection, the textual transformation of the translations, and the shift in translation methods.

Chapter 5. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1950-1977

5.1 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: What

The second period under examination, between the foundation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1977¹⁶, is peculiar in that in the 15 years from 1963 to 1977, not one Czech literature translation was published in mainland China, as shown in Figure 5.1. Yet we still decide to group them together with the previous 13 years from 1950¹⁷ to 1962, because this whole period of 28 years was characterized by the politicization of literature under tight centralized control. The ideological control of literature was thus reflected not only in the existence of published Czech literature in Chinese translation, but in the non-existence of it as well.

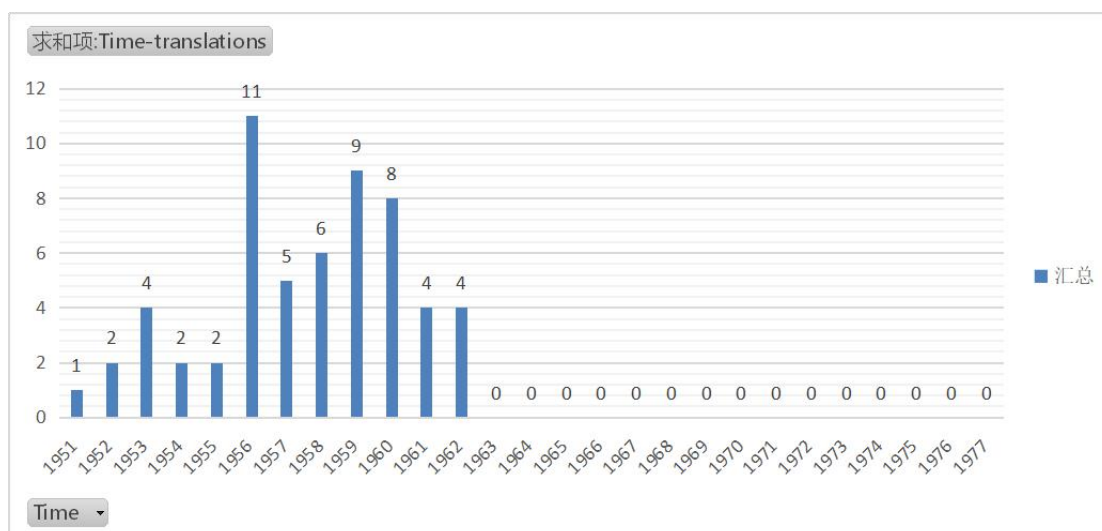


Figure 5.1 Diachronic distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977

In our data of this period there are 44 books in Chinese translation, including 4

¹⁶ The Cultural Revolution happened in 1966-1976, but many people regard December 1978 as the real end, when the watershed Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee introduced the economic reform policies (Sullivan 2007: 494).

¹⁷ In the year 1950 the Chenguang Press published two anthologies of translated Czech literature in Chinese: *Collected Czech Short Stories* and *Collected Czech Poems*. But they were actually republications of the translations by the translator Wei Huangnu, which all had already come out in the first period before 1950.

retranslations. The corresponding Czech source texts originally written by 21 Czech authors are listed as follows:

N o	Work	Writer	Genre	Year(s) of publishing
1	<i>Vstanou noví bojovníci</i> (New Fighters will Rise)	Antonín Zápotocký	Novel	1957
2	<i>Rudá záře nad Kladnem</i> (Red Glow Over Kladno)* ¹⁸			1957; 1958
3	<i>Bouřlivý rok 1905</i> (A Tumultuous Year: 1905)			1959
4	<i>Rozbřesk</i> (Dawn)			1960
5	<i>Havířská balada</i> (Ballad of a Miner)*	Marie Majerová	Novel	1954;1954
6	<i>Náměstí republiky</i> (Republic Square)			1956
7	<i>Siréna</i> (The Siren)			1959
8	<i>Lidé na křižovatce</i> (People at a Crossroads)	Marie Pujmanová	Novel	1958
9	<i>Hra s ohněm</i> (Playing with Fire)			1959
10	<i>Život proti smrti</i> (Life Against Death)			1962
11	<i>Anna Proletárka</i> (Anna the Proletarian)	Ivan Olbracht	Novel	1953
12	<i>Nikola Šuhaj loupežník</i> (Nikolai Schuhaj, Highwayman)*			1959;1961
13	A collection of 13 short Stories		Short story	1961
14	<i>Strakonický dudák</i> (The Bagpiper of Strakonice)	Josef Kajetán Tyl		1956

¹⁸ Those translated more than once in this period are marked with “*”, and therefore have more than one year of publishing.

15	<i>Krvavý soud aneb kutnohorští havíři</i> (A Bloody Verdict: The Miners of Kutná Hora)			1959
16	A collection of 6 plays: <i>Paličova dcera</i> (Arsonist's daughter); <i>Strakonický dudák</i> (The Bagpiper of Strakonice); <i>Krvavý soud aneb kutnohorští havíři</i> (A Bloody Verdict: The Miners of Kutná Hora); <i>Jan Hus</i> ; <i>Tvrdohlavá žena</i> (The Stubborn Woman); <i>Jiříkovo vidění</i> (George's Vision)		Drama	1962
17	<i>Psohlavci</i>		Drama	1958
18	<i>Lucerna</i> (Lantern)	Alois Jirásek		1959
19	<i>Husitská trilogie</i>		Novel	1960
20	<i>Krakatit</i> (An Atomic Phantasy)		Novel	1956
21	A collection of 2 plays: <i>Bílá nemoc</i> (The White Disease); <i>Matka</i> (The Mother)	Karel Čapek	Drama	1957
22	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	Jaroslav Hašek	Novel	1956
23	A collection of 17 Short Stories		Short story	1959
24	<i>Divá Bára</i> (Wild Bára)		Novel	1956
25	<i>Babička</i> (The Grandmother)	Božena Němcová	Short story	1957
26	<i>Krásná Tortiza</i> (Beautiful Tortiza)	Jan Drda	Short story	1955
27	<i>Němá barikáda</i> (Silent Barricade)		Novel	1956

28	<i>Nad nami svitá</i> (It Dawns above us)	Jiří Marek	Novel	1952
29	<i>Vesnice pod zemí</i> (Villages Underground)			1956
30	<i>Parta brusiče Karhana</i> (Grinder Karhan's Shift)	Vašek Káňa	Novel	1953
31	<i>Válkou narušení</i> (War of Disruption)		Drama	1958
32	<i>Písňe otroka</i> (Songs of a Slave)	Svatopluk Čech	Poetry	1960
33	<i>Máj</i> (May)	Karel Hynek Mácha	Poetry	1960
34	<i>Děti a dýka</i> (Children and the Dagger)	František Langer	Novel	1951
35	<i>Zpěv miru</i> (Singing Peace)	Vítězslav Nezval	Poetry	1955
36	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)*	Julius Fučík	Memoir	1952;1953
37	<i>Nástup</i> (Onset)	Václav Řezáč	Novel	1961
38	<i>Občan Brych</i> (Citizen Brych)	Jan Otčenášek	Novel	1962
39	<i>Kus cukru</i> (A Piece of Sugar)	Peter Jilemnický	Novel	1961
40	<i>Štěstí nepadá s nebe</i> (Happiness does not Fall from the Sky)	Jaroslav Klíma	Drama	1958

Table 5.1 Czech writers and their works translated in books in 1950-1977 mainland China

Apart from those in book form, Chinese translations of Czech literature can also be found in the periodical *World Literature* before 1963, which was previously named *Yiwen* in 1953-1958. Except 8 translations that got republished later in various book forms, there are 14 translations of Czech literary works originally written by 11 writers, as shown in Table 5.2:

No.	Works	Writer	Genre	Issue
1	On literature		Essay	1953.12

2	Alexander Veliký (Alexander the Great)	Karel Čapek	Letter	1956.5
3	Smrt Archimédova (The death of Archimedes)		Short story	1956.5
4	4 poems	Jan Neruda	Poetry	1959.7
5	3 stories from <i>Povídky malostranské</i> [Tales of the Lesser Quarter]		Short story	1959.7
6	<i>Slezské písně</i> [Silesian Songs] (excerpted)	Petr Bezruč	Poetry	1956.11
7	<i>Kytice z pověstí národních</i> [A Bouquet of Folk Legends] (excerpted)	Karel Jaromír Erben	Poetry	1957.5
8	Strakonický dudák	Josef Kajetán Tyl	Short story	1956.7
9	2 poems	Jiří Wolker	Poetry	1960.4
10	3 poems	Vítězslav Nezval	Poetry	1960.5
11	Milióny holubiček (Millions of Doves)	Marie Pujmanová	Poetry	1958.7
12	Záře (The glow)	Ludvík Aškenazy	Short story	1960.1
13	Litr vody (A liter of water)	Rudolf Černý	Short story	1962.1
14	Faithful service	Jan Weiss	Short story	1960.4

Table 5.2 Czech writers and their works translated in the *World Literature* journal in 1950-1977

Altogether, there are 28 Czech writers translated into China in 1950-1977, in both books and the periodical *World Literature*. Eight of them, i.e., K. Čapek, J. Neruda, S. Čech, P. Bezruč, J. Hašek, F. Langer, J. Wolker and J. Fučík, had already been introduced to China in the first phase of 1921-1949, while the remaining 18 writers got translated in Chinese for the first time in this second period.

Because “the popular reception of an author can be judged more accurately by the publication of his works in book form than by their single appearance in

periodicals” (Edgerton 1963: 62), we put more emphasis on the 44 Chinese translated books and their 21 Czech authors. Among them, the most translated is A. Zápotocký with 5 books, followed by M. Majerová (4), I. Olbracht (4), M. Pujmanová (3), J. K. Tyl (3) and A. Jirásek (3). The other 15 writers all have either one or two books attributed to them. These are shown in Figure 5.2:

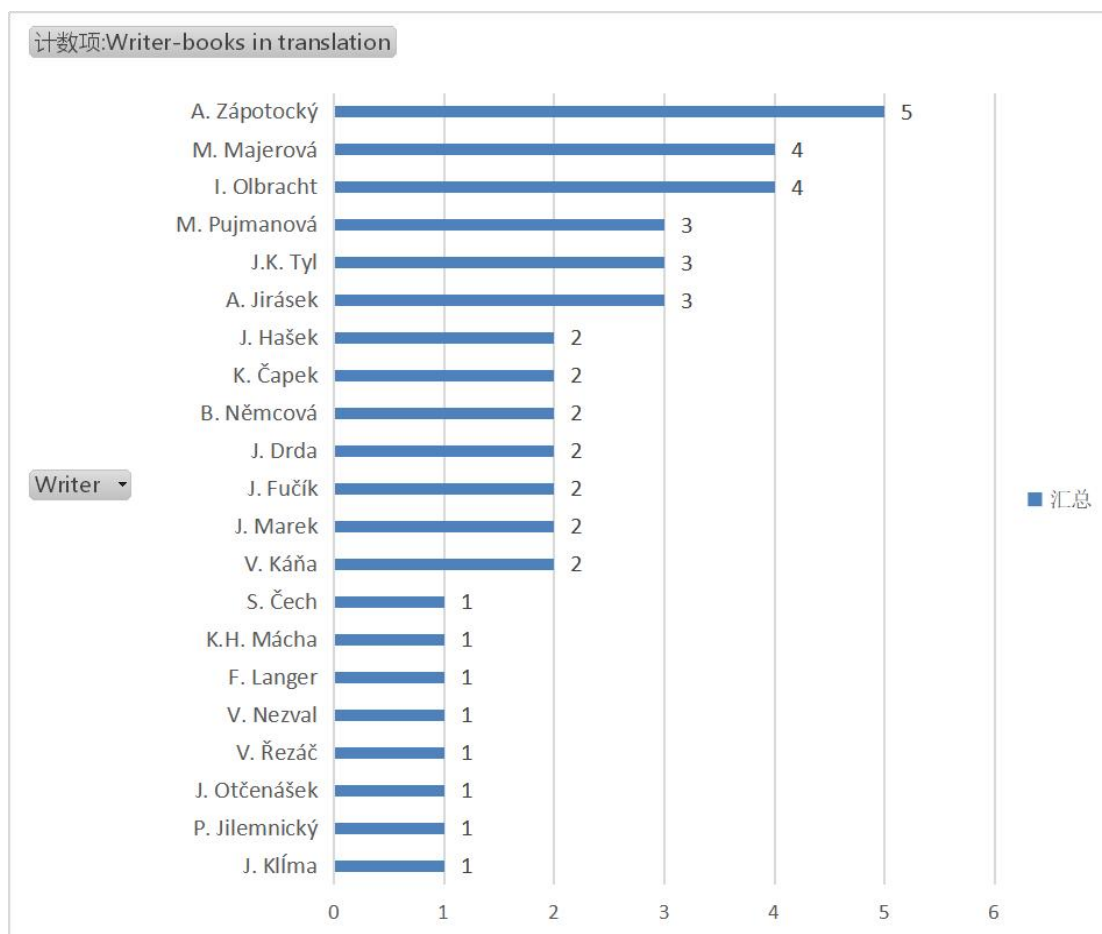


Figure 5.2 Czech writers and the numbers of their translated works in books in 1950-1977 mainland China

Four of these book authors, including K. Čapek, J.K. Tyl, V. Nezval and M. Pujmanová, also appeared in the journal *World Literature*, while there are 7 other writers, including J. Neruda (with 4 poems and 3 short stories), K. J. Erben (an excerpt from *Kytice z pověstí národních*), P. Bezruč (an excerpt from *Slezské písně*), J. Wolker (2 poems), along with L. Aškenazy (1 short story), R. Černý (1 short story), and J. Weiss (1 short story), who only came in the periodical, but not in any books of this period.

With respect to the genre, the 58 translations¹⁹ in both books and journal are 47% novels, 17% short stories, 16% dramas and 15% poetry. The memoir *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) got retranslated twice. One of the versions, interestingly, is an adaptation into a three-act drama. There were also in the journal *World Literature* translations of one essay and one letter by K. Čapek. Compared with the first period, one of the most striking features of this period is the dramatic increase in novel numbers and decline in short stories:

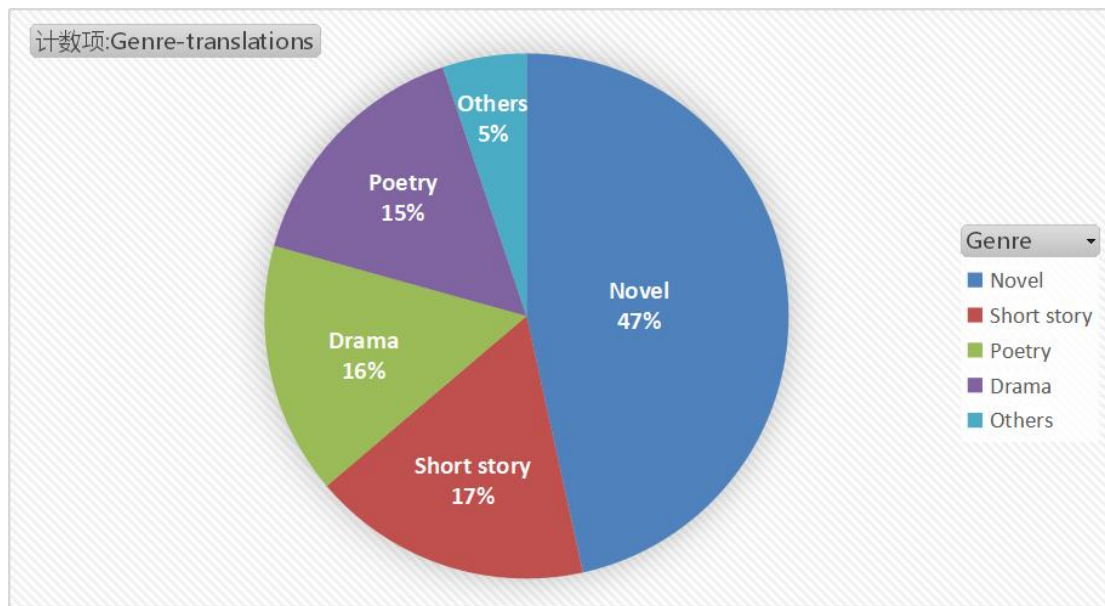


Figure 5.3 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977 in terms of genre

When it comes to the correlation between genre and writers, the most important dramatist introduced in this period is Josef Kajetán Tyl, whose plays, like Karel Čapek's, also appeared in collections. Božena Němcová's and Jan Drda's short stories and Alois Jirásek's dramas came into Chinese, along with their novels. Jan Neruda, like in the first period, had both his short stories and poems translated. The main Czech poets in translation include S. Čech, K. H. Mácha, P. Bezruč, K. J. Erben, J. Wolker and V. Nezval. Just like in the first period, the translated Czech writer with the most varieties in genre is once again Karel Čapek, including novel, drama, short story, essay and a letter, reflecting both his international acclaim and his literary versatility.

¹⁹ When more than one translated works got published under one title in the table of content of a periodical issue, for example "3 stories by Jan Neruda" or "2 poems by Jiří Wolker", they are counted as one translation in our statistic analysis.

5.2 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: How

5.2.1 Literary periodical and books

In striking contrast with the first period, a large majority of the translated Czech works in this era came in books, rather than in periodicals. Moreover, all the periodical translations have been found to concentrate in a single journal: *World Literature*, which started in 1953 as *Yiwen*, ceased publication in 1965 and resumed its business only in 1977 when this second period was coming to an end. Actually, a strong tendency of concentration has been found not just in periodical translations, but also in the publishers of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation. As shown in Figure 5.4, the 3 biggest publishers (People's Literature Publishing House with 16 books, The Writers 9, Shanghai Literature & Art 7) account together for 73% of the translated books, compared with the 7 smaller publishers' 27%.

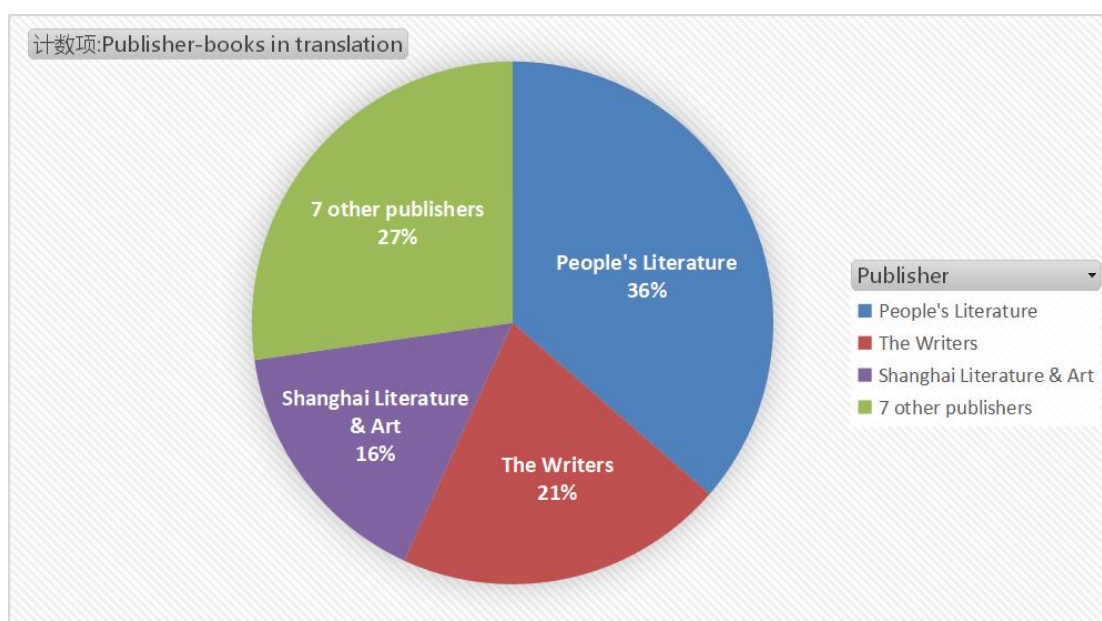


Figure 5.4 Distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1977 in terms of publishers

5.2.2 Indirect translation and retranslation

Of this period's 58 Czech literature translations, 45% (26) were made from Russian, 21% (12) from English, 17% (10) directly from Czech, 5% (3) from Esperanto and 12% (7) from other languages. Among the other MLs, three translations are made via French: two versions of M. Majerová's *Havířská balada* (Ballad of a Miner), one by Zheng Yonghui, the other by Bao Wenwei and Dai Gang, and A. Zápotocký's *Vstanou noví bojovníci* (New Fighters will Rise) by Xu Xiaoli and Qiu Linqi. There are two translations made from German: M. Majerová's *Náměstí republiky* (Republic Square) by Dong Wenqiao, and P. Jilemnický's *Kus cukru* (A Piece of Sugar) by Liao Shangguo. What's more, there are two notable cases of compilative translation. In 1960 Lao Rong translated S. Čech's *Písně otroka* (Songs of a Slave) based on both the Czech original and an Esperanto version, while also referring to a Russian version. Chen Jingrong's 1952 Chinese translation of J. Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) was based on a French source text, while referring to both the German and Russian versions. The proportional distribution of mediating languages is shown in Figure 5.5. Compared with the first period in 1921-1949, the most significant shift in the languages used is the emergence of direct translations from Czech, the dramatic rise of Russian, and the decline of Esperanto.

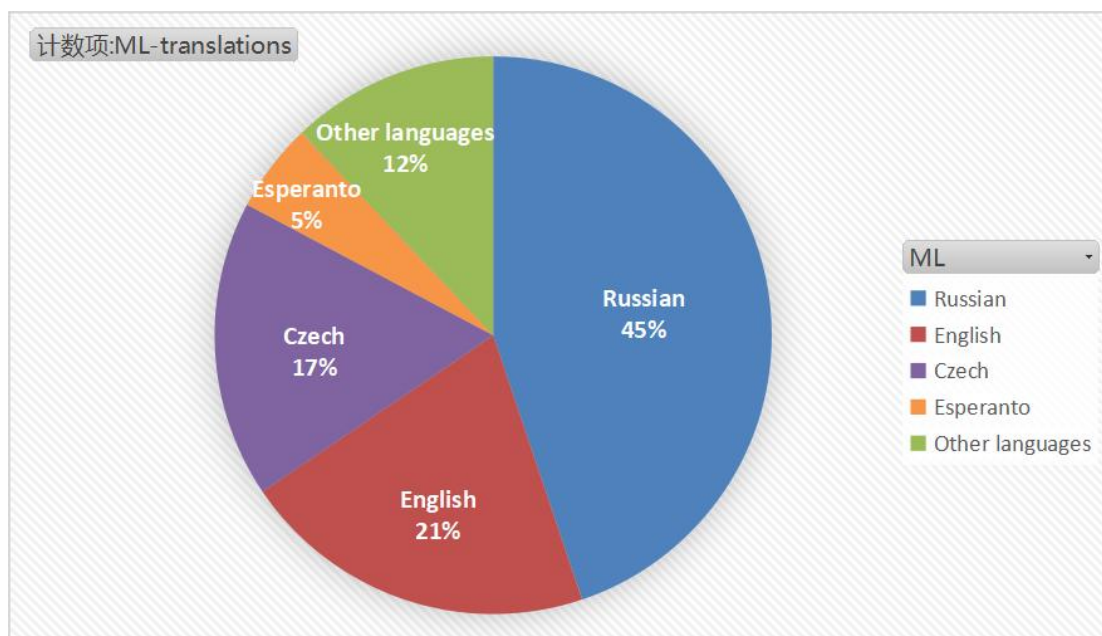


Figure 5.5 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977

Among the 58 Czech literature translations, some had been translated in the first period of 1921-1949, in their entirety or partially, such as K. Čapek's plays *Matka* (The Mother) and *Bílá nemoc* (The White Disease), J. Hašek's *The Good Soldier*

Švejk, S. Čech's *Písně otroka* (Songs of a Slave), P. Bezruč's *Slezské písně* (Silesian Songs), and J. Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows). Some were translated for the first time in China's history and came into just one version in 1950-1977. Yet others were translated more than once by different translators in the second period alone, including A. Zápotocký's *Rudá záře nad Kladnem* (Red Glow Over Kladno), twice from English, M. Majerová's *Haviřská balada* (Ballad of a Miner), twice from French, and I. Olbracht's *Nikola Šuhaj loupežník* (Nikolai Schuhaj, Highwayman), twice from English. Julius Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce*, which had been translated from Russian in 1949, went on with its peculiar journey. It came again into Chinese in 1952 through Chen Jingrong's compilative translation combining French, German and Russian. Then the following year another translation was made by Chen Shan, based on a Russian three-act play adapted from the Czech memoir, making the final Chinese text a retranslation, an indirect translation and an adaptation at once.

5.2.3 Textual and paratextual features

Close examination of the translations in this period reveals particular textual and paratextual features, as compared to those made in the first stage in 1921-1949. From a textual perspective, the translations mostly seek to strike a balance between adequacy and acceptability, rendered expressively in natural modern Chinese. This contrasts sharply with the characteristically Europeanized syntactic structures found in many translations in the first period, when modern vernacular Chinese as a new literary language had still been under development and far from mature.

When it comes to the paratexts, the translations in this period also have some peculiarities, especially when compared with the previous period. First, the verbal peritexts, mainly prefaces, postscripts and synopses, usually give introduction of the work and the writer including his/her life experience and other works. Emphasis is given to the socio-historical context, usually with ideology-charged comments about the cruel exploitation and oppression of the ruling class such as the landlords, the capitalists or the Nazis, as well as the suffering of the laboring people including peasants and workers. The working class's bravery, industry and their indomitable revolutionary spirit are extolled. Second, some forewords are from Russian mediating texts. Some other forewords, by editors or translators, quote comments by Russian critics. Third, a majority of the Czech literature translations of this time period include portraits of the Czech writers, which help the readers to build up more vivid images of the writers. Fourth, the markedness of indirectness, especially in translated books, is

one striking feature differentiating this historical period from others. Detailed information is given about not only the Mediating Languages, but the specific Mediating Texts, their translators, publication years and publishers. Lastly, the writers' names, especially after 1956, were presented in the standardized Chinese transliterations widely accepted till today. Čapek, for example, is transliterated as 恰佩克, as opposed to the 10 variations in the first period (see Section 4.3.4) which had been a source of great confusion.

5.3 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: Who

There are 48 (groups of) translators involved in Chinese translation of Czech literature in 1950-1977, most of whom have only one translation, in book form or in journal. There are 7 (groups of) translators who have more than one translation to their credit, as listed in Figure 5.6:

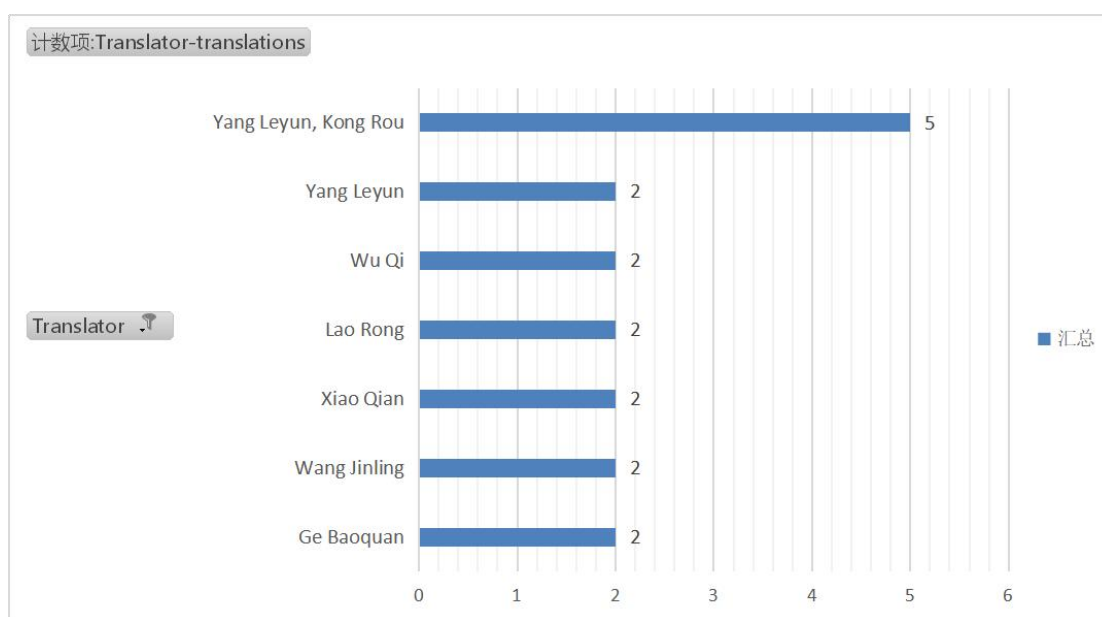


Figure 5.6 The translators with most translations of Czech literature in 1950-1977 mainland China

Wu Qi in 1957 published the first ever Czech-Chinese direct literary translation, an anthology of Karel Čapek's plays. They are actually retranslations of Čapek's two plays *Bílá nemoc* (The White Disease) and *Matka* (The Mother), which had been introduced to China via English in the 1930s and 40s. He also translated in the same year B. Němcová's *Babička* (The Grandmother) from the Czech original. Our efforts

to find more information about Wu Qi, however, have regretfully achieved little results, except that he studied in Czechoslovakia in the mid-1950s.

Yang Leyun (1919-2009) is the most prolific Chinese translator of Czech literature in 1950-1977, who learned Czech in her work as a translator from 1948 to 1963 at the Czechoslovak embassy in China. Since July 1963 she worked as an editor at *World Literature*, the only foreign literature journal in mainland China during this period. She published in collaboration with Kong Rou the direct Chinese translations of A. Jirásek's play *Lucerna* (Lantern), A. Zápotocký's novel *Rozbřesk* (Dawn) and J. Klíma's play *Štěstí nepadá s nebe*, all in books, as well as four of J. Neruda's poems and one poem by M. Pujmanová translated and published in the *World Literature* journal. K. Čapek's short story "Smrt Archimédova (The Death of Archimedes)" and R. Černý's "Litr vody (A liter of water)" was translated by her alone and published in the same periodical. Her partner Kong Rou, whose translations were all collaborative works with Yang, is better known as an editor of literary journals.

Lao Rong (1911-1990), the main Esperanto translator during the period in question, worked as a literary journal editor and at writer's associations, while also writing essays and poems himself. His translation career already began in the first period under our survey, when in 1930s he published translations of A. Sova and F. Halas's poems in a literary periodical. In 1956 he collaborated with Hong Fan to translate J. Drda's short story collections *Němá barikáda* (Silent Barricade) from Esperanto. He also published in the same year the Chinese version of an excerpt from P. Bezruč's *Slezské písně* (Silesian Songs) in *World Literature*. In 1960, he translated by himself S. Čech's classic *Písně otroka* (Songs of a Slave) through a compilative translation based on a combined use of the Czech, Esperanto and Russian texts. Having started during the first period in the 1940s, his introduction of Czech literature would persist until the third period, in the 1980s.

Xiao Qian (1910-1999) was a journalist, editor and writer as well as a translator. In early 1940s he studied at Cambridge University and during WWII became the only Chinese war correspondent in Europe. He later worked as an editor at a few prominent literary journals, newspapers and publishing houses, while writing fictions, essays and memoirs himself. As a translator, he is best known not only for the first Chinese translation in book form of *The Good Soldier Švejk*, via English, but also for translating in the 1990s James Joyce's *Ulysses* together with his wife Wen Jieruo, when he was in his 80s.

Ge Baoquan (1913 — 2000) is an accomplished translator and researcher of Russian literature. He worked at the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy. He translated from Russian indirectly poems by J. Wolker and V. Nezval in the literary journal *World Literature*, but he is best known for his translations of Alexander Pushkin and Maxim Gorky.

This period's translators have some features that call our attention. First is the increase in the collaborative work of translators. Whereas in 1921-1949 almost all the translations were done by single translators, things changed in this second phase. Of the 58 translations of Czech literature, 16, or 28% of the total, were done by translators working in couples or groups. Second, if the numbers of his/her relevant translations can be seen as an indication of a translator's devotion to a particular nation's literature, then, it has been discovered, the translators from Czech and Esperanto show higher devotion to Czech literature. By contrast, those translators from dominating MLs mostly just did it provisionally. Actually, some of them are well-known translators from the Mediating Cultures in question, such as the aforementioned Xiao Qian and Ge Baoquan. Another example is Dong Wenqiao, the translator of M. Majerová's *Náměstí republiky* (Republic Square) from German, who is best known for his translation of Goethe's *Faust*. Last but not least, most of the translators in this period worked as editors, researchers or college teachers, while doing translation on the side.

5.4 Czech literature translated in 1950-1977 China: Why

5.4.1 The Socio-historical context in 1950-1977

5.4.1.1 The Socio-historical context in 1950-1977 Czech lands

In September 1947, Czechoslovakia joined the Cominform, the Soviet-dominated successor to the prewar Comintern as an organization of Communist parties (Mahoney 2011: 199). The takeover of power by the KSČ (Komunistická strana Československa / Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) in February 1948 was a blow to the conventional parliamentary democracy of the Czechoslovakia (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 551). On June 7, 1948, Edvard Beneš resigned as president of Czechoslovakia, and Gottwald assumed the presidency upon approval by the National Assembly as fellow Communist Antonín Zápotocký became prime minister (Mahoney 2011: 201).

A new wave of nationalization ensued in Czechoslovakia targeting enterprises with more than 50 employees, which left only 3,848 enterprises in private hands, with as few as 48,342 employees – or 3.8 % of the total industrial workforce. A subsequent quest to eliminate small businessmen, private craftsmen and shopkeepers also succeeded. As a result, privately-owned businesses virtually ceased to exist, and the

state assumed monopoly in the economy, which led to the annihilation of competition and to the suffocation of all entrepreneurial initiatives. These all had a negative impact on the future of the Czechoslovak economy (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 556-557). The collectivization of agriculture began in 1949, with privately owned farms replaced with Standard Farming Co-operatives in 80% of the nation's villages (Mahoney 2011: 202).

In January 1949, the Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), which provided a common economic framework primarily to the benefit of the Soviet Union, was created, linking Czechoslovakia's economy more closely to other parts of the Soviet bloc. Czechoslovakia was required to put an emphasis on heavy industry and the production of machinery for the bloc (Mahoney 2011: 202). In 1955, Czechoslovakia joined the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact military coalition with the signing of an agreement on mutual defense and the coordination of military command structures (ibid.). These two important events subject Czechoslovakia economically and militarily to the dominance of the Soviet Union.

Following the death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953, the Czechoslovak Communists chose Antonín Zápotocký as president in place of Gottwald, with Viliam Široký as prime minister and Antonín Novotný first secretary of the party's Central Committee, in keeping with the Soviet strategy of "collective leadership" after Stalin (Mahoney 2011: 205). The new leadership attempted to apply the Soviet-style New Course to the Czechoslovak condition, with an increased emphasis on consumer goods and greater agricultural productivity through a more moderate approach to collectivization (ibid.: 206). Yet the Soviet "Thaw" and the 1956 de-stalinization campaign represented a threat to hard-line party leaders directly linked to the purges of the previous years. In November 1956, the reformist attempt to restore a multiparty political system during the Hungarian revolution was brought to a quick end by a Soviet military intervention. This had a damaging effect on the parliamentary democratization efforts in Czechoslovakia (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 576).

The economic stagnation in the early 1960s, which occurred for the first time since 1945, was a major warning for those in power (ibid.: 586). As a consequence, the KSČ leadership began to consider a profound reform of the Czechoslovak economy. A program of economic reforms was approved in 1965 by the Central Committee of the KSČ, which called for the introduction of market dynamics into a planned economic system (Mahoney 2011: 208). This search for new ways to improve the economy also initiated changes in the ideological work and political practices of the KSČ (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 587). The loosening up of the state control was manifested in the gradual lifting of censorship in the mid-1960s (ibid.: 588), a period which saw the publication of Milan Kundera's *Žert* (The Joke), and Václav Havel's plays like *Zahradní slavnost* (The Garden Party) and *Vyrozumění* (The Memorandum), among others. Nevertheless, the student demonstration and writers' conference in

1967 met with clampdowns.

On January 5, 1968, the Central Committee of the KSCĚ elected the reform-minded Alexander Dubček to replace Novotný as first secretary. Dubček and his political allies promoted the reintroduction of democratic elements, including political pluralism, and the alleviation of heavy censorship and police surveillance (Mahoney 2011: 211). These were implemented in the Prague Spring of 1968, which was “an attempt by the Czechoslovak Communist Party to institute extensive political and economic reforms with the support of reformist leaders and intellectuals” (ibid.: 213).

On the night of August 20, 1968 and during the following day, the invasion of Czechoslovakia was initiated by the Warsaw Pact forces, with 165,000 Soviet troops and 4,600 tanks in the vanguard (ibid.: 216). Angry protest demonstrations and a general strike broke out around the country. On January 16, 1969, in protest of the Soviet-led invasion, a Charles University student by the name Jan Palach committed self-immolation in front of the National Museum in the centre of Prague. Palach died three days later. Hundreds of thousands of people participated in Palach’s remembrance ceremony and funeral (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 616). After Dubček’s replacement by Gustáv Husák as first secretary of the party in April 1979, the turn to normalization brought a rollback of reforms, as well as the reintroduction of censorship and repression (Mahoney 2011: 219). Pro-reform members got purged from the party and the rudiments of a civil society previously created were being stamped out (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 619). Some writers and intellectuals, such as Václav Havel and Ivan Klíma, turned to underground samizdat to maintain connections and circulate banned documents, journals, and books. Others, like Milan Kundera, became émigrés to live outside of Czechoslovakia (Mahoney 2011: 222).

5.4.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1950-1977 China

On October 1st 1949, Mao Zedong, the newly appointed chairman of the Central People’s Government, proclaimed the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). One of the most important early foreign policy decisions of the new state was to “lean to one side” in its foreign relations, namely in alliance with the Soviet Union against the United States (Garver 2016: 29). This had to do with American backing of the KMD, the Chinese communists’ rival in the country’s civil war. In February 1950, Mao Zedong and Josef Stalin signed in Moscow the Sino–Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. The alliance, however, was weakened after Stalin’s death in 1953 when Nikita Khrushchev came into office, who initiated a destalinization campaign.

Due to their ideological struggle and the Soviet attempts to dominate China, the two countries' relations deteriorated, which culminated in Khrushchev's announcement in 1960 to withdraw the Soviet technical experts and advisors from China and to terminate construction aid with 156 different industrial projects (Sullivan 2007: 444). In China's eyes, the Soviet Union itself had become "revisionist"²⁰ under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev and his brand of destalinized Communism. In the 1970s and 1980s, Chinese government also condemned the USSR as "social imperialist", a suggestion that the once-socialist country had essentially become an imperialist one (ibid.: 263). Their relations came to full normalization only in 1989.

Another important diplomatic relationship is with the United States, which had a great influence on the PRC's international situations, especially during the 1970s. Despite the official recognition of the PRC by some non-socialist western countries, for example Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland in 1950, Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1954 and France in 1964, the U.S. did not recognize the new state but maintained formal diplomatic ties with the Republic of China (ROC) based in Taiwan (Sullivan 2007: 534), whose government, sanctioned by America, also held the "China seat" on the Security Council in the United Nations (ibid.: 536). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, China and the U.S. maintained their mutual hostility, and the "deep freeze" in their relations would last until the late 1960s (ibid.: 214). With the split of China and the Soviet Union, the U.S. saw it as in their national interests to approach China. In 1971, two secret visits to Beijing by U.S. National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger set the stage for the visit to China by President Richard Nixon in February 1972. American support led to the PRC's reentry into the United Nations and the ouster of the ROC from the Security Council and the General Assembly (ibid.: 531). In February 1972, US President Richard Nixon made a historic trip to China and signed Shanghai Communiqué, the first official joint document that began the normalization of relations between the United States and the PRC. With Nixon's 1972 visit to China and the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1979, the denunciation of "American imperialism", which was a staple of Chinese ideological rhetoric from 1949 to the 1970s, gradually disappeared from the Chinese political scene (ibid.: 263).

Following the Soviet model, China's economy in this time period, until the adoption of economic reforms in 1978-1979, is marked by collectivized agriculture, state-owned industry, centralized economic planning whereby production and

²⁰ Yet, interestingly, the term "revisionism" has later been largely dropped from official Chinese political rhetoric, since the 1978-1979 economic reforms in China (Sullivan 2007: 429), when China itself was denounced by some socialist countries such as North Korea as "revisionist" for China's adoption of free-market policies and for its rapprochement with the United States (ibid.: 296).

investment decisions, prices, and labor allocation were decided by the state, dominance of the primary and secondary sectors with little tertiary or service sector, and a rationing system whereby allocation of basic necessities was by administrative means (Sullivan 2007: 168).

The first step since the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) came into power was to establish a Soviet-style socialist economy, whose two foundations were collectivized agriculture plus state-owned and -planned industry (Garver 2016: 51). A land reform was implemented from 1950 to 1952, redistributing land, along with farm tools and livestock, to 300 million previously landless or land-poor peasants (Sullivan 2007: 311). In 1953, however, this land distribution policy was quickly reversed by the socialization of the means of agricultural production (ibid.: 201), as rural households and individuals were organized into mutual aid teams, followed by the “early stage” APCs (Agricultural Producers’ Cooperatives) (also known as production teams), which introduced the principle of property amalgamation (ibid.: 5), then the 1955 “higher stage” APCs (also known as production brigades) in which land ownership was fully collectivized (ibid.: 6), and finally the large-scale people’s communes during the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) (ibid.: 311). By 1959, 26,000 communes had been established, covering more than 99% of the rural population (ibid.: 230, 377). The rural collectivization severely disrupted and reduced agricultural production.

Despite the existence of some industry in the 1949 China (Garver 2016: 54), China’s industrial sector was very backward and its industrialization was just beginning (ibid.: 131). Convinced that the Soviet path would quickly make China prosperous and strong (ibid.: 57), the CCP government decided to adopt the Soviet model of central economic planning and crash industrialization (Sullivan 2007: 268). During the 1950s, the Soviet Union provided extensive assistance to China’s socialist industrialization effort, in the form of industrial projects, machinery and equipment, as well as human technical assistance, which helped China greatly expand and upgrade its industrial sector (Garver 2016: 54). In January 1953, China began its first Five-Year Plan (1953–1957) of economic growth and development, a practice modeled on the Soviet Union and which persists to this day. The Great Leap Forward (1958–1960), driven partly by Mao Zedong’s determination to substantially accelerate the pace of China’s industrialization (ibid.: 113), is a program of massive investment of resources in the expansion of heavy and defense industry (ibid.: 130). Despite some achievements in the heavy industrial production (Garver 2016: 113), the excessive devotion to backyard steel production and ill-advised agricultural measures led to a dramatic fall off in total grain production (Sullivan 2007: 378), with a devastating impact on the rural economy (ibid.: 334).

The core of Chinese Communist ideology is composed of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought in which class struggle was a central value. Internationally, class struggle occurred between imperialism and socialism;

domestically, the peasants and workers should engage in class struggle against not only landlords, capitalists and other “counterrevolutionaries” who opposed the establishment of the socialist state, but also so-called capitalist roaders (zouzipai) within the CCP itself (ibid.: 131). For this reason, campaigns of mass mobilization remained a stable feature during the Maoist-era China (1949-1978), among which the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) is the most devastating. The Cultural Revolution, for its initiator Mao, was an ideological crusade to reinvigorate the Chinese revolution, train a new generation of “revolutionary fighters”, and radically alter Chinese culture through Red Guard attacks on traditional culture denounced as the “four olds” (ibid.: 143). The main force in the early stage was the Red Guards, which were organizations of radical youth, including secondary and tertiary school students, and younger workers in offices and factories (Garver 2016: 262). They attacked via criticism, verbal abuse or physical assault the “hidden revisionists” that had “wormed their way” into positions of power within the communist bureaucratic apparatuses (ibid.). An enormous number of intellectuals, teachers and people with foreign connections also went under attack. In 1967-1968 the Red Guards’ acts degenerated into wanton violence and factional fightings broke out between competing groups. The increasing violence and social and economic disruption led Mao to order the Red Guards to be “sent down” (xiaxiang) to the countryside for “revolutionary reeducation”, where the groups were disbanded and many Red Guards ended up feeling deeply disillusioned (Sullivan 2007: 422). The Cultural Revolution was also a cultural disaster for China, when literary and artistic creations were stifled and the whole nation was reduced to a barren cultural land. After the death of Mao Zedong in September 1976, and the subsequent arrest of radical-leftist leaders headed by the Gang of Four (Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen) in October, the Cultural Revolution was considered to have come to an end. But many people look to December 1978 as the real end, when the watershed Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee was held, calling for a shift in the primary work of the Communist Party to socialist modernization and introducing the economic reform policies (ibid.: 494). Since then, the Cultural Revolution has been roundly condemned by the CCP leadership and Cultural Revolution changes in political and education institutions have been completely abandoned, although “the long-term impact of this political upheaval remains in the form of deep fissures in the social fabric and wide-spread mutual distrust” (ibid.: 145). In June 1981, the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee issued a historic document criticizing excesses in the leadership of Mao Zedong and declaring the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) as a disaster (ibid.: xxvii).

5.4.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1950-1977

In December 1949, Czechoslovakia officially acknowledged and established diplomatic relationship with the newly-founded People's Republic of China. The two countries then signed a commercial agreement in June 1950 and a cultural cooperation agreement in May 1952. In September 1950, 25 Chinese students were sent to 5 European socialist countries including Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, to study languages and history of those countries. The 5 students to Czechoslovakia completed their studies and returned to China in 1953. The following year in 1954, a Czech language bachelor's degree program was introduced in Beijing University. In charge of the development of this program was Zhou Zhiyao, one of the first Chinese graduates from Czechoslovak universities. From 1950 to 1963, the PRC sent hundreds of Chinese students to European socialist countries to study languages, literature, history, social sciences, medicine, agriculture, art, engineering and natural sciences. Among those Chinese students, 238 studied in Czechoslovakia, compared with 160 in Poland, 88 in Hungary, 75 in Romania, 68 in Bulgaria, 23 in Albania and 14 in Yugoslavia (see Yang 2009).

In January 1956 Zhu De, vice chairman of the PRC, visited Czechoslovakia, where he met the then Czechoslovak prime minister Viliam Široký and visited the Lenin heavy machine building factory in Plzeň. In the 1950s and 60s, Czechoslovakia, which was one of the most industrialized countries in the world, provided some assistance to the PRC, whose industrialization was just beginning (Garver 2016: 131), in the form of equipment such as generators and agricultural machinery.

However, Czechoslovak-Chinese relationship was affected by the friction between China and the USSR in the early 1960s. The diplomatic tension eased somewhat in August 1968, when China strongly condemned the Warsaw Pact forces' invasion of Czechoslovakia and denounced the Soviet Union as a "socialist imperialist" and a "new tsarist colonist". The Czechoslovak people's mass street protests in the following years in resistance to the occupiers were reported on with sympathy. The PRC government in the 1970s also criticized the Soviet Union's economic control of Czechoslovakia through the Comecon, following a 1973 official statement by the Soviet Union ambassador which required Czechoslovakia to open its domestic market to the Soviet industrial equipment and to arrange its own industrial production "according to the needs of the USSR".

5.4.2 Literary norms in 1950-1977 China

5.4.2.1 Centralization of literary publications (publishers, periodicals)

As part of the industrial nationalization in the early People's Republic era, the Chinese publishing industry went through a transition towards a centralized planning system following the Soviet pattern. Publishers around the country, which were all privately owned during the republican era, were converted first into state-private joint publishing houses and then into state-owned ones. This was accompanied by the incorporation of smaller publishing houses into larger ones. In 1950 the Publications Administration undertook a survey covering 11 largest cities in China, which showed in those cities 17 state-owned publishing houses, 9 state-and-private joint publishing houses, and 321 privately owned, with the private ones accounting for more than 90% of the total number (Liu & Shi 1999: 10). By the end of 1956 there were 101 publishing houses in the country, 82 being state-owned and 19 joint presses (Yan 2001: 2), and private publishers had ceased to exist.

A high degree of specialization was also introduced in the Chinese publishing industry in the 1950s, with each state-owned publisher specializing in the publishing of books in specific fields. For example, People's Publishing House mainly produced books on political theory and political policies, People's Educational Press textbooks for elementary and middle schools, and China Children's Press books for children and teenagers. The Foreign Languages Press was responsible for the promotion of translated Chinese books to the overseas market (Sun 1996: 187-189), and the Commercial Press the publication of translated foreign philosophy, social sciences and dictionaries (Wang 2015: 15). Translated foreign literature in Chinese was mainly produced by two publishing houses: People's Literature Press in Beijing (including its affiliates in this period: the Writers Publishing House and China Theater Press) and Shanghai Literature & Art Publishing House (Sun 1996: 185-186). In July 1953, the journal *Yiwen* was founded and became a major platform for the introduction of foreign literature. Renamed *World Literature* (Shijie wenxue) in 1959, it was the only officially published foreign literature journal in China until 1978. That's why Wang (2015) characterizes the landscape of China's foreign literature translation in this period, especially after 1956 when the nationalization of publishing industry was almost completed, as "2 publishers and 1 journal (liang she yi kan)", referring to People's Literature Press, Shanghai Literature & Art Publishing House, and *World Literature*.

In the meantime, there was a separation between publication and distribution in this era. The periodicals were distributed and sold by post offices, while books'

distribution and retail were monopolized by the Xinhua bookstore system, which was a typical example of the state-controlled, centrally planned economy. The state-authorized publishing houses were required to sell their products to Xinhua, and these were then distributed to readers through Xinhua branches (Kong 2005: 38). In this way, state-owned publishing houses combined with Xinhua bookstores enjoyed a strict monopoly over the publishing and distribution of books (ibid.: 71).

In our data of this period, 10 publishers were involved in the publication of translated books from Czech literature. They can be categorized as follows, in terms of their ownership:

Ownership	Publishers
Private:	Beixin; Guangming; Pingming
State-private joint:	New Literature & Art; Shanghai Literature & Art Association
State-owned:	People's Literature; Shanghai Literature & Art; The Writers; China Theater; China Youth

Table 5.3 Publishers of translated books from Czech literature in 1950-1977, in terms of their ownership

Since The Writers and China Theater are both affiliates of People's Literature Press (Ding & Song 2015: 301), if we group their publications together under the name of People's Literature, then the dominance of “2 publishers (liang she)” (see Wang 2015) in China’s foreign literature translation becomes more evident. As Figure 5.7 shows, the two dominant state-owned publishers and their affiliates together make up 77% of the translated books from Czech literature.

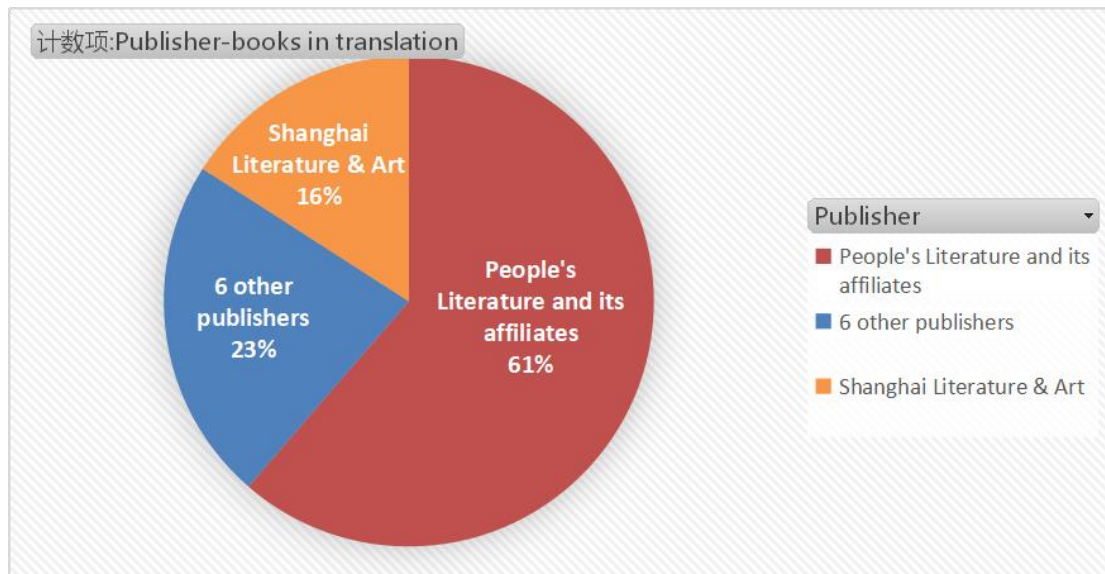


Figure 5.7 Synchronic distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1977 in terms of their publishers

However, this synchronic analysis does not present the whole picture. From a diachronic perspective, as shown in Figure 5.8, publications of Czech literature by the private and state-private joint publishers ceased after 1957. And the translated books thereafter were exclusively produced by state-owned publishers: People's Literature and Shanghai Literature & Art along with their affiliates.

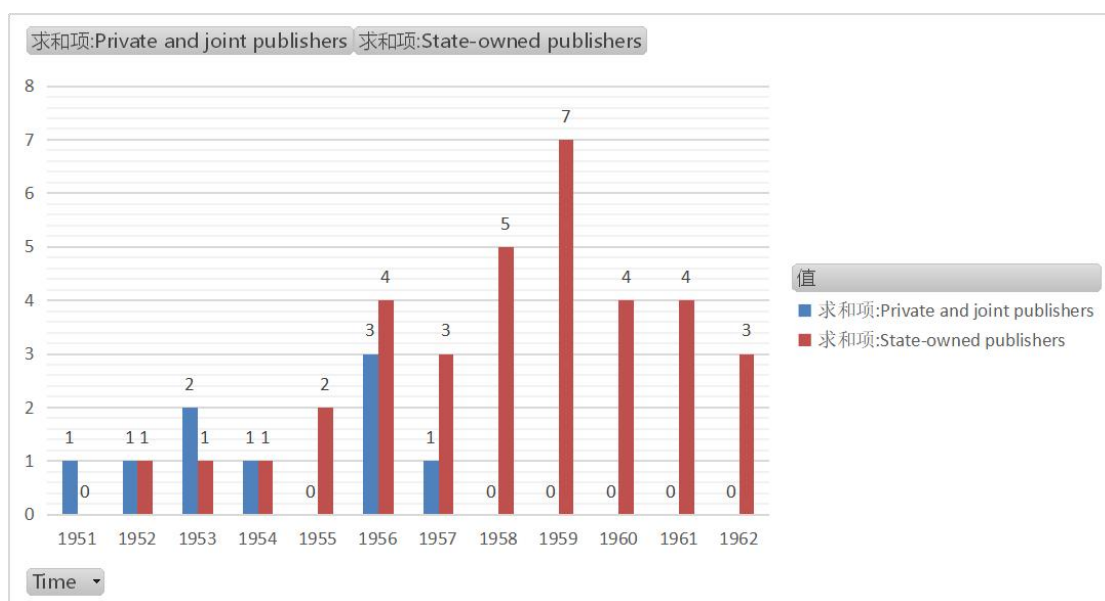


Figure 5.8 Diachronic distribution of books of Czech literature in Chinese translation

in 1950-1977²¹ in terms of their publishers

5.4.2.2 Socialist ideology and poetics

The core of Chinese Communist ideology is composed of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought, which stresses class struggle. In keeping with this ideology, the introduction of Soviet Russian literature was highly prioritized. According to Zha & Xie (2007: 567), in 1949-1958 a total of 3,526 titles of Soviet Russian literature translations were published in mainland China, which constituted about 65.8% of the 5356 foreign literature translation publications during this period. The print run was about 82 million copies, about 74% of the entirety of the foreign literature translation publications (Qi 2012: 124). In the meantime, literature from other socialist countries or from the third-world nations were also favored, while the importation of literature from western capitalist countries was confined to canonized classics and progressive works involving criticism of Western society, in particular issues such as inequality and racism, etc.

From a polysystem perspective, in the 1950s the Chinese socialist literature is still “young”, in the process of being established. Or the Chinese literature can be seen as again coming to “a turning point”, where a literary “vacuum” occurs (Even-Zohar 1990: 48). In such a vacuum, what China borrowed from the Soviet Union were not just textual entities but also “models”, to fill the gaps in the target culture (Toury 2012: 21). This imported model was socialist realism, the “officially sanctioned theory and method of artistic and literary composition in the Soviet Union from 1932 to the mid-1980s” (Britannica Concise Encyclopedia online). It may also be seen as a poetics because it concerns “what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole” (Lefevere 2010: 26-27). Caryl Emerson (2008: 200) sums up all artistic and literary works under the banner of socialist realism in four principles: “party-mindedness,” which decrees that every artistic act is a political act; “idea-mindedness,” which prioritize “idea” (or content) over artistic form; “class-mindedness,” which requires artwork to highlight class struggle elements and serve the cause of the proletariat; “folk-mindedness,” which decrees that all artwork should draw from the masses in both matter (traditions and values) and manner (e.g., language) in order to be accessible and appealing to them. The tenets of socialist realism also require writers to remove unsuitable or so-called bourgeois elements (Inggs 2011:80), to display the protagonists’ courage, decisiveness and the ability to work in a team, and to reflect reality in a positive light (ibid.: 83, 85). In much the

²¹ Due to the limitation of space, the 15 years from 1963 to 1977, when no translation of Czech literature was published in mainland China, are not shown in the figure.

same vein, Mao Zedong, the leader of the CPC, laid down the guiding principles of the communist cultural policies, in his “Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art” in 1942. He called on the artists and writers to focus on the bright side of the revolutionary causes and to go to the masses for inspiration and material. Socialist literature and art, said he, must be subservient to politics and serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers (Qi 2012: 91-92).

In addition to the dominant poetics of socialist realism, there is on the periphery another poetics: the introduction of foreign literary classics, which may be seen as a continuation of the previous dominating ideology and poetics in Chinese society since the late Qing when China was under the existential threat from imperialist powers: to borrow from foreign countries everything excellent, including literary classics, so as to save and renew the nation. This peripheral poetics was shown in Mao Zedong’s recognition of the necessity and benefit of introducing foreign literary classics (Qi 2012: 91). Sun Zhili in his study of British and American Literature translated in 1949-1966 China, for example, observes that, of the 245 monographs of British literature published during that period, most were masterpieces by world-famous British writers and the rest were modern and contemporary progressive works (Sun 1996: 11). Of course, it has to be noted that this peripheral poetics only worked when it did not come into conflict with the dominant socialist ideology and poetics. Moreover, with the ultra-leftist political ideology becoming all the rage during the Cultural Revolution, the previously acceptable western classics, and even the preferred critical realist works, grew intolerable and finally virtually all foreign literature translation came to a halt.

5.4.2.3 Censorship

In November 1949, the new PRC government set up the General Administration of Publication under the Central People’s Government and in 1954 replaced it with the Publication Bureau under the Ministry of Culture, which, as the country’s top publication authorities, also acted as censors of major publication projects including translation projects (Tan 2015: 319). In 1952, the General Administration of Publication followed the Soviet model in issuing guidelines for state-owned publishing houses, which demanded, among other things, that all publishers submit their publication plans for official scrutiny and approval by the authorities, and every book or translation manuscript go through reviews by copy-editor, senior editor and editor-in-chief before their final approval by the publishing house director (Ni 2011: 41, cited in Tan 2015: 319). Tan listed the typical examples of censored and forbidden foreign literary books at that time, including Pearl Buck’s *The House of Earth: A Trilogy* (forbidden on political grounds because they arguably villified the Chinese

people, especially the Chinese peasants), George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* (forbidden on ideological grounds because they bitterly satirized communism) and D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (forbidden on moral grounds because of obscenity) (Tan 2015: 332).

After the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960s, translated literature from the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries went into a dramatic decline. Then during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), a period marked by ultra-leftist upheaval in all walks of life, the political and ideological censorship was so severe that the official publication of foreign literature almost came to a complete standstill (Tan 2015: 333). According to Qi (2012: 126-127), from 1966 to 1971, the first five years of the Cultural Revolution, not a single foreign literature translation was published. And for the entire duration of the Cultural Revolution, a total of 34 foreign titles were published, including a handful of canonized Soviet socialist realism works and some works from the few socialist and third-world friends such as Albania, Vietnam, the Laos, and North Korea. At the same time, there were dozens of foreign literary works that were translated and distributed “for internal reference only” (Zha & Xie 2007: 757-759), meaning only officials and intellectuals of certain political credentials and ranks could have access to them (Qi 2012: 124). This practice of limited and controlled “for internal reference only” publication would last during the 1960s and 70s. The internally distributed foreign literature mainly include some Soviet literary works and western modernist works, ostensibly to provide material for anti-imperialistic and anti-Soviet Revisionist research and denunciation (Qi 2012: 127).

The censorship of translated Czech literature in 1950-1977 China, as a form of ideological manipulation, can be seen as happening on three levels: text selection, paratextual and textual level. The censorship on the text selection level was the most stringent and operated as a powerful screening mechanism to block any politically problematic foreign works. If some works that are generally acceptable but may contain some ideological ambiguous elements, usually canonized foreign classics which enjoyed “certain political lenience” (Sun 2018: 122), managed to gain entry, then the paratexts would serve to provide an interpretation for the readers and to point them towards “the ‘correct’ understanding” of the text (Lygo 2016: 56). Since the first two steps had generally screened out most potentially “harmful” texts and elements, the censorship on the textual level turned out to be not so stringent as would be expected. These will be discussed in more detail in the following relevant sections.

5.4.3 Translation norms in 1950-1977 China

5.4.3.1 Institutionalization and subjectivity of translation activities

5.4.3.1.1 Institutionalization of translation activities

In November 1951, the first National Translation Work meeting was convened in Beijing, sponsored by the General Administration of Publication which was established two years before in 1949. The stated purpose of the meeting was to remedy the “chaotic, disorderly, and wasteful” situations of the translation work by better planning and organizing translation activities nationwide, though its ideological orientation was evident (Qi 2012: 118-119). The week-long meeting introduced regulations on the work of translation agencies and publishers, the stated mission for whom was to “improve the quality of translation of works in the Marxism-Leninism canon, especially the experiences, achievements, and scientific and technological advancement in the Soviet Union, to educate the people, and to promote the political and economic construction of the new, socialist republic” (ibid.: 119). To institutionalize translation work through centralized planning and regulation, a new Translation Department was set up within the General Administration of Publication. At the more technical level, the meeting advocated the standardization of translated proper names, place names, and concepts, as well as the establishment of national criteria concerning good translation and translation methods (ibid.). Another directive issued that year required that the relevant information about the source text, such as the title, the author, the publisher as well as the publication date, be made explicit on the copyright page (see Yuan 1996: 15-16). These explain the aforementioned paratextual changes such as the standardized Chinese transliterations of Czech writers’ names, as well as the markedness of indirectness and detailed information given about the Mediating Texts.

Another national meeting, on the subject of literary translation, this time convened by the Chinese Writers’ Association, took place two years later in August 1953. It called on all literary translation workers to appreciate their work as “an indispensable and important weapon in the international political struggle as well as domestic cultural construction” (Qi 2012: 120). It was stressed in the meeting that the unorganized translation and publication of foreign literary works in the past, which resulted in the waste of human and material resources and the chaos of the book market, could not live up to the urgent need of the cultural construction in the new era, and that they must be put under the supervision of the cultural sectors of the government in a systematic and step-by-step manner (Mao 1984a: 7). At the more

technical level, they also aimed at reaching consensus regarding the criteria of good translation and translation methods (Qi 2012: 121). In his speech at the conference, Mao Dun stated that the minimum standard for every translation was a faithful rendering of the original content in a clear and readable way. For literary translation, in essence a kind of artistically creative work, the main task of the translator was to duplicate in the target language the content as well as the spirit of the source text, so as to ensure the readers a chance to appreciate the beauty of the original (Mao 1984a: 10). As the minister in charge of cultural affairs, Mao Dun's views no doubt played an important role in guiding the translation practice in that period (Jiang 2006: 83). And Qi points out that, to the credit of many attending the meeting, including Mao Dun, who would be purged from his post as Cultural Minister later in the Cultural Revolution, “they tried to strike a balance between content (politics) and form (art) instead of letting the former completely supersede or overrule the latter” (Qi 2012: 121).

Modeled on the Writers' Union in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Writers' Association (zhongguo zuojia xiehui) was set up in 1949 as part of the All-China Federation of Literary Circles (renamed the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles in 1953). Far more than the professional association that its title indicates, it actually functioned as an official cultural bureaucracy organizing, supporting and regulating writers under socialism. Since the Chinese political leadership saw literature and art as an important vehicle for building socialism, it managed to maintain a monopoly over the patronage of writers, including literary translators, through the Writers Association and various related official literary institutions at the local and national levels (Kong 2005: 11). Apart from convening the aforementioned 1953 national literary translation meeting, the Chinese Writers' Association also sponsored the establishment of the journal *Yiwen* in July 1953. *Yiwen* was renamed *World Literature* (Shijie wenxue) in 1959, and remained the only officially published foreign literature journal in China until 1978. That's why the translated Czech literature has been found to concentrate in just one journal. Its sponsor in 1964 became the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy, but its staff remained the same.

The important foreign literature translators in this period were mostly members of the Chinese Writers' Association, editors at state-sponsored journals, newspapers, or state-owned publishing houses, or foreign language teachers at universities. Their institutional affiliation stands in sharp contrast with the republican era literary translators who were mostly freelance translators, “free to pursue their own literary endeavors, and to associate themselves with whatever literary organizations and camps of their own choice” (Qi 2012: 121). If the republican era had a literary system with “differentiated patronage” in the sense that “the economic component remains independent of the ideological one” (Lefevere 2010: 17), then in this period the

patronage is “undifferentiated” in that the ideological, the economic and the status components “are dispensed by one and the same patron” (ibid.), as a result of the institutionalization of translators²².

5.4.3.1.2 Subjectivity of translators

Descriptive Translation Studies, especially in its initial phases, stresses the contextual conditions determining literary transfer and the target norms imposing constraints on translators. Yet Hanne Jansen and Anna Wegener argue that explanations sought out “on a structural level (in relation to literary systems, ideology, politics, national, religious or ethnic interests)” at times end up “being too general, abstract and deterministic to grasp effectively the variety and complexity of real-life translation processes in which individuals interact under very specific conditions and with very different motivations” (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 11). Hence their support for the “social turn” in Translation Studies, which in their view implies an increased attention to the “‘minor,’ less influential or at any rate less visible agents” in the making of a translation (ibid.). Similarly, Pym also proposes the treatment of translators as “the central object” of translation history and the discovery of them as “effective social actors” (Pym 2014: 5-6) with “socially conditioned subjectivity” (ibid.: ix). However, he seems to pay more attention to influential translators, seeing a major key to them becoming active causes of translations as “their status and competence in other professional activities”, which gives them “considerably more social and intellectual power than they would otherwise have as just translators” and the ability to challenge power structures in some way (ibid.: 156).

We believe that some Chinese translators in this period, with their subjectivity and their belief in the value of foreign literatures, acted as some sort of a counterbalance to the politicization of literary translation. They included not only influential translators like Mao Dun, who as the cultural minister in the 1950s advocated a faithful rendering of the content as well as the spirit of the source text and was later stripped of his post before the Cultural Revolution, but also some less influential translators who persisted in their underground translation endeavors even during the Cultural Revolution, such as Ji Xianlin, who translated the 8-volume Indian Sanskrit epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. Liu Xingcan, one of the most important translators of Czech literature in the third period and a graduate of Charles University, also recalled that she did Czech literary translations at that time, despite seeing no hope of publishing

²² Another important shift in translators’ identity is the transformation from the first period’s mostly writer-translators to this period’s researcher-translators, a mode that has persisted somewhat to this day.

them.

5.4.3.2 Text selection

American scholar Qi (2012: 125, 127) argues that during the 17 years between the foundation of the PRC in 1949 and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 there was still some room, limited as it was, for individual expressions and artistic pursuits. Some translations were assignments from central planners out of ideological and geopolitical calculations. Others were carried out by the translators themselves, of their own volition. Many writers and translators tried their best within the confines of socialist poetics and succeeded in producing some works with artistic value. Yet the same cannot be said about the Cultural Revolution, a ten-year period of stifled creativity and silenced voices, which turned the whole country into an artistic and literary wasteland (ibid.: 127). Due to the ideological and geopolitical frictions, literary translations from the Soviet Union and most other Eastern Bloc countries went into dramatic decline in 1963, a few years earlier than the Cultural Revolution since 1966, when translation activities from most other countries also stopped. And there was no Chinese translation of Czech literature in the 15 years from 1963 to 1977.

In his study of literary translation history in modern China, Wang (2015: 500) notes the efforts of the intellectuals, especially of editors and translators in the dominant “2 publishing houses and 1 journal”, to strike a balance between cultural, literary and communication needs with political, ideological and diplomatic needs. They distinguished between long-term translation projects and short-term translation tasks. The long-term projects put emphasis on well-established and widely-accepted literary classics written by canonized writers, whose translation required longer time and the best translators, preferably from the original languages. At the same time, the short-term tasks were carried out to deal with political needs, which were in many cases done collectively by groups of translators and indirectly from mediating languages (Wang 2015: 105, 278). This in part explains the relative increase in the number of collective translations by translators working as groups. As a result of the short-term tasks, this period produced a large number of what Wang describes as “disposable” translations that were never republished or never saw their originals retranslated in the new era after 1979 (ibid.: 276), as happened with almost all the Czech socialist realist works of this time period. On the other hand, the long-term projects have left some excellent translations of literary classics that get regularly republished and followed by regular retranslations even to this day. Xiao Qian’s 1956 version of *The Good Soldier Švejk* and Wu Qi’s 1957 translation of *Babička* are two cases in point.

In analyzing the selected Czech texts for translation in this period, we found three variables to be of special significance when it comes to the texts' profile. The first is the relevant writers' status in the history of Czech literature, which can be shown particularly in whether they are included in brief historical reviews of Czech literature, for example the "Czech Literature" entry in *Britannica Encyclopedia*²³ or the review of Czech literature history by the Czech department at Oxford University²⁴. The second variable is whether the works are also translated into English (this is determined by checking them against the bibliography in *Czech and Slovak Literature in English* 1987), the lingua franca and the most widely used mediating language in the world. The last is whether the Czech works have also been translated (or republished) into Chinese not just in 1950-1977, but also in other historical periods before and after that. It should be noted that these three criteria used to classify the texts is just one of possible perspectives. When we check these factors of the 40 Czech books translated (four of them were translated twice), we get the following table:

Work	Writer	Publishing year	Variable 1	Variable 2	Variable 3
<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	1956	Y	Y	Y
<i>Babička</i> (The Grandmother)	B. Němcová	1957	Y	Y	Y
The Collected Plays of Karel Čapek	K. Čapek	1957	Y	Y	Y
<i>Máj</i> (May)	K.H. Mácha	1960	Y	Y	Y
<i>Písň otroka</i> (Songs of a Slave)	S. Čech	1960	Y	Y	Y
Selected Short Stories of Jaroslav Hašek	J. Hašek	1959	Y	Y	Y

²³ <https://www.britannica.com/art/Czech-literature>

²⁴ <https://czech.mml.ox.ac.uk/czech-and-slovak-literature-resources>

<i>Divá Bára</i> (Wild Bara)	B. Němcová	1956	Y	Y	Y
<i>Krakatit</i> (An Atomic Phantasy)	K. Čapek	1956	Y	Y	N
Husitská trilogie	A. Jirásek	1960	Y	N	N
<i>Lucerna</i> (Lantern)	A. Jirásek	1959	Y	N	N
<i>Psohlavci</i>	A. Jirásek	1958	Y	N	N
Josef Kajetán Tyl: Collected Plays	J.K. Tyl	1962	Y	N	N
<i>Strakonický dudák</i> (The Bagpiper of Strakonice)	J.K. Tyl	1956	Y	N	N
<i>Krvavý soud aneb kutnohorští havíři</i> (A Bloody Verdict: The Miners of Kutná Hora)	J.K. Tyl	1959	Y	N	N
<i>Němá barikáda</i> (Silent Barricade)	J. Drda	1956	N	Y	N
<i>Děti a dýka</i> (Children and the Dagger)	F. Langer	1951	Y	Y	N
<i>Krásná Tortiza</i> (Beautiful Tortiza)	J. Drda	1955	N	Y	N
<i>Nikola Šuhaj loupežník</i> (Nikolai Schuhaj, Highwayman)	I. Olbracht	1959	Y	Y	N
Selected Novellas and Short Stories of Ivan Olbracht	I. Olbracht	1961	Y	N	N
<i>Anna Proletárka</i> (Anna the Proletarian)	I. Olbracht	1953	Y	N	Y

<i>Zpěv míru</i> (Singing Peace)	V. Nezval	1955	Y	Y	N
<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	1953	N	N	Y
<i>Havířská balada</i> (Ballad of a Miner)	M. Majerová	1954	Y	N	N
<i>Náměstí republiky</i> (Republic Square)	M. Majerová	1956	Y	N	N
<i>Siréna</i> (The Siren)	M. Majerová	1959	Y	N	N
<i>Nad nami svítá</i> (It Dawns above us)	J. Marek	1952	N	N	N
<i>Vesnice pod zemí</i> (Villages Underground)	J. Marek	1956	N	N	N
<i>Nástup</i> (Onset)	V. Řezáč	1961	N	N	N
<i>Občan Brych</i> (Citizen Brych)	J. Otčenášek	1962	N	N	N
<i>Rozbřesk</i> (Dawn)	A. Zápotocký	1960	N	N	N
<i>Bouřlivý rok 1905</i>	A. Zápotocký	1959	N	N	N
<i>Rudá záře nad Kladnem</i> (Red Glow Over Kladno)	A. Zápotocký	1958	N	N	N
<i>Vstanou noví bojovníci</i> (New Fighters will Rise)	A. Zápotocký	1957	N	N	N
<i>Lidé na křižovatce</i> (People at a Crossroads)	M. Pujmanová	1958	N	N	N
<i>Hra s ohněm</i> (Playing with Fire)	M. Pujmanová	1959	N	N	N
<i>Život proti smrti</i>	M.	1962	N	N	N

(Life Against Death)	Pujmanová				
<i>Kus cukru</i>	P.	1961	N	N	N
(A Piece of Sugar)	Jilemnický				
<i>Válkou narušení</i>	V. Káňa	1958	N	N	N
(War of Disruption)					
<i>Parta brusiče Karhana</i>	V. Káňa	1953	N	N	N
(Grinder Karhan's Shift)					
<i>Štěstí nepadá s nebe</i>	J. Klíma	1958	N	N	N
(Happiness does not Fall from the Sky)					

Table 5.4 Czech works selected for translation in book form in 1950-1977 China and three important variables in terms of their profiles. (Y=Yes; N=No.)

Variable 1: Whether the writer is included in brief historical reviews of Czech literature

Variable 2: Whether the work is translated into English

Variable 2: Whether the work is translated into Chinese in other historical periods

As shown by Table 5.4, the selected Czech texts for translation in this period's China can be seen as constituting a continuum. At one end, with three Ys for all the variables, are those that can be regarded as Czech classic works. Their authors are usually included in brief introductions of Czech literary history, and they have also been translated into English, the hyper-central language in the international translation system (Heilbron 1999: 434). Moreover, the works have been translated (or republished) during other historical periods in China, some in the third period after 1977, like B. Němcová's *Babička* (republished) and her short stories (retranslated), and K. H. Mácha's *Máj* (retranslated). Other classic works come into Chinese translation in all the three historical periods, including J. Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk* and his short stories, K. Čapek's plays, and S. Čech's poems (J. Neruda's works no doubt also belong to Czech classics, though they only appear in literary journals in this period but not in book form, and so are not included in this table). All the facts attest to these works' general recognition, wide acceptance and enduring popularity. And this category accounts for 17.5% of the Czech texts translated in book form.

At the other end of the spectrum are those that can be considered typical proletarian and socialist-realist works. They share features that are all opposite to

those of the classics, with three Ns for all the variables. The authors do not get even a mention in passing in brief history of Czech literature; the works have never been translated into English; they are not translated or republished in other periods of China's history except in 1950-1977. These facts indicate the texts' limited acceptance and short-lived popularity. This category makes up 37.5% of the total number.

The rest are those between the two extremes. Some of them are close to the Czech classics end, such as A. Jirásek and J.K. Tyl's plays (their absence in English and in post-1977 China seems to have a lot to do with the genre, and perhaps also relevance for the Chinese/international reader), and K. Čapek's *Krakatit*. J. Drda, F. Langer and J. Fučík's works are anti-fascism-themed, though it would be argued that they were ideologically appropriated, especially Fučík. With this we are getting closer to the proletarian and socialist-realist end. Yet things are somewhat complicated when it comes to I. Olbracht and V. Nezval. Ivan Olbracht is mentioned in Britannica Encyclopedia's "Czech Literature" entry as one of the writers after 1918 known for their excellent narrative prose. His novel, *Nikola Šuhaj loupežník* (Nikola Šuhaj, Outlaw), is a folktale about a peasant Robin Hood who robbed the rich to provide for the poor, while his *Anna Proletářka*, another novel, describes proletarian life in the Czech lands after World War I. Vítězslav Nezval is mentioned as an important avant-garde poet and a prominent Poetist in Czech literature reviews. Yet his only one Chinese book in this period is not of his experimental versifying poems, but one in which the writer, imbued with proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, eulogized over peace. Marie Majerová's left-wing social fiction is mentioned in the relatively more detailed historical reviews of the Oxford, but not in Britannica Encyclopedia's very brief entry. Nor is she translated ever in English or in China after 1977.

Admittedly, the inclusion of classic Czech literature does not mean the absence of ideological manipulation. As mentioned previously, this part can be seen as the continuation of the ideology since late Qing to save and renew the country by introducing everything excellent from the west. It may also be seen as the continued introduction of "literature of the oppressed peoples", as most of the translated Czech literary classics in this period are realistic, such as J. Neruda and J. Hašek's short stories. Many of them deal with the themes of national liberation and social oppression, like J. K. Tyl's plays, A. Jirásek's plays and novels, S. Čech and P. Bezruč's poems, or anti-fascism, like K. Čapek's plays *Bílá nemoc* (The White Disease) and *Matka* (The Mother), despite few exceptions like K.J. Erben and K.H. Mácha's romantic poetry.

In his discussion of literary translation history of China, Wang (2015: 489) observes that from the late Qing in the early 1900s to the late 1970s, the typical image of the Polish people, constructed through translated Polish literature, remained the same: a people suffering the oppression and humiliation of foreign invaders but

persevering in their heroic resistance. He argues that the translated literary image of the Czech people is by contrast more varied: the strong-minded and optimistic patriots represented by Julius Fučík, the witty and humorous Czech people represented by Švejk, and the kind, sensible and lovely ordinary Czechs represented by Němcová's grandmother in *Babička* (Wang 2015: 501).

Wang (2015), however, also concedes to the limitation of China's Czech literature translation, in which the diversity of the Czech literary tradition was diminished. The partial and slanted representation of the Czech literature in the republican times did not get better in this period. The absence of some important Czech literary schools remained, such as the Symbolists, the Decadents, the Poetists²⁵, and the Catholics. As for the writers who arrived on the Czech literary scene in the mid-1960s, like Ivan Klíma, Bohumil Hrabal, Milan Kundera, and Václav Havel, their introduction was totally out of the question amid the rage for ultra-leftist ideology during the Cultural Revolution.

5.4.3.3 Indirect translation and retranslation

The most obvious reason for indirect translation is “sheer lack of knowledge of the SL” (Ringmar 2007: 6). If during the first period of 1921-1949 this lack was “absolute, i.e. literally no translator knows the SL”, then in the second period of 1950-1977 the lack was “relative, when no available translator knows the SL” (ibid.). The emergence of direct translations from Czech has a lot to do with the geopolitical and geocultural changes in this period. The close diplomatic and cultural communication made possible the appearance of Yang Leyun, who became interested in Czech culture and learned the language in her work at the diplomatic institution. Another important translator, Kong Rou, was among the Chinese students sent to study in Czechoslovakia, as a result of the increased cultural and educational exchange between the two countries.

As for the dominant role of Russian in this period's Czech literature translation in China, the ideological and political motivation were undeniable, when the newly founded People's Republic of China (PRC) adopted a “lean to one side” policy in its foreign relations, in alliance with the Soviet Union (Garver 2016: 29). As a matter of fact, “the development of world literature via Russian translations” in the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries was “one of the important features of the 20th century translation history” (Song & Ding 2015: 513). From a perspective of

²⁵ Some of Vítězslav Nezval's poems got translated in this period, but they were all politically oriented with limited aesthetic value.

power relations between cultures/languages, this fits Ringmar's assumption that the SL and the TL, in this case the Czech and Chinese languages, were "small/dominated languages", whereas the ML, Russian, was a "dominant language" (2007: 5). Furthermore, indirect translation may be used as "a means to control the contents of the TT" (Ringmar 2007: 7), with "Russian being thus, effectively, a relay language and the language of censorship" (Gambier 2003: 59). In this sense, indirect translation became an extension of the censorship mechanism in the target culture. On the other hand, indirect translation could also be seen as "a risk-management strategy": "filtered through the central and more prestigious cultures, ITr may better conform to tastes in the ultimate target community" (Pięta 2014: 25).

This second period has been identified as the period with the highest transparency in the marking of direct and indirect translations and the only era in which explicit labeling was fully used for both cases (almost 100% of direct translations and indirect ones were marked as such). By comparison, unmarked translations predominated in the first period and took up a considerable proportion in the third period. Another notable change is the standardization of translated Czech writers' names. For example, compared with the 10 variations for the Chinese transliteration of "Čapek" in the first period, there has since the 1950s just one generally accepted transliteration for the writer's family name: "恰佩克", thus avoiding the confusions previously caused. Considering Liang Qichao's advocacy of standardization of translated terms and proper names during the late 1890s (Qi 2012: 38), as well as the May Fourth generation's debates about the establishment of national criteria concerning good translation and translation methods in the 1920s and 30s (ibid.: 119), these standardization measures on the technical level seemed more like continuation of the translator community's efforts to seek better translation quality, than mere ideological attempts to manipulate translated works. Nonetheless, it can't be denied that the institutionalized nature of translation activities in this period had made these previous goals much easier to realize, and that there was a struggle between the authorities' attempts to manipulate translations and the translators' efforts to render faithfully not just the original content but the spirit of the source text (Mao 1984a: 10), which ended with the translators' total failure when the ultra-leftist ideology-overwhelmed Cultural Revolution started.

A correlation has been observed between the profiles of some authors and the (in)directness of their translations. Generally speaking, the authors of socialist realist works have a higher indirect translation rate than the classic writers. On the other hand, the translators, as compared to the previous period, were more likely to translate the classic writers' works directly from Czech. This can be seen as a manifestation of the translators' distinction between short-term tasks, which were carried out to deal with political needs, and long-term projects, which put emphasis on the artistic value of the translated works. By doing so, "they tried to strike a balance between content

(politics) and form (art) instead of letting the former completely supersede or overrule the latter” (Qi 2012: 121).

Writers	Total number of translations	Number of indirect translations	Number of direct translations	Indirect translation rate
Socialist realism writers: Antonín Zápotocký Marie Majerová Marie Pujmanová	13	2	11	86%
Classic writers: Karel Čapek Božena Němcová Jan Neruda	9	5	4	56%

Table 5.5 Comparison between the indirect translation rates of Czech socialist realist writers and classic writers

The 10 direct translations in this period were rendered by 1 team of two translators and 3 individual translators, amounting to an average of 2.5 volumes per translator (or group of translators). The 48 indirect translations, by contrast, were rendered by 11 teams of translators and 33 individual translators, amounting to an average of 1.1 volumes per translator (or group of translators). This ratio is significantly lower than the corresponding ratio for direct translations (2.5 volumes per translator), hence supporting the hypothesis that ITr coincides with a low book-per-translator ratio (Ringmar 2007: 6).

Finally, compared with the other historical periods, this period has the lowest retranslation rate and the smallest retranslation numbers. Of the 54 translated Czech literary works, just 4 were rendered more than once. One important reason is that, with the highly institutionalized and planned nature of translation activities in this era, the chances of what Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 35) termed “collisions” due to a lack of coordination between translators and publishers were practically nil.

5.4.3.4 Paratexts

Kovala applied the Jakobsonian communication model developed by Leena Kirstina and Judith Lorincz (1991: 24-25, cited in Kovala 1996: 136), which adopts four functions: informative, conative, phatic and poetic, to her study of the relationship between translation, paratexts and ideology. The four functions foreground respectively “the information content of the works, their effect on the reader, their entertainment function, and their literary qualities and value” (Kovala 1996: 136). As with Kovala’s research on the paratexts of translated Anglo-American literature in 1890-1939 Finland (ibid.: 135), our study of Chinese translation of Czech literature during the period in question shows two main paratextual functions: informative and conative functions — that is, to inform and to influence the reader. Stress was placed on thought content and biographical and social context, as opposed to literary form and literary context.

Furthermore, emphasis was also laid on literary works’ educative and civilizing effect on readers. Thomson-Wohlgemuth, in her study of the translated books for young people in the German Democratic Republic, points to the didactic purpose of literary production with which the authorities invested the publishing houses: literary production involved itself actively in the process of educating and cultivating not just the young people, but the general public (2009: 58). Špirk points out that this trace of the political ideology of Marxism Leninism is also reflected in Popovič’s concept of “literary education” (Špirk 2011: 42).

Paratexts perform their conative function to influence the reader, by serving as “a form of interpretation”, thus rewriting the text so as to “present it in a certain light to a certain readership” (Pellatt 2018: 167). In his study of translation in the USSR during the Brezhnev period, Lygo also argues that the function of paratexts presented by Soviet editors was “to offer an interpretation for the reader” and to point them towards “the ‘correct’ understanding of the writer and the work” (Lygo 2016: 56). In this process, “paratexts were used to select certain aspects of the works they framed, while neglecting others” (Kovala 1996: 136). These are also true of the Czech literature translation in 1950-1977 China. For example, class struggle was often foregrounded, not just in socialist realist literature but also in classic works like Božena Němcová’s *Babička* (The Grandmother). Importance was placed on the industry, bravery and sufferings of the working people, and sometimes the invincibility of the peasants and workers under the leadership of the communist party, as well as the heartlessness and greed of the ruling classes. On the other hand, the practice of using paratexts in this way may also to some extent acted as “a strategy for dealing with censorship”: “by informing the reader of the correct ideological approach to a text, the editors hoped to facilitate its publication” (Lygo 2016: 56).

Paratexts are related to indirect translation, in that the features perceived as indicators of the indirectness of a Target Text can be displayed on not only the textual but also the paratextual level (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 122-123). Špirk proposes the concept of “indirect reception”, defined as “reception through the lens of another culture” (2011: 59). Li Wenjie, who explored the concept from the perspective of paratexts, argues that critics, when commenting on a translated literary work, often build their interpretations and critical views on, or at least refer to, reviews in the mediating languages (Li 2017: 192). This “double indirectness” in both the process of translation and the process of interpretation will increase the risk of distorting and misrepresenting the original text (*ibid.*). Maialen Marin-Lacarta (2017: 144) also mentions that “the MT can also influence the paratext and reviews of the TT, meaning that the influence of the MT is palpable in a literary work’s reception”. The concept of “indirect reception” explains why some forewords of Czech translated literature quoted comments by Soviet Union critics, and why, in some cases, the entire forewords or illustrations were retained from the Russian mediating texts. What’s more, the widespread use of writers’ portraits in the translated books of this period seems to be a practice borrowed from the Soviet Union.

Finally, there are “three main means for mediating between the text and the reader” in the publication process, as pointed out by Kovala (1996: 140). The selection of works to be translated and modification of the text itself both ran parallel to paratextual rewriting as “processes of the transmission of translations ideologically” (*ibid.*: 140-141). When it comes to the translation of foreign literature in 1950-1977 China, it seems that the ideological manipulation mainly happened on the levels of text selection and paratexts. Wang Yougui, in his research into the literary translation history in the second half of 20th century China, despite his generally critical attitude, draws attention to the loyalty to source texts of this periods’ translations, on the textual level. He claimed that the ideological rewriting mainly happened paratextually, and that deliberate textual modifications were far fewer than previously thought (Wang 2015: 90). Our preliminary textual analysis has confirmed his claim, though a more definite conclusion would require more extensive research. However, it is possible to propose some tentative explanations here. First, since a stringent text selection standard would ensure the blocking of politically incorrect works, and the paratextual interpretation would minimize the harm of ideologically dubious texts, there seemed to be no urgent need for textual modification. Second, this also seemed to have something to do with the subjectivity of the Chinese translators in this period, represented by Mao Dun, the cultural minister before the Cultural Revolution who insisted that a faithful rendering of the original content was one of the minimum standards for translations (see Section 5.4.3.1.2).

Chapter 6. Translation of Czech literature in China: 1978-2020

6.1 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: What

Our data of the third period include 142 Chinese books in translation attributed to single Czech writers. These include first translations and retranslations (by different translators) of Czech literary works but not their republications. The corresponding Czech source texts originally written by 32 Czech authors are listed as follows²⁶:

N o.	work	writer	genre	Year of publishing
1	<i>Příliš hlučná samota</i> (Too Loud a Solitude)	Bohumil Hrabal	Novel	2002#;
2	<i>Perlička na dně</i> (Pearls of the Deep)*		short story	2002#; 2020;
3	<i>Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále</i> (I Served the King of England)		Novel	2002
4	<i>Pábitelé</i> (Palaverers)		short story	2004
5	<i>Svatby v domě</i> (In-House Weddings)		Novel	2004
6	<i>Vita nuova</i>		Novel	2004
7	<i>Proluky</i> (Vacant Lot/Gaps)		Novel	2004
8	<i>Kličky na kapesníku – Kdo jsem</i> [Knots on a Handkerchief – Who I		Interview	2004

²⁶ The works that are translated more than once in this period are marked with “*”. When the year of publishing is marked with “#”, it means the version in question was published in a collection of more than one work.

	Am: Interviews]		
9	<i>Postřižiny</i> (Cutting It Short)	Novel	2007#
10	<i>Krasosmutnění</i> (Joyful Blues/Beautiful Sadness)	Novel	2007#
11	<i>Harlekýnovy milióny</i> (Harlequin's Millions)	Novel	2007#
12	<i>Městečko, kde se zastavil čas</i> (The Little Town Where Time Stood Still)	Novel	2013;
13	<i>Něžný barbar</i> (The Gentle Barbarian)	Novel	2017
14	<i>Ostře sledované vlaky</i> (Closely Watched Trains)	Novel	2017#
15	<i>Taneční hodiny pro starší a pokročilé</i> (Dancing Lessons for the Advanced in Age)	Novel	2017#
16	<i>Autičko</i>	Memoir	2017#
17	<i>Slavnosti sněženek</i> (Snowdrop Festival)	short story	2017
18	<i>Totální strachy</i> (Total Fears: Letters to Dubenka)	Letters	2017
19	<i>Má veselá jitra</i> (My Merry Mornings: Stories from Prague)	short story	1999
20	<i>Milostné léto</i> (A Summer Affair)	Novel	2004
21	<i>Láska a smetí</i> (Love and Garbage)	Novel	2004
22	<i>Soudce z milosti</i> (Judge on Trial)	Novel	2004
23	<i>Milostné rozhovory</i> (Love Talks)	short story	2004
24	<i>Moje první lásky</i> (My First Loves)*	short story	2004; 2014#;

25	<i>Milenci na jeden den</i> (Lovers for One Day)	Ivan Klíma	short story	2014#
26	<i>Milenci na jednu noc</i> (Lovers for One Night)		short story	2014#
27	<i>Ani svatí, ani andělé</i> (No Saints or Angels)		Novel	2014
28	<i>Čekání na tmu, čekání na světlo</i> (Waiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light)		Novel	2014
29	<i>Poslední stupeň důvěrnosti</i> (The Ultimate Intimacy)		Novel	2014
30	<i>Moje zlatá řemesla</i> (My Golden Trades)		short story	2014
31	<i>Moje šílené století</i> (My Mad Century)		Memoir	2014
32	<i>The Spirit of Prague and Other Essays</i>		Essay	2015
33	<i>Moje šílené století II</i> (My Mad Century II)		Memoir	2016
34	<i>Válka s mloky</i> (War with the Newts)		Novel	1981
35	<i>Věc Makropulos</i> (The Makropulos Affair)	Drama	1982#	
36	<i>Ze života hmyzu</i> (The Life of the Insects)	Drama	1982#	
37	<i>R.U.R.</i> (Rossum's Universal Robots)	Drama	1982#	

38	<i>První parta</i> (The First Rescue Party)	Karel Čapek	Novel	1983#
39	Essays from the four travel books: <i>Italské listy</i> (Letters from Italy), <i>Anglické listy</i> (Letters from England), <i>Výlet do Španěl</i> (Letters from Spain), <i>Obrázky z Holandska</i> (Letters from Holland)*		Travelogue	1983#; 2000;
40	Literary critical essays		Essays	1983#
41	<i>Povídky z jedné a z druhé kapsy</i> (Stories from a Pocket and Stories from Another Pocket)*		short story	1983;1991; 2015;
42	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)*		Essay	2003;2003; 2005;2008; 2008;2016;
43	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)*		Essay	2005;2010; 2012;2017; 2017;2020
44	<i>Hordubal</i> – First part of the "Noetic Trilogy"*		Novel	2015#; 2016#;
45	<i>Povětroň</i> (Meteor) – Second part of the "Noetic Trilogy"*	Novel	2015#; 2016#;	
46	<i>Obyčejný život</i> (An Ordinary Life) – Third part of the "Noetic Trilogy"*	Novel	2015#; 2016#;	
47	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (The Unbearable Lightness of Being)*	Novel	1987;2001; 2003;2006	
48	<i>Valčík na rozloučenou</i>	Novel	1987;2004;	

	(The Farewell Waltz)*			
49	<i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves)*	Milan Kundera	short story	1989;2000; 2002#; 2003;2005;
50	<i>Žert</i> (The Joke)*		Novel	1991;2000; 2003
51	<i>Nesmrtelnost</i> (Immortality)*		Novel	1991;2002;
52	<i>Život je jinde</i> (Life Is Elsewhere)*		Novel	1991;2004;
53	<i>Kniha smíchu a zapomnění</i> (The Book of Laughter and Forgetting)*		Novel	1992;2003;
54	<i>Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi</i> (Jacques and his Master)*		Drama	2002#; 2002;2014;
55	<i>Povídky malostranské</i> (Tales of Little Quarter)	Jan Neruda	short story	1990#
56	10 essays		Essays	1990#
57	Letters, travel essays		Letters, travel essays	2008
58	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)*	Jaroslav Hašek	Novel	1983;1996; 1999;2001; 2001;2005; 2006;2006; 2007;2009; 2009;2009; 2009;2010; 2010;2010; 2012;2013; 2016;2016; 2016;2017; 2017;2018;

59	58 short story and essays			1984
60	<i>Filosofská historie</i>	Alois Jirásek	Novel	1981
61	<i>Staré pověsti české</i> (Old Czech Legends)		Legends	1985
62	poems from different poetry collections*	Jaroslav Seifert	Poetry	1986;2019;
63	<i>Všecky krásy světa</i> (All the Beauties of the World)		Memoir	2005
64	<i>Povídky</i>		short story	2019
65	<i>Nové povídky</i>	Zdeněk Svěrák	short story	2019
66	<i>Filmové příběhy</i>		Novellas	2019
67	<i>Prima sezóna</i> (The Swell Season)	Josef Škvorecký	Novel	2006
68	<i>Obyčejné životy</i> (Ordinary Lives)		Novel	2012
69	<i>Přítelkyně z domu smutku</i>	Eva Kantůrková	Novel	2002
70	<i>Po potopě</i>		Novel	2008
71	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)*	Julius Fučík	Memoir	1979;1995; 1995;1998; 1999;2000; 2003;2005; 2008;2010; 2012;
72	<i>Máj</i> (May)	Karel Hynek Mácha	Poetry	1996
73	<i>Kytice z pověstí národních</i> (A Bouquet of Folk Legends)	Karel Jaromír Erben	Poetry	1986
74	<i>Slezské písně</i> (Silesian Songs)	Petr Bezruč	Poetry	1983
75	6 short story including <i>Divá Bára</i> (Wild Bara)	Božena Němcová	short story	1983

76	<i>Romeo, Julie a tma</i> (Romeo, Juliet and Darkness)	Jan Otčenášek	Novel	1980
77	<i>Mnichov</i>	František Kubka	Novel	1981
78	<i>Rozmarné léto</i> (Summer of Caprice)	Vladislav Vančura	Novel	2015
79	<i>Bílé břízy</i>	Arnošt Lustig	Novel	2010
80	<i>Helga's Diary: A Young Girl's Account of Life in a Concentration Camp</i>	Helga Weiss	Diaries	2015
81	<i>Peníze od Hitlera</i> (Money from Hitler)	Radka Denemarková	Novel	2019
82	<i>Chladnou zemí</i> (The Devil's Workshop)	Jáchym Topol	Novel	2019
83	<i>Požáry a spáleniště</i>	Jiří Švejda	Novel	1990
84	<i>Co Hedvika neřekla</i> (What Hedvika did not tell)	Jaromíra Kolárová	Novel	1984
85	<i>Jánošík a jeho horní chlapci</i> ²⁷	Miloš Malý	Novel	1983
86	<i>Román pro ženy</i> (A Woman's Novel)	Michal Viewegh	Novel	2005
87	<i>Smrt v pokutovém území</i>	Václav Folprecht	Novel	1987
88	<i>Byla jsem na světě</i>	Olga Scheinpflugová	Memoir	2013
89	<i>Života Sladké Hořkosti</i>	Lída Baarová	Memoir	2002
90	<i>Paměti a úvahy</i>	Lubomír	Memoir	2012

²⁷ The present study generally excludes the translations of Czech literature for children, whose identification is based on both contextual and paratextual information. Though this novel by Miloš Malý is considered in the Czech nation as a book for children, the paratext of its Chinese translation does not show any sign that it is targeted at children readers, but presents it as a Czech folk story. That's why it is included in this list.

		Štrougal		
91	<i>Franz Kafka - Člověk své i naší doby</i>	Radek Malý	Biography	2019

Table 6.1 Czech writers and their works translated in books in 1978-2020 mainland China

Apart from the 142 books (including retranslations but no republications or re-editions) by single Czech writers, there are also 2 collections of works by multiple Czech authors, and 10 collections of works by multiple authors of mixed nationalities, which we will include in the discussion only when it is necessary.

The Czech writers with most of their works translated are B. Hrabal, I. Klíma, K. Čapek and M. Kundera. However, the low numbers of translated works by other writers do not necessarily mean few books in translation, as happened with J. Hašek and J. Fučík, both of whom had just one main work in translation but multiple retranslations.

As Figure 6.1 shows, the Czech literature in Chinese book translation is very concentrated in terms of their authors. The first 6 writers, J. Hašek, K. Čapek, M. Kundera, B. Hrabal, I. Klíma, and J. Fučík, have 106 books to their credit, accounting for 75% of the total of 142 books. The books-per-writer ratio is 17.7, meaning each of them has 17.7 books on average in Chinese translated books. The remaining 26 writers, by contrast, make up just 25% of the total, with a 1.4 books-per-writer ratio.

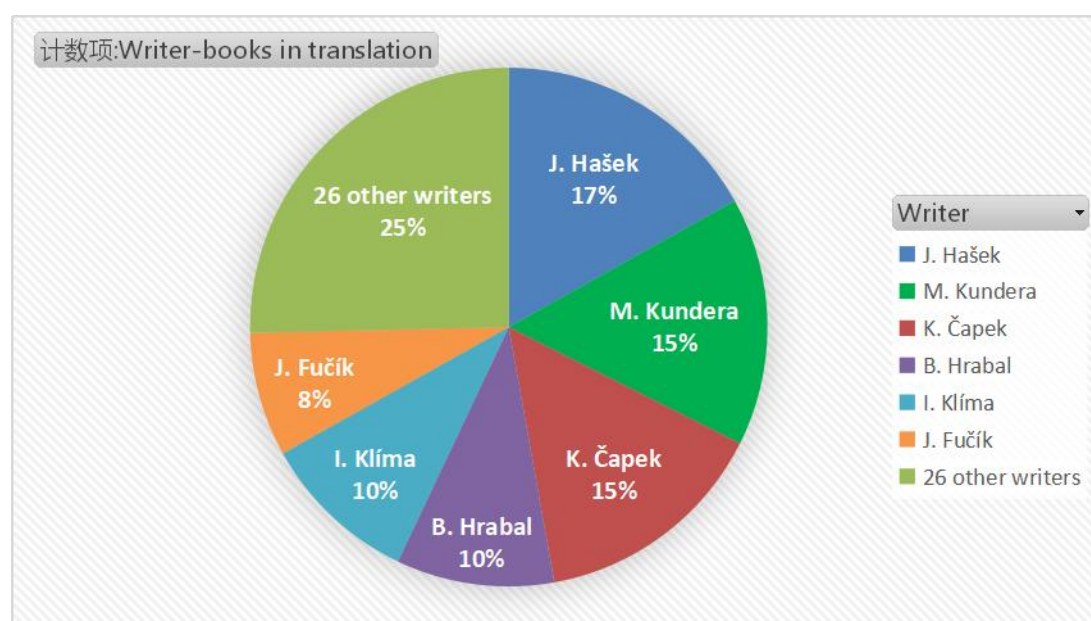


Figure 6.1 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech writers in 1978-2020

Writers	books in translation	proportion of the total	books-per-writer
The 6 main writers: J. Hašek, K. Čapek, M. Kundera, B. Hrabal, I. Klíma, J. Fučík	106	75%	17.7
The remaining 27 writers	36	25%	1.4

Table 6.2 The books-per-writer ratios for the main Czech writers and the rest in 1978-2020 mainland China

With regard to the genre, of the 144 books in translation, including one collection of short stories and another of poems by multiple Czech writers, novels make up almost a half, short stories 15%, drama 4%, poetry 2% and others 28%. These are shown in Figure 6.2. Compared with the second period in 1950-1977, there is a decline in the number of poetry and drama translations and a rise in other more peripheral literary types including essays, travelogues, memoirs, biographies, letters and diaries:

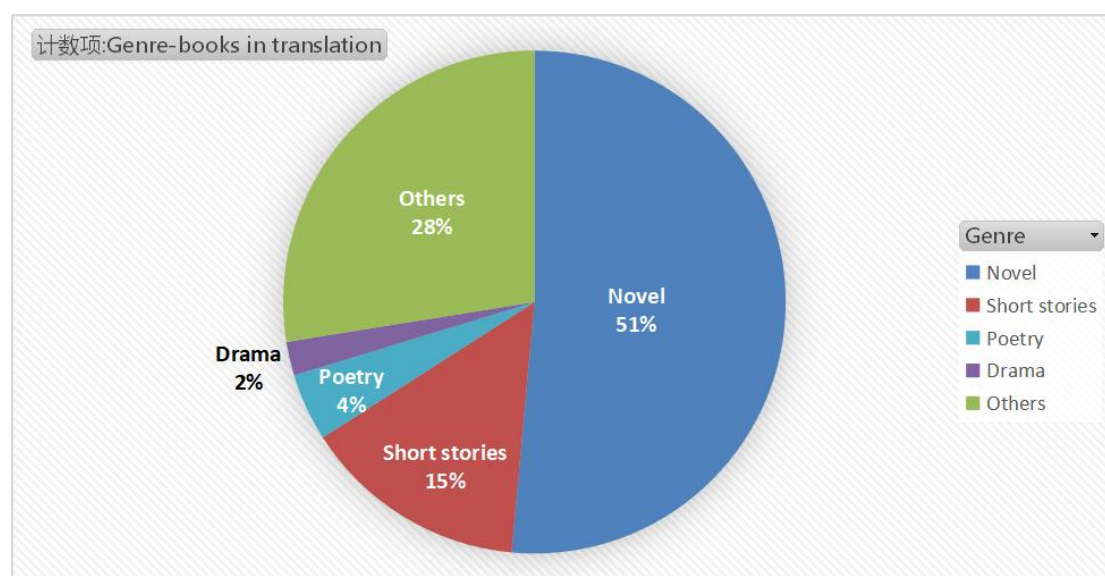


Figure 6.2 Distribution of Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1978-2020 in terms of genre

6.2 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: How

6.2.1 Periodicals, publishers and book series

Compared with the sole official foreign literature journal *World Literature* (Shijie wenxue) (originally named *Yiwen*) in 1953-1965, and virtually none in 1965-1976 during the Cultural Revolution, the post-reform era has seen a boom in literary periodicals, with the suspended *World Literature* resumed and many new ones established, most notably among them *Waiguo wenyi* (Foreign Literature & Art), *Waiguo wenxue* (Foreign Literature) and *Yilin* (Translations), etc.

The translated Czech literary works in this period's periodicals have two main features. First, some important Czech writers first got translated or introduced in literary periodicals before their publication in book form. For example, after Jaroslav Seifert was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1984, there were introductory articles and translated poems of him in a number of journals the following year in 1985, before *Ziluolan*, a translated collection of his poems, was published in 1986. Bohumír Hrabal's *Příliš hlučná samota* (Too Loud a Solitude), along with two of his short stories, was first translated by Yang Leyun in a 1993 issue of *World Literature*, before the novella got republished in 2002 together with his translated collections *Pábitelé* (Palaverers), the first time for the Czech writer to appear in book form in mainland China. Z. Svěrák's two short stories were first translated by Xu Weizhu in *World Literature*, before the Zhejiang Literature & Art Publishing House produced a series of four books by the Czech author three years later. Milan Kundera's first Chinese translation was in book form in 1987, but he had been first known to the Chinese intellectuals ten years before through a 1977 introductory article by Yang Leyun in *World Literature*. Second, some Czech writers have only been translated in literary journals and never appeared in book form in mainland China, such as Jarmira Hasková, Jiří Kratochvíl and Jan Přibyl.

When it comes to books, altogether 68 publishing houses are involved in this period's translated Czech literature publication. Among these, the publishers with the most books in translation are Huacheng (15), People's Literature (11), China Youth (11), Shanghai Translation (10), China Friendship (5), The Writers (5), and Zhejiang Literature & Art (5). Most of the remaining publishing houses have published only one or two translated books of Czech literature.

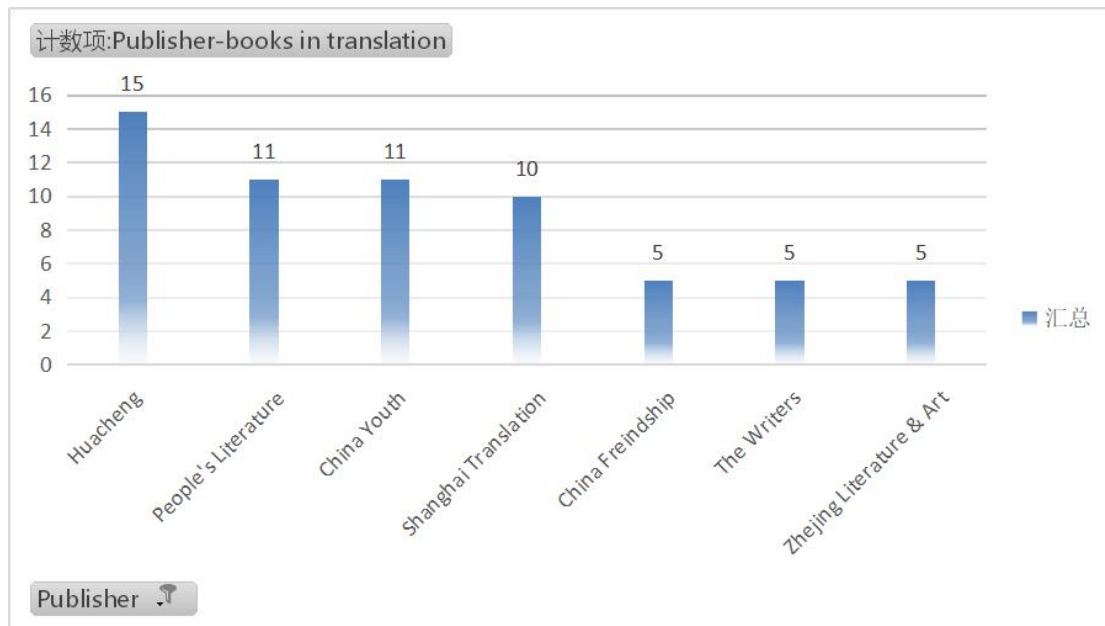


Figure 6.3 Main publishers with most books of Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1978-2020

A closer examination reveals a strong correlation between the publishers, book series and Czech writers, as shown in Table 6.3:

Publisher	Books in translation from Czech literature	The proportion and numbers of books from the main book series	Main book series	Main Czech writers in the book series
Huacheng	15	73% (11)	“Blue Eastern Europe”	Bohumil Hrabal, Ivan Klíma
China Youth	11	73% (8)	“The Selected Works of Bohumil Hrabal”	Bohumil Hrabal
Shanghai Translation	10	90% (9)	“Collected Works of Milan Kundera”	Milan Kundera

China Friendship	5	100% (5)	“Collected Works of Ivan Klíma”	Ivan Klíma
The Writers	5	100% (5)	“Model Works for Writers”	Milan Kundera
Zhejiang Literature & Art	5	80% (4)	“Collected Stories of Prague”	Zdeněk Svěrák

Table 6.3 Correlation between the main publishers, book series and Czech writers in 1978-2020 mainland China

Actually, most of the Chinese translated books of Czech literature in this period have been published in series. These range from the general “World Literary Classics”, to “Eastern European Literature”, to “Collected Works of Nobel Laureates in Literature”, to collected works of individual Czech writers, to genre-based collections of short stories, essays or poems, to the enticing “Collection of Banned Books in the World” including Milan Kundera’s *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), to the gender-based collections of works by women writers in the world, and to the more specific “Great Books about Dogs”, in the case of Karel Čapek’s *Dášeňka čili Život štěněte* (Dashenka), and “Books about Gardening”, which includes Karel Čapek’s *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year).

6.2.2 Indirect translations

Compared with the second period, the most significant shift in this period is the rise of direct translations from Czech to Chinese. Another notable change is the dramatic decline in the use of Russian as a mediating language. What’s more, the mediating role of Esperanto, which peaked in 1921-1949 but was diminishing from 1950 to 1977, came to an end in this period. The last translator of Czech literature via Esperanto, Lao Rong, published the Chinese version of P. Bezruč’s *Slezské písně* (Silesian Songs), which was based on an Esperanto version while referring to the Czech and Russian ones, making it in effect a compilative translation. His last translation of K. J. Erben’s *Kytice z pověstí národních* (A Bouquet of Folk Legends), published in 1986, three years before his death, was partly translated from Esperanto and partly from Czech, with the folk stories in the appendix from Russian, according to the paratextual information. The distribution of the use of Czech and MLs is shown as follows:

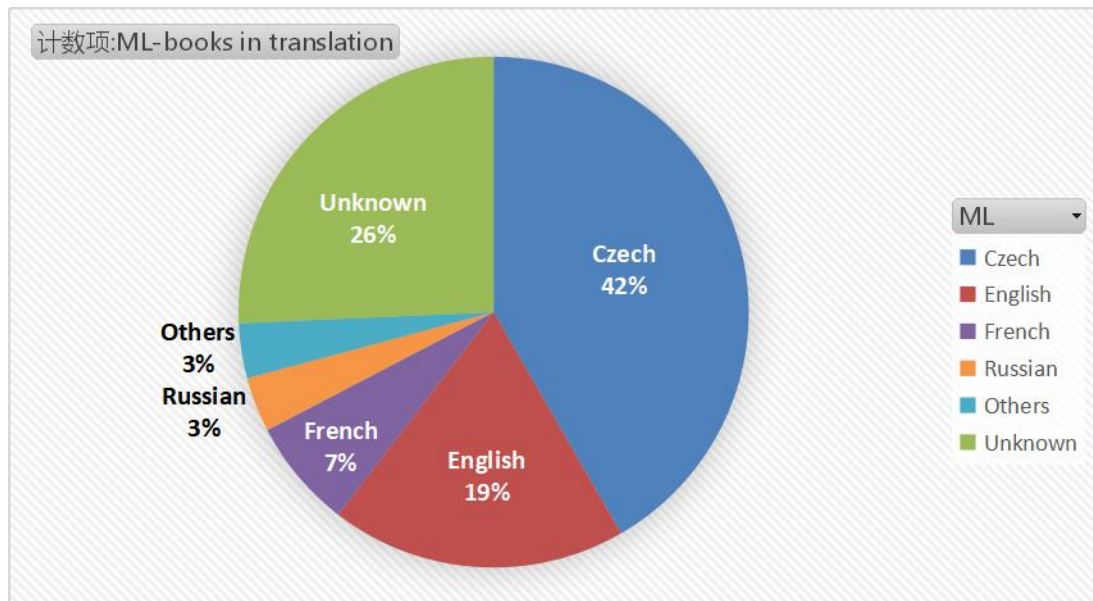


Figure 6.4 Distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1978-2020

During this period, there is a broad tendency for direct translations to be paratextually marked and indirect translations to be unmarked, though exceptions exist. For 26% of the Chinese translations, their mediating languages are unidentified, because they are peritextually unmarked, and epitxtual research has found no information about the translators either. Yet it is safe to conclude they are indirect translations, for two reasons. First, as just mentioned, direct translations from Czech in this period are mostly marked in the peritext, with their directness sometimes even foregrounded as a selling point. And the epitxtual information about Czech-language translators, due to their limited numbers in China, can often be found online. Second, almost no information can be found about the translators of these books, except their names, making them very likely to be college students or graduates with limited professional credentials who translate from English, and who are employed by some publishing houses as a way of reducing the translation cost. Last but not least, these Chinese versions, whose mediating languages are unmarked and unidentified, are predominantly retractions, particularly of the two most retranslated Czech works, *The Good Soldier Švejk* and *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows). There will be a further discussion of this later in Section 6.4.3.3.

A correlation has also been observed between directness of translations and their original writers. B. Hrabal and I. Klíma's works are mostly translated from Czech. In contrast, none of Milan Kundera's works have been translated directly²⁸. They were

²⁸ Of the 19 translations of works by Milan Kundera, there are three, including two translations of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being) and one of *Žert* (The Joke), whose mediating languages can not be identified. Yet, for the reasons stated earlier, they are most likely indirect translations via languages other than Czech.

rendered from English in the 1980s and 90s, before Shanghai Translation became the sole Chinese publisher with the rights to market Kundera's works in China in 2002, who then translated all of them from the French versions designated by the writer. That's why the French-mediated indirect translations of Czech literature in this period are all of Kundera's.

6.2.3 Retranslations

Of the Czech literary works introduced in 1978-2020 China, most only got translated once. Those translated more than once are listed as follows:

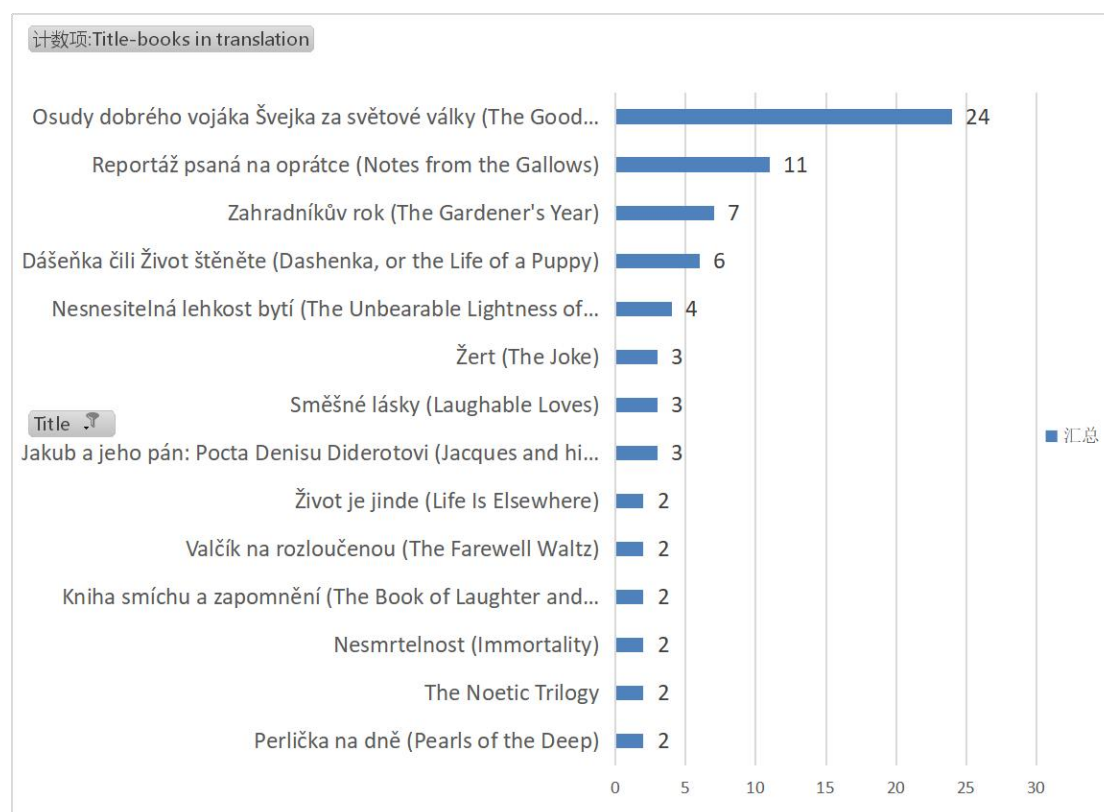


Figure 6.5 The most retranslated Czech literary works in 1978-2020 mainland China

It is clear from Figure 6.5 that *The Good Soldier Švejk*, with 24 different Chinese versions²⁹, is the most retranslated Czech literary work in this period's China. J.

²⁹ These include retranslations by different translators, but no republications/re-editions, nor the

Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) has 11 different versions³⁰, followed by K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year) and *Dášeňka čili Život štěněte* (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy). All of Milan Kundera's Czech works including novels, short story collection and play have been retranslated, along with K. Čapek's The Noetic Trilogy novels and Bohumil Hrabal's *Perlička na dně* (Pearls of the Deep).

One might assume that there is a direct correlation between the numbers of a work's Chinese versions and its popularity in China. The fact, however, is more complicated than that. To better see how popular a work is in China, we have to take into account not just how many times it has been translated, but also the print numbers and the numbers of republications and re-editions as well. For example, Milan Kundera's *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), which so far has 4 different Chinese versions, is no doubt much better-known and more read by Chinese readers than J. Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), which has 11 versions. Aside from literary and artistic considerations, commercial factors have been found to also play a big part in the presence and absence of retranslations. There will later be a further discussion of this.

6.2.4 Paratexts

The paratexts in the 1980s and 90s were largely reminiscent of those in 1950-1977, putting emphasis on the socio-political contexts of the translated works rather than the literary or artistic features, though they are generally softer in tone and different translators³¹ vary in their personal styles. Some quote the comments of socialist politicians or other famous figures, such as J. Fučík. The realist writing methods of the writers are often praised for their reflection of the people's oppression and struggles, while positive descriptions of the aristocratic or bourgeois classes, such as Mrs. Skočdoplová's philanthropy in B. Němcová's short story "V zámku a v podzámčí", are criticized as the writers' limitations by their times. Paratexts of Milan Kundera's translated works, published in 1987 in the "Model Works for Writers" series by The Writers Press, however, deviated from this broad trend. In the publisher's statement it is claimed that the book series "is intended to meet the

Chinese adaptations of this novel for teenage or children readers.

³⁰ Same as above.

³¹ During the second period in 1950-1977, the forewords were partly produced by translators and partly by editors, while in the third period they are mostly written by translators themselves.

demands of writers and general readers by offering a glimpse into the trends of thought and literature in today's world".

Since the 2000s there has been a further shift away from the socialist realist convention in paratextual practices. The previous ideologically-charged comments have diminished, though they can occasionally still be found in the republications of earlier translations. Emphasis has been given to the literary techniques of the translated works, the inner world of the writers, the analysis of the characters and their behaviors, as well as the philosophical reflections on human nature and on the relationship between individuals and society. Some previous strict taboos have been broken. For example, the Chinese translation of Eva Kantůrková's *Po potopě*, published in 2008 by People's Literature, included a "To Chinese Readers", in which the Czech writer talked about the stifling of literary creation during the totalitarian rule of the 1950s and how her novels including one criticizing rural collectivization was banned by the government.

One remarkable thing about Milan Kundera's Chinese translations, published by Shanghai Translation Publishing House, is their lack of any forewords and postscripts by either the publisher or the translators. The only exception is the translation of *Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi* (Jacques and his Master), which includes a foreword written by Kundera himself. The introduction of the writer, usually on the back covers, is limited to just one simple sentence: "A novelist, born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, and living in France since 1975".

Another noteworthy thing since the 2000s is the citation of the praise or recommendation of other writers, in most cases Milan Kundera. Such phrases like "highly recommended by Milan Kundera" have appeared on the dust jackets of Chinese translations of B. Hrabal, J. Seifert and J. Škvorecký, etc. Seifert's praise of V. Vančura also appears on the back cover of the latter's translated novel. These citations of sponsorship by peer writers contrast sharply with the earlier convention of quoting comments by socialist political leaders or politically famous figures from Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union.

6.3 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: Who

Compared with the previous periods, the most remarkable shift in the landscape of Czech literature translation in China is the rise of the translators who did their work directly from the Czech language. There are 32 (teams of) translators who have been involved in the production of 60 books of various genres directly from Czech. The

most productive ones among them and their brief introductions are given as follows:

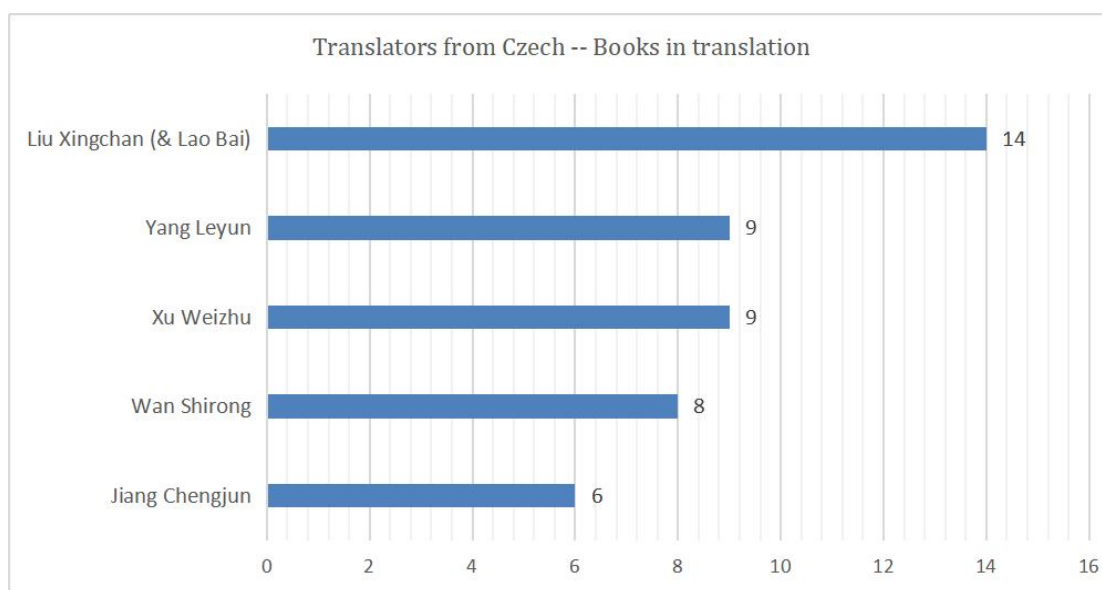


Figure 6.6 The translators with most translated books of Czech literature in 1978-2020 mainland China

Liu Xingcan (1937-2021) studied Czech literature and graduated from Charles University in 1960. She worked as a teacher and researcher of Czech language and literature at Beijing International Studies University, and as an editor at People's Literature Publishing House. She is the first direct translator of J. Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk* in China. Along with her husband Lao Bai, she translated B. Hrabal's *Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále* (I Served the King of England), *Svatby v domě* (In-House Weddings), *Vita nuova*, *Proluky* (Gaps), *Krasosmutnění* (Joyful Blues/Beautiful Sadness), and *Kličky na kapesníku -- Kdo jsem* (Knots on a Handkerchief – Who I Am: Interviews). She also translated by herself I. Klíma's *Soudce z milosti* (Judge on Trial), *Milostné rozhovory* (Love Talks) and *Moje zlatá řemesla* (My Golden Trades).

Yang Leyun (1919-2009), who had already been the most active translator in the second period before the interruption from 1963 to 1977, was the first to resume Czech literature translation, by publishing a rendition of B. Němcová's short story "Sestry (Sisters)" in the literary journal *World Literature* in February, 1978. She is also the first to introduce B. Hrabal to China, by translating the Czech writer's *Příliš hlučná samota* (Too Loud a Solitude) and two short stories in the same prestigious journal in 1993. Later she published in book form Chinese versions of B. Hrabal's *Harlekýnovy milióny* (Harlequin's Millions) and *Městečko, kde se zastavil čas* (The

Little Town Where Time Stood Still). In 2009 Yang was presented the Jan Masaryk Silver Medal of Honor by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, for her outstanding contribution to the dissemination of Czech literature overseas.

Xu Weizhu (1964-) studied Czech language and literature before graduating from Charles University in 1990. Having worked in the Czech Republic for years, she is now an associate professor at Beijing Foreign Studies University. She translated E. Kantůrková's novel *Po potopě*, I. Klíma's *Poslední stupeň důvěrnosti* (The Ultimate Intimacy), B. Hrabal's novels *Ostře sledované vlaky* (Closely Observed Trains) and *Taneční hodiny pro starší a pokročilé* (Dancing Lessons for the Advanced in Age), short stories collection *Slavnosti sněženek* (Snowdrop Festival), and memoir *Autíčko*, along with Z. Svěrák's novellas and short stories. In 2019 she was awarded the Jan Masaryk Silver Medal of Honor and the Medaile Za zásluhy (Medal of Merit), for her contributions to Czech language education and Czech literature translation.

Wan Shirong (1930-) studied in Charles University in 1954-1958 and worked as a diplomat after graduation. He translated A. Jirásek's *Staré pověsti české* (Old Czech Legends), B. Hrabal's *Perlička na dne* (Pearls of the Deep) and *Postřižiny* (Cutting it Short), I. Klíma's *Milostné léto* (A Summer Affair) and *Láska a smetí* (Love and Garbage). He also introduced K. Čapek and J. Neruda by translating their essays, travelogues and letters. The Chinese version of B. Hrabal's short stories collection *Pábitelé* is his joint effort with Yang Leyun.

Jiang Chengjun (1933-2007) studied Czech language and literature in Charles University and graduated in 1961. She worked as a researcher at the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy. She translated, independently or in collaboration, K. Čapek, J. Neruda, K.H. Mácha, J. Hašek, J. Fučík and O. Scheinpflugová. She also published in 2006 *Jieke wenxue shi* (The History of Czech Literature), the first of its kind in China.

6.4 Czech literature translated in 1978-2020 China: Why

6.4.1 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020

6.4.1.1 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020 Czech lands

The normalization society in Czechoslovakia remained “passive and depoliticized”

(Pánek & Tůma 2018: 634). Charter 77 was the major political act in this period, though it refused to call itself political opposition (ibid.: 637). In the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev becoming the party general secretary in March 1985 opened the way to profound reforms in that country and eventually in other countries of the Soviet bloc. He believed that reduced centralization and greater emphasis on market factors would save the Soviet economy from decades of mismanagement, and wanted the countries of the bloc to adopt reforms similar to his own. Yet the KSČ leaders hoped to limit the scope of reforms by pursuing constructive changes to the economy while preventing reforms to the political system (Mahoney 2011: 227-228).

Since the mid-1980s, the Czechoslovak public began to display a willingness to express limited but open discontent toward some of the policies of the government, in the form of street protests, demonstrations or petitions (Mahoney 2011: 232). The student demonstration in Prague on November 17, 1989 became the seminal event that triggered Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution. On December 10, 1989, Husák resigned, and on December 29, a reconstituted Federal Assembly elected Václav Havel president of the Czechoslovak Republic. On February 26, 1990, the governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union signed an agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet military from Czechoslovakia (the last soldier left on June 27, 1991). In June that year, members of the Warsaw Pact agreed at a meeting in Moscow to the dissolution of the military alliance, which no longer served a common purpose. The Czech Republic formally entered the NATO alliance in March 1999, and then the European Union in May 2004.

Following the 1990 parliamentary elections, Czechoslovakia embarked on the transformation of the economy, which included the “small-scale privatization” by means of the public auctions of shops, restaurants, and other lesser enterprises, the restitution of property nationalized after February 25, 1948, and the “large-scale privatization” of medium and large enterprises by the mechanism of vouchers, whose possessors could invest them in available enterprises or sign them over to investment funds (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 663). Due to its close ties to the economic and political structures of other parts of the West, the Czech economy rose around the year 2000 (ibid.: 676).

On December 31, 1992, Czechoslovakia broke into an independent Czech Republic and an independent Slovak Republic, despite the fact that public opinion surveys showed the majority of citizens in both republics did not desire their divorce (ibid.: 675). Pánek & Tůma argue that the field of the Czech Republic's political life has since been defined by three men: Václav Havel (1936–2011), Václav Klaus (born in 1941), and Miloš Zeman (born in 1944), who all have similar cultural and generational backgrounds and experiences, and whose history of coexistence was filled with both cooperation and ideological and practical disputes (Pánek & Tůma 2018: 683-685).

According to Adamková (2017: 36), the GDP of the Czech Republic was 1,195,811 million Czech Crowns in 1993, which doubled to 2,801,163 million Czech Crowns in the following ten years, and once again almost doubled to 4,554,615 million Czech Crowns by 2015. The annual growth rate has ranged from 1,4 to 6,9 per cent. The GDP in purchase power parity per capita has increased almost four times from 3,388 Euro to 15,543 Euro (Český statistický úřady, 2016, cited in Adamková 2017: 36). The standards of living as well as the whole economy has grown significantly due to the opening of the market, accession to the European Union and other international organizations as well as the growing investments from abroad (ibid.).

6.4.1.2 The socio-historical context in 1978-2020 China

In May 1978, *People's Daily*, which as the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the CCP represents the policy position of the central leadership, issued an editorial “Practice is the Sole Criterion of Truth (shijian shi jianyan zhenli de biao zhun)”. The title phrase provided “the ideological basis for the pragmatism of Deng Xiaoping in inaugurating bold economic reforms” (Sullivan 2007: 404). If truth can only be judged based on the objective yardstick of social and scientific practice, then the blind acceptance of ideological dogma should be rejected. Such was the central premise of the article (ibid.). Another household quote in China from Deng Xiaoping is “It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, as long as it can catch mice (Buguan heimaobaimao, zhuazhu laoshu jiushi haomao)”. Emblematic of Deng's pragmatic approach to policy making, the remark justified the package of economic reforms initiated in 1978-1979 (Sullivan 2007: 285). Actually, Deng had made the remark for the first time in the early 1960s to justify moderate reforms in the agricultural sector and to advocate a loosening of state controls on the economy, but was labeled as the “number two capitalist roader” in the CCP, stripped of all party and government posts, and persecuted during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). He assumed his previous posts only in July 1977, after the end of the Culture Revolution. In December 1978, at the watershed Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP leadership called for a shift in the primary work to socialist modernization and introduced the economic reform policies and the open-door policy (ibid.: 222).

Meanwhile, according to Lawrence R. Sullivan (2007), during the 1980s there were open discussions, in the highest level conferences, among the CCP leaderships and in the party mouthpiece *People's Daily*, of political reforms. The Seventh Plenum of the 12th CCP Central Committee in October 1987, for example, approved the General Program for Political Reform, calling for separation of Party and government, creation of an independent judiciary, and a shift in authority within state economic

enterprises from CCP committees to professional managers (Sullivan 2007: xxx). On the other hand, the party conservatives were opposed to liberal economic reform and criticized “any and all political reform measures that would undermine the political power of the CCP” (ibid.: 102).

The student pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989 came to a rapid halt after a military intervention. Sullivan argues that the 1989 event “effectively strengthened conservative elements in the CCP” (2007: 221). In June 1989, the politically reform-minded Zhao Ziyang, then general secretary of the CCP, was relieved of his post. His replacement, Jiang Zemin, stressed in 1991 the need to oppose “Western plots” against the country through “peaceful evolution”, a term originally used by U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in the 1950s to explain the American counter-Communist strategy (Sullivan 2007: 374). The possibility of reevaluation of the government position on the 1989 event was later officially ruled out and the topic has remained to this day taboo. Despite retreat from political reform and resistance from conservative factions who feared the erosion of socialist ideology, the economic reforms, however, did not stop.

China’s economic reform has been characterized by changes in ownership patterns and by introduction of market forces into the allocation of goods, labor, foreign exchange, housing, and capital (Sullivan 2007: 168). In 1979, the state-owned sector controlled 78% of the gross value of industrial production, a figure that shrunk to 24% by 2000, whereas individual and private ownership expanded to more than 65% by 2001 (ibid.: 170). Following the policy shift in 1978-1979 to the Agricultural Responsibility System, the socialist system of agriculture in China, of which the Agricultural Producers’ Cooperatives (APCs) and the people’s communes were the centerpiece, was effectively ended and was replaced by a system of semi-private land ownership (ibid.: 6). As a result, both the rural per capita income and agricultural production increased. More importantly, rural township village enterprises (TVEs) have grown at rapid rates by soaking up surplus rural labor freed by the abolition of socialist agriculture, becoming a mainstay of China’s economy and the primary form of light industrial production. From 1984 to 2004, the gross value of goods produced by township village enterprises (TVEs) rose from 170 billion yuan (US\$29 billion) to four trillion yuan (US\$500 billion), or about 30% of China’s GDP (ibid.: 409).

In the meantime, the open-door policy allowed more foreign involvement in China’s economy through joint ventures and high levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In 2003, China became the largest worldwide recipient of FDI, taking in US\$53 billion (Sullivan 2007: 174). A central feature is the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) represented by the city of Shenzhen, which, in economic terms, are free-trade and tax-exempt areas established to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), technology transfer, and trade (ibid.: 471). Growth rates in 1979-2000 averaged 9.62% with an average 8.24% increase in real GDP per capita and average increases

of 7.41, 11.23, and 11.10% for agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry, respectively (Sullivan 2007: 169). Although China's economic growth since the 1980s has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, the fruits of growth have been distributed unevenly (Kroeber 2016: 196), as shown by the high levels of income and wealth inequality between cities and the countryside (ibid.: 79).

6.4.1.3 Czech-Chinese relations in 1978-2020

Affected by the Sino-Soviet schism, Czechoslovakia and China stayed estranged in the late 1970s and early 80s. Their relations got better in the second half of the 1980s, when exchanges of parliamentary delegations and ministry-level visits culminated in top-level Communist Party and governmental visits (Fürst & Pleschová 2010: 1365).

Petra Adamková's thesis, written in 2017, analyses Czech approaches towards China since 1992, the year when she thinks "a truly independent Czech foreign policy has been formed and later pursued" (Adamková 2017: 2). In the period from 1992 to 2004 the Czech-Chinese relations are characterized by Adamková as "cold" (ibid.). The first Czech president Václav Havel in general adopted a tough stand against China and frequently invited and met exiled Tibetan representatives, prominent Chinese dissidents and Taiwan political VIPs. These efforts had been met with public support as the Czech society is highly sensitive toward "totalitarian oppression" and expects active critique of Beijing from their politicians (Fürst, 2010, cited in Adamková 2017: 20). Havel and his followers actively opposed the development of economic ties with China, in contrast to other politicians, primarily Václav Klaus, who actively advocated it (Kuznietsova 2019: 47).

Adamková sees the year 2004 as a turning point in the Czech approach towards China, with the country's accession into the structures of the European Union. The Czech political representation put greater efforts into promoting economic contacts with China since president Klaus entered office (Adamková 2017: 22). In April 2004 president Klaus declared, before setting out on a visit to China, that he would take a more pragmatic approach to China and reject Havel's "dissident's messianism" and his "arrogant moralising and petty political provocations" (Klaus 2004, cited in Fürst & Pleschová 2010: 1371). With president Miloš Zeman coming into office in 2013, the shift in the Czech approach towards China is considered completed (Adamková 2017: 23). President Zeman voices and is said to be carrying out a pragmatic economic diplomacy with China, rather than focusing on values such as human rights beyond the national borders (Tucsanyi 2015, cited in Adamková 2017: 42).

However, it should be noted that even during the "cold" period before 2004, some high-level visits went on and the economic and cultural activities were

maintained. And even in the friendlier years after 2004, there were not without occasional setbacks in the two country's relations. For example, Adamková mentions that in 2016 Prague "paradoxically" welcomed and hosted Xi Jinping, the president of People's Republic of China (PRC) in March and then Dalai Lama in October of the same year. But generally speaking, Czechia and China have been enjoying a stronger relationship with the focus on the economic cooperation.

Petra Adamková attempts to explain this shift in approach through three levels of foreign policy analysis -- system, national attributes and individual. She argues that the most important indicator on the system level has been the Chinese economic growth and the changing balance of power. On the (sub)state level it would be the left-right divide among the political parties and the change of Czech government. Within the individual level of analysis, political socialization and personal experience seem to have shaped the Czech presidents the most, especially Václav Havel and Miloš Zeman, as important foreign policy decision-makers (Adamková 2017: 46).

6.4.2 Literary norms in 1978-2020 China

6.4.2.1 Marketization of literary publications

In the pre-reform years, China's Central Bureau of Publishing (xinwen chuban zongshu) had supervised the selection of publishing matter and had controlled the supply of capital and paper to publishing houses around the country. It was also in charge of the Xinhua Bookstore, the single distributor of all book publications nationwide (Chen 1992: 569). Due to the separation between publication and distribution, there was no direct contact between publishers and the market. In actuality, there was not much of a true cultural market in the first place, since prices were fixed according to the central plan rather than based on supply and demand (Kong 2005: 38). Therefore, political considerations were clearly the dominant criteria for selecting and translating foreign literature, and no ideas about selling literary publications for profit were entertained (ibid.: 124).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Chinese government began allowing the introduction of market forces in the publishing industry, aiming for deregulation, financial autonomy, management decentralization, and diversification (Kong 2005: 40). Strict controls on book prices, wholesale discounts, and paper allocation were removed (ibid.: 41), and many of the bureaucratic and political restrictions on the content of publications were lifted (ibid.: 40). The number of publishers has increased

steadily, from around 80 at the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, to close to 200 in 1980, to more than 400 in the 2000s and over 500 in the 2010s. Almost every one of the hundreds of publishing houses across the country is now involved in publishing foreign literature, in contrast to the days before the 1980s, when this had been a heavily guarded monopoly and the privilege of a small handful of “reliable” publishing houses (Kong 2005: 137).

In 1985 the state started to withdraw subsidies from publishers, requesting them to become financially self-sufficient and to compete in the market (Chen 1992: 569). Accordingly, government control over publishing has greatly weakened and publishers now have the right to make decisions on their own (Xu & Tian 2014: 255), while being left to fend for themselves in the market. Apart from withdrawing subsidies, the new policy also expected publishing houses to pay a mandatory 35% income tax, the same as for other average enterprises (Chen 1992: 570). These forced publishers to become consumer and market oriented in order to generate profit. Sales figures and market preference began to count most (ibid.).

The government also installed a new policy allowing publishers to seek outside sponsors in what came to be known as "co-publishing", which became a boon to the private sector (Chen 1992: 575) by opening the door to deals between publishing houses and private book dealers (Kong 2005: 40). According to Nicolas Driver (2001: 71), by the end of the 1990s there were some five thousand private book dealers (shushang) in China, which acted as de facto publishers — at least ten times the number of official publishing houses. Kong describes the present book-production in China as a “dual-track system” (Kong 2005: 67), consisting of the “main channel” of state publishers and the Xinhua book-store system, supplemented by the “second channel” including both unofficial publishing³² and private book distribution (ibid.: 65). The private-sector second channel, which “represents the most commercialized and liberated area of book publishing and distribution” (ibid.), has during the past decades continued to develop rapidly and expand its reach (Kong 2005: 66).

The marketization of literary publications in China has forced publishers and editors to engage themselves much more closely with the cultural market, to develop a more business-oriented attitude, and to thoroughly overhaul their publishing practices. These have brought profound and extensive changes to the publication of translated Czech literature, which fall under five main categories: publication in book series; mass retranslations of classic works; broadening of the definition of literature; improvements in the appearance and packaging of translated books; and cooperation with Hong Kong and Taiwan translators and publishers. We will discuss them individually in the following relevant sections.

³² This is not yet officially approved by the state but not illegal and remains very active in practice.

The Chinese Canadian scholar Kong Shuyu, in her study of literary production in contemporary China funded by Support for the Advancement of Scholarship Research Grants from the University of Alberta, made field trips to China between 1999 and 2002, where she spent much time interviewing writers, editors, and publishers, visiting bookstores, and combing through literary newspapers and journals (Kong 2005: 3). She thinks that Chinese publishers are now “less restricted by political and party guidelines” (Kong 2005: 9) and “more ideologically ambivalent than at any time since the Communists took power in 1949” (Kong 2005: 4), with the result that “all kinds of new materials once regarded as politically incorrect—or at least insufficiently revolutionary—could now be published openly as long as market demand for them existed”, while at the same time seeing that “lingering government influence is still readily apparent” (Kong 2005: 9), in the various regulations, in the continuing state ownership of publishing houses and in the still-in-place censorship (*ibid.*: 2).

6.4.2.2 Censorship

The Publication Bureau, established in 1954, which acted as not only the top overseer of the planning and organization of mainland China’s publication activities, but also the “censors” of all major publication projects, ceased functioning between 1966 and 1982, and then in 1986 was upgraded to the ministerial level of the General Administration of Press and Publication. Many changes have since been introduced by the Chinese government in the way it handles censorship. Though the censorship policies are not really fundamentally loosened, they have been made more transparent. In the early years of the PRC, the censorship guidelines or regulations were normally issued through the “internal” channels of the publishing houses and thus were not made known to the public. In contrast, today the government makes its censorship position publicly known by putting publishing guidelines on the internet (Tan 2015: 319-320). In 1997, an ordinance entitled “Regulations on the Administration of Publication (*chuban guanli tiaoli*)” was adopted by the State Council of the PRC and was immediately made known to the general public through the news media. Its expanded version, promulgated in 2001, and a newly revised version, adopted in 2011, can now be found on the “Policies and Regulations” page of the website of the General Administration of Press and Publication of the PRC (Tan 2015: 320). Their clauses cover all major subject areas over which censorship may be exercised: politics, ideology, culture, national security and interests, ethnicity, morality and so on (Tan 2014: 196).

Hong Kong scholar Tan Zaixi, in his research of censorship in translation in the

PRC, proposed a tripartite typology of (self-)censorship-affected translations in terms of translator-author relationship and translatorial commitment, i.e. full translations, partial translations and non-translations.

“Full translations” involve works that are deemed as completely acceptable in relation to existing constitutional laws of the target culture (Tan 2015: 334). As a result, there are full translatorial commitment to the author as well as full, unabridged translations. In this case, everything in the source text can be, and often is, accurately transferred to the target text, and there are no or nearly no censorship-driven or self-censorship motivated additions, omissions or changes of the author’s meaning (Tan 2017: 51). This category, in Tan’s view, includes translations of “most if not all major Western classics from the ancient to the modern times” (Tan 2015: 334).

“Partial translations” involve source texts that are considered “translatable” in principle but translational modulations must be made where the Source Text content is regarded as “sensitive” and “unacceptable” to the target culture (Tan 2017: 50). The translated texts contain arguably extensive omissions, additions and/or changes of ST meaning or author intention (Tan 2014: 197). These are made sometimes in compliance with overt state/government censorial requirements, and sometimes as a result of the translator’s (or editor’s and publisher’s) self-censorship and “in an attempt to conform to the country’s dominant ideology as well as social conventions so that potential conflict with government censors can be avoided and their translational products can be safely published and marketed” (Tan 2017: 50). Typical examples in this second category given by Tan include the partly censored PRC versions of the former U.S. secretaries of state Hillary Clinton’s memoir *Living History* and Henry Kissinger’s *On China* (Tan 2014: 192). However, if the translator, primarily concerned with translation strategies and techniques on an operational level, makes additions, omissions and modulations in order to ensure that the target text is linguistically or stylistically understandable, readable and acceptable in the target language, that is not included in Tan’s discussion of “partial translations”, which is concerned with the ideology or the political orientation of the translated work (Tan 2017: 51).

A “non-translation” is “a translation that has never yet been made but whose absence would be significant because it is the direct result of strict (self-)censorship” (Tan 2014: 196). Tan differentiated this from a “zero translation”, which refers to a non-existent translation “not because it has been prohibited by (self-)censorship, but because it would not seem to be of interest to any potential readership in the non-censorial sense or simply because no one is aware of the availability of a given ‘translatable’ ST” (ibid.). While both “non-translations” and “zero translations” share the meaning of “being non-existent”, Tan argued, they must be understood as “two essentially different concepts”, as “there are two distinct kinds of underlying causes:

one being censorship-related, and the other not having anything to do with censorship” (Tan 2017: 48-49). Typical “non-translations” include “innumerable foreign, mainly Western, literary pieces which were not allowed to be translated during the ultra-leftist Cultural Revolution period in the PRC” (Tan 2015: 334). Moreover, the non-translations in the context of mainland China are often found to be translations “in other Chinese language contexts such as Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan or Singapore” (Tan 2017: 50).

It has been noted that the concepts are set on a relative basis: just as “full translations” are never absolutely “full” or identical to their STs, so are there different degrees of “partiality” in what is called a “partial” translation (Tan 2014: 198). Furthermore, the impact of (self-)censorship on translatorial commitment is not static but dynamic, changing with the political and ideological climate of a society in which translation takes place (Tan 2014: 203). Developments in translation in China since the founding of the PRC “were filled with significant cases of how, under the force of censorship, ‘non-translations’ came about, and how, with the change of times, some of the former ‘non-translations’ moved into the realm of ‘translations’ including ‘partial’ and/or ‘full’ translations” (Tan 2014: 198). For example, the previous ban on works like Pearl Buck’s “The House of Earth” Trilogy (banned on political grounds because they arguably uglify the Chinese peasants), George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and *1984* (banned on ideological grounds because they bitterly satirise communism), and D. H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* and *Women in Love* as well as Vladimir Nabokov’s *Lolita* (banned on moral grounds), and most works that had been categorized as “untranslatable”, “bourgeois” or “anti-communist”/“anti-socialist” and even “anti-Chinese”, was quietly lifted and these works all gradually found their way onto the Chinese translated book market (Tan 2015: 334). Another notable example is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the winner of Nobel Literature Prize in 1970 and an outspoken critic of communism. The Chinese translation of his famous work *The Gulag Archipelago*, which exposed the countless human rights abuses in the Gulag labor camp system, was published in an “internally distributed” form in 1982, before becoming available for ordinary readers in bookstores and being reprinted multiple times. On China’s largest book review site Douban, the three main Chinese versions of *The Gulag Archipelago*, published in 1996, 2006 and 2015 respectively, have so far altogether garnered around 4000 ratings, with an average rating of 9.4.

On the other hand, Tan also points to “the dialectic of the dual character, i.e. the changing and unchanging character, of censorship in translation in China, and perhaps in the world beyond China as well” (Tan 2015: 335). Despite the dramatic changes over the past decades, the PRC still maintains the practice of literary and translational censorship, at least in certain subject areas (Tan 2014: 195). If the evolving properties of censorship in the PRC have resulted in a considerably more liberal government position on what would previously have been strictly forbidden foreign literature, the

change-resistant properties of censorship intrinsic to the current system of the PRC would mean an unchanging status of some of the “non-translations” (Tan 2014: 198). This is especially true when it comes to “such sensitive events or issues as the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, the government-banned Falungong Cult, and Taiwan, Tibetan or Xinjiang independence” (Tan 2017: 49), which significantly remain at issue today.

While observing that “government censorship on translation in the PRC today is continually on the decrease”, Tan also points out that “self-censorship in translation seems to be an important inbuilt quality of the translator in the Chinese context of the PRC” (Tan 2017: 64). Publishers and translators in the PRC may “consciously or unconsciously/subconsciously avoid selecting certain types of material for translation, or avoid faithfully translating certain ‘sensitive’ parts of a chosen text”, not because “the material is of an overtly prohibitive nature in the political, ideological or religious sense”, but because of “a wish to conform to the expectations of a moral, ethical or cultural tradition, or a wish to make economic gains out of the translated work” (Tan 2015: 324).

Red Chan’s paper “One nation, two translations: China’s censorship of Hillary’s Memoir” (2007) focuses on how “self-censorship” was at work in the publication of the Chinese translation of Hillary Clinton’s memoir *Living History* in mainland China. The omissions and changes made in the PRC version “are largely due to the self-censorship imposed by the publishing house rather than the institutional censorship by the state” (Wong 2018: 223). Over 600,000 copies of the former U.S. Secretary of State’s memoir were reportedly sold, 200,000 of them in the book’s first month of sale. Chan (2007: 128) regards the publication of the book as a reflection of “the overriding force of market over politics” and argues that it has become “difficult to discern whether an act of censorship is made on political grounds or mere commercial convenience” (ibid.). Chinese writer Yan Lianke, the winner of the 2014 Franz Kafka Prize, also concedes that “in today’s economy-driven society the market and readers play an increasingly important role” (Yan 2016: 269) and authors “must necessarily accept the soft censorship role played by the readers” (ibid.: 270).

When it comes to the Czech literature, many of the works translated in this period, especially Kundera, Klíma and Hrabal’s works, which were banned or published underground in the 1970s and 80s in Czechoslovakia, can be seen as going through an evolution from non-translations to translations. Actually, many of these have gone from “non-translations” to “partial translations” and then to “full-translations”. For example, when the Chinese translation of Ivan Klíma’s collection *The Spirit of Prague: And Other Essays* was first published in the 1998 by the Writer’s Press, two essays were deleted and the foreword specifically written by Klíma himself for the Chinese version did not appear in the published book (see Cui 2016). In a later republication in 2016 by the Guangxi Normal University Publishing House, the

previously missing parts were restored (ibid.), as confirmed by the translator Cui Weiping, a professor at Beijing Film Academy and a famed literary critic. Another example is the first Chinese translation of Milan Kundera's *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), indirectly from English, which saw around 3,000 Chinese characters deleted, including both descriptions of sexual scenes and terms like "the Communist Party", "Socialism", etc (see Yang 2013). Other earlier Chinese translations of Kundera's works were mostly censored in the same way. All of Kundera's translated works published by the Shanghai Translation Publishing House after 2002, however, are full translations, which we will further discuss in the next section. Ivan Klíma's memoir *Moje šílené století II* (My Mad Century II) is a case from "non-translation" to "partial translation", the preface of whose Chinese version, by the publisher, stated that "there have been some deletions and modifications". One notable case of "non-translations" is Václav Havel, both a prominent playwright and the former president of the Czech Republic. Except for one of his memoirs *Disturbing the Peace*³³, which was translated and saw only 1,500 copies published "for internal reference only" in 1992 by Dongfang Publishing House, none of his literary works have come into translation in mainland China. It seems probable that his absence has more to do with his politician rather than writer status, especially concerning his political stance on Tibet and Taiwan, two highly sensitive issues for China.

6.4.2.3 Milan Kundera

The first time Milan Kundera's name appeared in Chinese was in 1977, at the end of the second period in our survey, when the literary journal *Waiguo wenxue dongtai* (Recent Developments in World Literature) published an article by Czech literature translator and editor Yang Leyun, introducing Kundera along with Ludvík Vaculík. Yet his first generally accepted introduction to China was in 1985, when the Chinese American literary critic and researcher Li Oufan published in the journal *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* (Foreign Literature Studies) an article titled "Shijie wenxue de liang ge jianzheng: nanmei he dongou wenxue dui zhongguoxiandaiwenxue de qifa (What Chinese modern literature can learn from South American and Eastern European literature)", which introduced Gabriel García Márquez and Milan Kundera, along with their works.

³³ This translation does not appear in the table at the beginning of this section, because the table only lists translations that were openly published and made available to the public.

6.4.2.3.1 Turning point in Chinese modern literature and the importation of literary models

With China's economic reform in the late 1970s, the government's political grip on literature loosened. The previous brand of socialist realist literature that emphasizes the utilitarian role of literature for ideological purposes began to give way to radical experiments with language, narrative techniques, themes, and subject matters. With the national literature coming to a turning point in its historical development, "no item in the indigenous stock is taken to be acceptable, as a result of which a literary 'vacuum' occurs", and "translated literature may consequently assume a central position" (Even-Zohar 1990: 48). Through the translated foreign works, "features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before" (ibid.: 47). Moreover, Even-Zohar differentiates between the introduction of "canonicity" on "the level of texts" and on "the level of models", and points out that "it is one thing to introduce a text into the literary canon, and another to introduce it through its model into some repertoire" (Even-Zohar 1990: 20).

It was against this backdrop that Kundera was introduced to Chinese readers as a radical and innovative writer, who was no doubt an inspiration to "Chinese intellectuals in the 1980s who were looking for ways to break away from all sorts of constraints of the past decades" (Ying 2010: 27). Along with Franz Kafka, Jorge Luis Borges, Gabriel García Márquez, and William Faulkner, among other foreign writers, he has influenced many modern Chinese writers.

In analyzing Kundera's embrace by Chinese writers, Song (2003) emphasized two points. First, the alternative approaches to political criticism and moral reflection by means of both existential enquiry and humor. Chinese intellectuals' reflection on the previous ultra-leftist ideological disaster had found expression in the "scar literature (shanghen wenxue)" and its heir the "reflection literature (fanshi wenxue)", which portrayed the devastating effects of the Cultural Revolution, exposed the negative impact of political movements in the past decades (Ying 2010: 162), and criticized the unrestrained implementation of political orthodoxy (Knight 2016: 294). However, they are often described as "superficial" (Denton 2016: 16) and criticized for "formulaic and didactic content" (Knight 2016: 297). Kundera's existential enquiry and humor in his works seem to provide an alternate approach to dealing with the Chinese intellectuals' traumatic past, derived from similar political and ideological contexts. Second, Kundera's success, like Gabriel García Márquez's, seemed to provide a model for writers in a peripheral culture and literature to "go to the world", which might essentially mean being recognized by the dominant western cultures. Song (2003: 97) thinks this reflects the correlation and conflict between an international and national awareness, the inner anxiety of Chinese writers under the

influence of dominant western cultures, and a rational design of the development of the Chinese national literature.

6.4.2.3.2 Introduction of Milan Kundera in the 1980s and 90s

One of the first ever Chinese translator of Milan Kundera in book form, it should be noted, is a writer himself, who was awarded France's Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in 2002. This seems to agree again with Even-Zohar's argument that, when translated literature assumes the central position at the "turning points" of a literature, "it often is the leading writers or prospective leading writers who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations" (Even-Zohar 1990: 47). While conceding that the shared socialist past of the two countries was among his considerations when translating Kundera's *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), Han Shaogong, the writer translator, stressed his appreciation of the Czech author's writing techniques, for example Kundera's use of a first-person narrator who comments on the characters in otherwise third-person narratives (Xu 2018: 130). A prominent Chinese writer of the "root-seeking literature", Han is also "postmodern in his approach to narrative innovation" (Ying 2010: 58), with his works showing the influence of Milan Kundera as well as the magic realism of Latin American literature (ibid.).

According to the then editor Bai Bing in The Writers Press, around 3000 Chinese characters got deleted from Han's translated version, involving both sexual scenes and politically sensitive terms. In September 1987, The Publication Bureau approved the publication of 24,000 copies of the book, but only in the form of "internal reference", presumably only accessible to officials and writers above certain ranks. In 1989 the book's open publication was authorized and saw 700,000 copies sold that year (Yang 2013: 84).

Included in the same "Model Works for Writers" series by the Writers Press were the translations of Kundera's *Valčík na rozloučenou* (The Farewell Waltz), *Život je jinde* (Life is Elsewhere), *Žert* (The Joke) and *Nesmrtelnost* (Immortality). It was also mentioned by the editor that Jing Kaixuan's translated version of *Žert* (The Joke) was originally planned for publication in 1989, but that had to be postponed because the Czech Embassy in China voiced protests over the publication of a book which had been banned in their country since 1968 (Yang 2013: 84). It finally got published in 1991.

The Writers Press in 1996 contacted Milan Kundera's agent over the publication of all his works translated in mainland China. Besides copyright royalties, the agent made demands that all the works should be translated from French, and that there

shall not be any revisions or deletions. Bai Bing said the cooperation plan had to be aborted because their publishing house could not guarantee the wholeness of the translated works (Yang 2013: 84).

The problems with Kundera's translations in this period's mainland China, besides the censoring of their content in the form of deletion or revision, also included some pirated books on the market, notably Qinghai People's Publishing House's 3 books in its "Novels by Milan Kundera" series, as well as Shidai Wenyi, Guizhou People, and Dunhuang Wenyi's versions of *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí) (see Song 2003, and Yang 2013). This problem, with the tightening of anti-piracy regulations and the emergence of new translated versions on the market, are nowadays gradually disappearing (Xu 2018: 133).

6.4.2.3.3 Introduction of Milan Kundera since the 2000s

In May 2002 Milan Kundera signed an agreement and issued a joint statement with Shanghai Translation Publishing House, making the Chinese publisher the sole copyright holder in mainland China of all of Kundera's works. This time the Chinese publisher agreed to Kundera and his agents' demands. First, the works must be translated from their designated French versions, the sample books of which "were brought directly from the writer's house" by the editors (Er 2003). Second, all the deletions in previous mainland Chinese versions would be restored, which would result in what Tan calls "full translations" (see Section 6.4.2.2). The translators kept close contact with Kundera and his agents, via emails and faxes, during the whole translating process (see Zhang 2010). One of the translators, Yu Zhongxian, who was also the chief editor of the prominent literary journal *World Literature*, recalled that when he met in August 2003 with Kundera in Paris and showed the latter his newly translated Chinese version of *Les testaments trahis* (Testaments Betrayed), the writer randomly picked a paragraph and asked him to translate it back into French, in an attempt to ensure that it had been faithfully rendered from the designated version (ibid.). As a matter of fact, Milan Kundera, who is known for his "preoccupation with translation" (Woods 2006: 2), was not just concerned with the wholeness and fidelity of his translated works in China, but also the details of the ultimate forms of the books. Everything from the cover designs, to the format, and to the word fonts of the published Chinese books all needed his consent. He did not allow the Chinese publisher to add any forewords or postscripts of their own. Of the 13 Kundera books published in mainland China until 2003, only one, *Yake he ta de zhuren* (Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi), has a foreword written by the writer himself (Er 2003:

2). He also provided a few photos of himself to be used in the books. According to the requirements of the writer, in all of the books there is just a one-sentence introduction of him: “小说家，出生于捷克斯洛伐克布尔诺，自1975年起，在法国定居。(A novelist, born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, and living in France since 1975) (see Zhao 2003).

In April 2003, the Chinese translations of four Kundera books, *Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi* (Jacques and his Master), *Les testaments trahis: essai* (Testaments Betrayed), *L'Identité* (Identity) and *La Lenteur* (Slowness), were officially published, followed in the same year by the Chinese versions of *Žert* (The Joke), *Nesmrtelnost* (Immortality) and *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being). Together they sold close to 800,000 copies in half a year (see He 2008). Until August 2010, the Shanghai Translation version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being) had sold more than 1,020,000 copies (see Liu 2010).

6.4.3 Translation norms in 1978-2020 China

6.4.3.1 Text selection

6.4.3.1.1 The beginning in the late 1970s

The first translated Czech literary work in this period, after a 15-year interruption between 1963 and 1977, is B. Němcová's short story “Sestry (Sisters)”, translated by Yang Leyun and published in the literary journal *World Literature* in February, 1978. This first Chinese translation's publication in the literary periodical, which resumed its business in the previous year, was because Yang, as an editor of the journal and a Czech literature researcher, was among the few who had access to works of foreign literature, at a time when the country was just reopening itself to the outside world. This also explains why Yang was also among the first translators in China to introduce J. Seifert and B. Hrabal to Chinese readers, also in literary journals.

In the early years, it was a cautious step for the translators to select works by classic authors from western cultures. B. Němcová had been translated previously in the second period, so her works had proved to be “safe” to reproduce. The first translated Czech book of this period, *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Jiaoxingjia xia de baogao), was rendered by Jiang Chengjun and published in 1979, also the first direct

translation of J. Fučík's memoir. Considering there had been in the first two periods three translations of this Czech memoir (which were all indirect), its retranslation should cause no problem for a prudent translator.

6.4.3.1.2 The 1980s and 90s

What followed in the 1980s were mostly the translations of works by classic or canonized Czech writers, including A. Jirásek, K. Čapek, P. Bezruč, B. Němcová, J. Hašek and K.J. Erben. Liu Xingchan's 1983 version of *The Good Soldier Švejk* is the first direct Chinese translation of this Czech classic, following Xiao Qian's version in 1956 from English. Besides, the translation of J. Seifert poems in 1985 and 1986, first in periodicals and then in books, happened shortly after the Czech writer was awarded the 1984 Nobel Prize in Literature.

Besides those more canonized Czech works, what deserves our attention is the emergence in 1980s of the translated books by a few Czech contemporary writers, including Jaromíra Kolářová's novella *Co Hedvika neřekla* (What Hedvika did not tell), which tells the story of a teenage girl whose parents got divorced and deals with the problem of family relationship, J. Švejda's novel *Požáry a spáleniště*, which portrays the life of two young friends and the troubles in their respective relationship, and V. Folprecht's crime fiction *Smrt v pokutovém území*. Though these writers' lack of canonicity means they may be little known to today's young Czechs, the reason for their introduction in the 1980s China can be found in the context. After several decades of isolation, ordinary Chinese people were intensely curious about all things foreign (Kong 2005: 125). Foreign popular fiction was an easy way for them to acquaint themselves with Western lifestyles and to satisfy their curiosity about the exotic outside world (ibid.: 120). However, once the readers' initial curiosity about all things foreign was satisfied, and once they had acquired a more sophisticated knowledge of other societies through the media and other channels, they became less enthusiastic about buying non-canonical contemporary fiction, but began to demand "a much greater variety of entertaining and better-produced foreign works that would open their eyes and give them new experiences" (Kong 2005: 140). For the Chinese writers at that time, what they needed were new writing techniques and models to borrow from foreign literature and hopefully to help Chinese literature to "go to the world".

The publication in the late 1980s and early 90s of Milan Kundera's translated novels, by the Writers Press in the "Model Works for Writers" series, was a watershed event. Interestingly, the earliest translator of Kundera in China, Han Shaogong (see Kuai 2019), mentioned that the book had been recommended to him by an American

writer friend, before he was able to obtain its English version while on a visit to America. Another early translator of Kundera, Jing Kaixuan (see Song 2014), recalled that he got the English version of *Valčík na rozloučenou* (The Farewell Waltz), by accident, from an American visiting scholar in China. So in their cases the translators made the translation decision of their own volition. Despite some setbacks encountered in the book's publication and the censorship they underwent, the publication in 1987 of a writer still banned by the former socialist Czechoslovakia showed the loosening ideological control in mainland China.

Starting from the 1990s, the retranslation of classic (e.g. *The Good Soldier Švejk*) and canonical (e.g. *Reportáž psaná na oprátce*) works³⁴ became an important trend, motivated this time not by political but commercial considerations. A further discussion will be given over this in a following section on “retranslation” (see Section 6.4.3.3).

6.4.3.1.3 The 2000s

The 2000s were marked by the introduction of B. Hrabal and I. Klíma in mainland China. Their translation, it seems, can be attributed to both their international acclaim, especially in dominant western cultures, and the similar past ideological contexts between the target and the source cultures. Comparisons have sometimes been made between them and Milan Kundera. Yang Leyun, the first translator of B. Hrabal in mainland China, pointed out on a number of occasions that Hrabal is the real representative and a beloved author of contemporary Czech literature, rather than Kundera. Another translator and editor, Gao Xing (2014), also wrote that Czech people like I. Klíma, who has “never been absent” and who chose to return to Czechoslovakia in 1968 when he had opportunities to emigrate, much more than Kundera, who simply chose to leave.

In 2003, Shanghai Translation Publishing House, as the sole copyright holder of M. Kundera's works in mainland China, began the publication of the writer's Chinese translations in a series. The following year, 2004, saw the publication of two other important series: China Youth's five translated books of B. Hrabal and China

³⁴ One possible way to identify Czech classics is to look at three variables: whether the writer is included in brief historical reviews of Czech literature, whether the work is translated into English, and whether the work is also translated into Chinese in other historical periods (see section 5.4.3.2.). *The Good Soldier Švejk*, which meets all the three criteria, is obviously a Czech classic work. J. Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce*, which is the most retranslated Czech work in mainland China after *Švejk*, can be described as a “canonical” work, not from the perspective of the source culture, but from the perspective of the target culture. Actually, it in a way can be seen as a case of “the canonization of a noncanonical work”.

Friendship's five books of I. Klíma.

Another important trend in this period is the increase of translated works in nonfiction literary genres. Examples in the 2000s include K. Čapek's travelogues, B. Hrabal's interviews in *Kličky na kapesníku -- Kdo jsem* (Knots on a Handkerchief -- Who I Am: Interviews), J. Neruda's collected letters and travelogues, as well as J. Seifert's memoir *Všecky krásy světa* (All the Beauties of the World) and a memoir by Lída Baarová, a Czech actress who is known for her involvement with the Nazi propaganda minister of Germany, Joseph Goebbels. The widening literary scope, on one hand, reflected the fact that Chinese readers' interest in important Czech writers went beyond their works themselves but would like to know more about their lives. On the other hand, it is part of the agenda of publishing houses, which after the marketization of literary publications in China have been under increasing pressure from both popular literature and new media. To make profits in order to survive in a highly competitive cultural market, publishers and editors have abandoned their narrow and conventional definitions of literature, and instead embraced the concept of "literature broadly defined (da wenxue)", an approach which "allowed them to include more general, culture-oriented content that would appeal to a wider audience, and to promote new genres that were marginal, mixed, or undefined" (Kong 2005: 162). Under this convenient rubric, many publishers have been willing to publish all kinds of manuscripts, or their translations, on a wide variety of topics "as long as it can more or less guarantee healthy sales" (Kong 2005: 49-50).

6.4.3.1.4 The 2010s

The 2010s saw both the continuation of old trends and the emergence of new ones. The first old trend is the retranslation of classic and canonical Czech works, including J. Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*, J. Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), J. Seifert's poetry, as well as K. Čapek's novels, short stories and essays.

The second old trend is the continued introduction of three canonized Czech writers who started writing in the 2nd half of the 20th century: B. Hrabal, I. Klíma and M. Kundera, though the forms vary. M. Kundera's books came in republications by Shanghai Translation Publishing House, due to the fact that its status as the sole copyright holder makes any retranlations by other Chinese publishers illegal. B. Hrabal and I. Klíma's books, by contrast, appeared mainly in new translations. And by 2017 all of the two writers' important works had been translated into Chinese. It is worth noting that Hrabal and Klíma's translated works in the 2010s were almost all published by Huacheng Publishing House in its "Blue Eastern Europe" series, about

which we will have a discussion in a following section.

The third old trend is the introduction of Czech literature in a broad sense. The examples include the former Czechoslovak prime minister Lubomír Štrougal's memoir, a memoir by Olga Scheinpflugová, a Czech actress and writer as well as Karel Čapek's wife, Helga Weiss's diary during her internment in a concentration camp, and one biography of Franz Kafka.

The new trend at the end of this decade is the introduction of a younger generation of award-winning Czech writers, like Radka Denemarková, whose novel *Peníze od Hitlera* (Money from Hitler) won her the 2007 Magnesia Litera award, and Jáchym Topol, whose *Chladnou zemi* (The Devil's Workshop) received the 2010 Cena Jaroslava Seiferta (Jaroslav Seifert Prize).

6.4.3.2 Indirect translation

A conspicuous shift in directness occurred in the period under survey: direct translations increased both in absolute numbers (from 10 directly translated works in the second period to 60 in the third) and as a proportion of the total number of TTs (from 17% to 42%).

There seems to be multiple reasons underlying the shift towards directness in Czech literature's Chinese translation:

First, the opening up and reform in China, along with the loosening of the ideological control and relaxing of censorship policies, makes it possible to translate some formerly politically problematic Czech authors, including I. Klíma and B. Hrabal, whose works together comprise almost half of the direct translations.

Second, an increased focus on authors' style and their works' literary value, coupled with the wider language skills of new translators, resulted in a tendency towards adequacy.

Third, the Czech language courses and academic curricula for Czech studies in China's higher-education institutions, plus mainland China's increased communication with other parts of the world, have also substantially contributed to the rise in the number of direct translations. If in the second half of the 20th century Czech-Chinese direct literary translation was largely dominated by Chinese translators educated in Czechoslovakia, such as Liu Xingchan, Jiang Chengjun and Wan Shirong, the 21st century is seeing the growing role of translators who have graduated with a Czech major from Chinese universities, especially Beijing Foreign Studies University. The increased communications with the outside world have also

made it possible for publishers to publish direct translations by translators from outside mainland China (a further discussion will be given later in Section 6.4.3.6).

If the lack of peritextual information regarding the indirect status of translations during the first period in 1921-1949 was “a sign that indirectness was non-marked and default” (Ivaska & Paloposki 2018: 35), then the hidden indirect nature of translations in the post-reform period may be “a sign that they were accorded inferior status” (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 135, 140). In other words, the frequent unmarked indirectness can imply that the dominant preliminary norm in this period is a high intolerance of indirect translations. In contrast, direct translations from Czech are mostly marked in the peritext, with their directness sometimes foregrounded as a selling point. On the whole, the concealed indirectness and marked directness seem to reflect both literary and commercial considerations.

When it comes to the MLs used in indirect translations, Russian has dramatically declined both in absolute numbers (from 26 works translated via Russian in 1950-1977 to 5 in 1978-2020) and as a proportion of the total number of TTs (from 45% to 3%). If the domination of Russian language in the second period revealed a strong Soviet Union influence over not just China but the Czech lands, the scarcity of its mediation in the third period shows not only poor Sino-Soviet relations in the 1980s but also, more importantly, Russia’s loss of a mediating center status after the collapse of the socialist Eastern Bloc and the fall of the Soviet Union. Another notable ML is Esperanto, which peaked in the first period, greatly diminished in the second, and has completely disappeared since the 1990s. This seems to be more a reflection of the rise and fall of the artificial language itself.

As for English, another important mediating language, it appears to have stayed relatively stable, at least on the surface, if we consider its use in 19% of Czech literary translations in this period, compared with the 21% in the second period. However, if we take into account the fact that the 26% of translations from unidentifiable mediating languages are most likely English-mediated or at least partially derived from English versions, then the role of English as a mediating language has actually increased considerably. The decline of Russian and the rise of English in China are also reflected in the total numbers of books translated from these two languages. According to UNESCO’s database of book translations, Index Translationum database, in 1949-1980, 6990 books were translated from Russia into Chinese, compared with only 2340 books translated from English. In comparison, between 1980 and 2015, there were 40,150 books translated from English into Chinese, far exceeding the 2516 translated from Russian into Chinese (see Chan 2018: 265).

Furthermore, it needs to be noted that the mediation of English culture is present not only in indirect translations, but also in direct translations, by influencing text selection. Kong observed that publishers in contemporary China “took more account

of trends in foreign book markets” and “introduced foreign titles that had already proved their worth elsewhere” (Kong 2005: 127), especially in dominant western cultures. Doing so helps “reduce the risks of publishing unfamiliar foreign writers” (ibid.: 138). This actually is a common practice across the world. Maialen Marin-Lacarta, for example, notes that translations published in Spain are mostly “chosen on the basis of their position in the Anglophone and Francophone literary systems” (Marin-Lacarta 2012: 6). Audrey Heijns (2003: 251) also mentions that Chinese works are promptly translated into Dutch after their success in English, German, or French. Similarly, the decision to translate some Czech writers or works directly from the original language can often be based on their acclaim in the Anglophone literary system. All these prove “the development of a globalized system of transmission of texts that are mediated by dominant literary systems” (Marin-Lacarta 2012: 6).

The correlation observed between (in)directness and the independent variable of author profile, especially the three canonical contemporary Czech writers mentioned above, can be context-based. Kundera’s translations are invariably indirect. During the 1980s, his works were banned in Czechoslovakia, making the Czech versions virtually inaccessible. And his early Chinese translators obtained the English mediating texts largely by accident. After the 1990s, all his translations have been via French, at the writer’s own request. Interestingly, Czech-Chinese literary translators tend to show a clear preference for B. Hrabal and I. Klíma, who also seem to be allegedly favored by the Czech people over Kundera, a very controversial personality³⁵. This affection for the two Czech writers also explains why many of their works have been translated by Chinese translators, such as Yang Leyun, Liu Xingcan, Lao Bai, and Wan Shirong, when they were in their 60s, 70s and even 80s. It is little wonder, therefore, that B. Hrabal and I. Klíma’s translations into Chinese are predominantly direct.

Some scholars have suggested that indirect translation is a decreasing phenomenon (e.g. Heilbron 1999: 436), getting less common today than it used to be in the past. Others, however, have different views. Marin-Lacarta (2012: 6) in her study of Chinese literature translated in Spain identified a “trend towards indirectness”. And Cecilia Alvstad (2017: 152-153) argues that the assumption of a present move only from indirect toward direct translation might be wrong, and that specific moves in the reverse direction also happen. In the case of Czech literature translated in mainland China, what we observe is a trend from indirect toward direct translation: the proportion of direct translations has steadily grown from zero in the

³⁵ The view that Klíma and Hrabal are favored by the Czech people over Kundera (who is the most read Czech writer and the most popular among Chinese readers) has been expressed on various occasions by some translators of Czech literature, but I have not found any data to support that. So that’s probably just their personal assumption.

first period, to 17% in the second, then to 42% in the third period. This may have to do with the stress on “faithfulness” by China’s translation tradition, coupled with Chinese intellectuals’ unusual enthusiasm for Czech literature due to the two countries’ similar ideological past. However, whether this upward trend will persist remains to be seen. On the other hand, it seems that indirect translations will always maintain a considerable proportion, not least because the translators well versed in less translated languages are always hard to come by. Another reason can be commercial. Hanna Pięta argues that “ITr can be profitable for publishers”, in that “translating from central languages tends to be less costly than translating from peripheral languages, thus offering the publishers an opportunity to economize on translation expenses” (Pięta 2014: 25). She also points out that “ITr can be used as a risk-management strategy”: indirect translations, filtered through the central and more prestigious cultures, may better conform to tastes in the ultimate target culture (ibid.).

6.4.3.3 Retranslation

Xu & Tian (2014) investigated “the retranslation boom of the 1990s in mainland China”, when there were many retranslations of the classic works of world literature, which continued in the new century. The major reason for the prospering of retranslations in that period, they conclude, was commercial. On the reception side, the reawakened enthusiasm of the Chinese people for reading classic literature, after the opening-up of the country since 1978, led to a surprisingly huge readership and therefore book market. On the production side, commercial considerations have driven publishers to “produce their own versions in order to capture a segment of a lucrative retranslation market” (Xu & Tian 2014: 244), especially after the marketization of China’s publishing industry since the late 1980s as well as the PRC’s joining of the Berne Convention and the Universal Copy-right Convention in 1992, which put huge pressure on publishers to reduce publishing costs and make profits.

Commercial considerations have been a major motivation identified for retranslations by translation scholars. Milton, for example, in his study of “factory translation”, found “recycling of previously published translations” to be “the classic characteristics of mass market translation” (Linder 2014: 60), while the driving force behind factory translation is “the aim of commercial success” (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003: 26). It has always been the task of the publisher to balance cultural values and financial interests. However, Lehtonen (2001: 173, cited in Koskinen and Paloposki 2003: 26) argues that the balance has since the 1990s been lost, and “market forces now often dictate publishing decisions” (ibid.).

The focus of literary retranslation has been, understandably, classics in world

literature. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2009) points out that retranslating canonical literature or reprinting them in a new format continues to be familiar practice for publishing houses, who are attracted by “the prestige, cost-effectiveness and guaranteed sales associated with the publication of literary classics” (Gürçağlar 2009: 235). Thomson-Wohlgemuth in his study of translation in the German Democratic Republic also observes that “many older classical titles found their way onto the market because the author’s rights had expired and in several cases so had the translator’s rights, making these books cheaper to produce” (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009: 57).

When it comes to the publishers, most of the Chinese retranslations since the 1990s have been produced by smaller publishing houses, which have mostly appeared in the 1990s and survived since then. Xu & Tian argue that the longer life of small publishers in China, compared with their counterparts in some other countries such as Finland, can be attributed to their successful attempt to capture a share of the (re)translation market at low costs (Xu & Tian 2014: 256-257). As for the translators, Xu & Tian point out that the producers of some retranslations in this period were just cheap amateur translators, which led sometimes to problems with the quality of translations (ibid.: 253). They at times conducted “re-interpretations” of existing TL versions of the world’s literary classics (ibid.), or what Brian Mossop (2006: 787) calls “collage translations”, namely translations which had been assembled by putting together fragments from previous translations of the ST by prestigious publishers. This can lead to mistranslation of the source text as well as infringement of the previous translators’ copyright (Xu & Tian 2014: 253). In extreme cases, there were illegal plagiarized or pirated retranslations, which did not have valid ISBN numbers, but made illegal printings with no book number, or replaced previous translator names with their own, or simply reproduced publishers’ names without their knowledge (Chen 1992: 577). In general, it was “a chaotic market” that laid behind the retranslation boom in the 1990s (Xu & Tian 2014: 249). Things have become much better with the tightening up of publication and anti-piracy rules in China, though transgressions haven’t ceased completely today.

The Good Soldier Švejk, which has 24 different versions in 1978-2020, is the most retranslated Czech work in China. The retranslations are mostly produced by smaller publishers. And many of the translators have no other published translations except the ones in question, implying that they may be non-professional translators. Another remarkable thing is that all of the retranslations came out after the establishment of a translational canon, Liu Xingchan’s directly translated version in 1983. This supports neither Ricoeur’s (2006) so-called “dissatisfaction with regard to existing translations” nor Antoine Berman’s hypothesis that the appearance of a canonical translation will stop the cycle of retranslating for a long time (see Brownlie 2006: 146). But it agrees with Xu & Tian’s claim that “reasons for retranslation

clearly lie in commercial considerations”, in the case of the retranslation boom in the 1990s’ China (Xu & Tian 2014: 257).

As Kundera has been the most popular Czech writer among Chinese readers, in the 1990s and early 2000s there appeared pirated versions of his works, some presented as retranslations. For example, the three books in the 1998 Kundera Novel Series produced by Qinghai Renmin Publishing House indicate on the covers that they were translated by An Lina, but are actually pirated versions of books by the Writers Publishing House, rendered by other translators. Another example is Kundera’s *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), which was produced by Guizhou Renmin and shows Cheng Yimin to be the translator, but is actually the 1987 The Writers version translated by Han Shaogong and Han Gang. Cases like these might be termed “pseudo-retranslations”, which have been excluded from our data, though discussions about them are not without theoretical value.

Another peculiar case is a 2006 Chinese version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being) included in the “World Classics” series published by the China Theater Press. The over twenty literary classics in the series, also including *The Good Soldier Švejk*, all have the same translator name: Song Ruifen. A post about “the greatest translator in China” went viral online in 2009, with many people questioning how it was possible that someone could translate so many literary masterpieces written in different original languages within a short period. The book-dealer, which had cooperated with the publisher in producing the series, finally gave an explanation: the translations were all results of team work, with Song Ruifen being just one of them. So the name actually amounted to a pseudonym, representing not one specific translator but a team of them. And the retranslations in this series fit some of the descriptions of what Milton calls “factory translation”: “produce translated texts according to strict commercial production deadlines”, and “involve teams of translators, often unidentified or identified by pseudonyms” (Linder 2014: 60).

The high retranslation rate of K. Čapek’s *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener’s Year) and *Dášeňka čili Život štěněte* (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy), with 7 and 6 versions respectively, on one hand, has to do with the works themselves: they were written for fun and are more accessible to common people. On the other hand, their popularity seems to be also linked with the target social context, as closer examination shows that all their retranslations came out in the 2000s and 2010s. With the urbanization and economic development in mainland China, the pace of work and life has been getting much faster than before, and people, especially those in cities, are feeling great pressure from a fast-developing modern society. They long for the companion of pets like dogs and cats, as well as the embrace of mother nature, to relieve their stress and loneliness. K. Čapek’s light-hearted descriptions of gardening and his puppy have a particularly soothing effect, and prove rather appealing to the

21st century Chinese readers.

An illustration of the disparity between a text's position in the target culture and that in the source culture is certainly Fučík's *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), which has 11 Chinese versions in the third period alone. However, the book is no longer read by contemporary Czech readers. So *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), in a way, can be viewed as a case of what Hong Kong scholar Sun Yifeng calls "the canonization of a noncanonical work", which shows "the great transforming power of ideology or politics" (Sun 2018: 115). Sun defines a "canon" as "an artifact carefully constructed and shaped by generations of thinking about what works are essential" and argues that "canon formation is rarely politically or ideologically innocent" (Sun 2018: 115). Driven by ideological manipulation, "canonicity and marginality vacillate, and, sometimes, the two can even be reversed" (ibid.: 120). However, if the canonization process of *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) in 1950-1977 was in some way a case of "canonization transference from the Soviet Union" (Sun 2018: 114), just like *The Gadfly*, another novel discussed in Sun's paper, then its continued retranslation in the post-reform era seems to have different motivations. It seems that Sun's discussion of another similarly canonized noncanonical literary work also applies to the Czech text by Fučík:

Among the Red classics, Nikolay Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered* was particularly influential. The protagonist Pavel Korchagin was an idol to many young readers for more than three decades. This novel is **a typical case of literature serving politics and ideology**; [...] As recently as 2002, *How the Steel Was Tempered* was adapted for a Chinese television series **intended to stir nostalgia in those who have read the novel. While the series may be seen as a feeble attempt to recuperate ideological propaganda whose time is past, the exploitation of the novel's former popularity is in keeping with the commercialism of current ideology.**

(Sun 2018: 113; emphasis added)

As previously mentioned, the number of retranslations of a work does not seem to be necessarily in direct relation to its position in the target culture. Though *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) has more Chinese versions than any other Czech literary works except *The Good Soldier Švejk*, an investigation on Douban Books, the largest book-reviewing site in Chinese, shows that the review numbers of these translations are far behind those of the translated works of some other writers like Milan Kundera and Bohumil Hrabal.

The ideological transition is also reflected in a particular form of retranslation: "restorative" (re)translation, "restoring previously censored, expurgated and abridged translations to a fresher state of fullness" (Linder 2014: 60). Some of the retranslations of Ivan Klíma and Milan Kundera's works belong to this category. In

the terms of Hong Kong scholar Tan Zaixi's tripartite typology of (self-)censorship-affected translations with respect to translator-author relationship and translatorial commitment (see Section 6.4.2.2), these works have gone through a transition from "non-translations" prior to China's reform, to "partial translations" in the 1980s and 90s, and then for some to "full translations" thereafter.

Finally, the downsides of too many retranslations have been discussed by translation researchers. Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki point out that it has "an unfortunate side effect of directing the limited resources conservatively", and "contributes to the trend of further narrowing down the choice of available translations" (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003: 33-34). As a consequence, "the cultures, genres, and writers who used to be underrepresented are likely to remain so" (ibid.: 34). Thomson-Wohlgemuth argues that this can result in "a literary landscape dominated by the dinosaurs (safe, harmless 'good old classics')", "with very few contemporary western authors" (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2006: 58). This is true of the translation of Czech literature in China. While some Czech classics, like *The Good Soldier Švejk*, are being translated again and again, some important Czech literary schools, such as the Decadents and the Catholics, and many other authors, including poets and playwrights, have never made it to China over the course of a century. Though this has a lot to do with the social-cultural target context which produces little need for such source texts, the "conservative direction of the limited resources" due to excessive retranslations also seems to play a part. Thankfully, in recent years there appeared a trend of introducing contemporary award-winning Czech authors, such as Jáchym Topol and Radka Denemarková. It is hoped that this tendency will continue and that there will be more comprehensive representation of Czech literary in future.

6.4.3.4 Paratexts

Urpo Kovala in his study of translations and paratextual mediation applied the communication model developed by Leena Kirstina and Judith Lorincz (1991), adopting four functions: informative, conative, phatic and poetic, which respectively foreground "the information content of the works, their effect on the reader, their entertainment function, and their literary qualities and value" (Kovala 1996: 136).

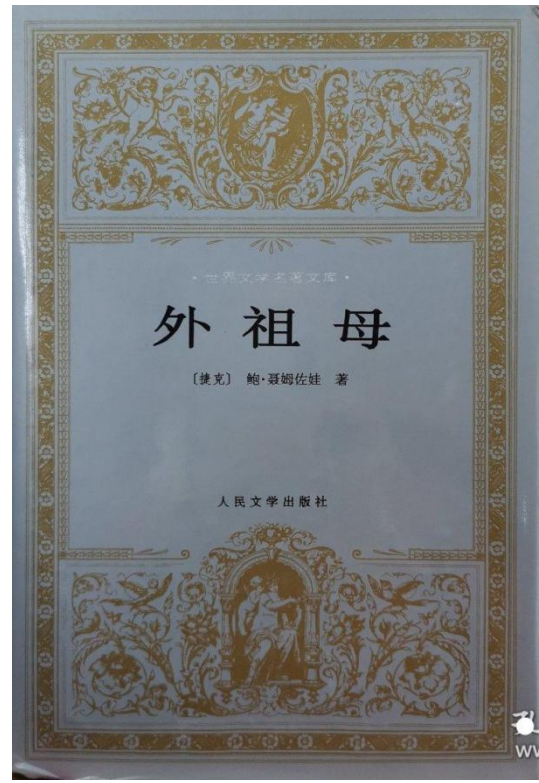
If we apply that model to the paratexts of the translated Czech literature in the PRC, their functions seem to have generally gone through a transition from informative and conative to informative and poetic ones. From the founding of the PRC in 1949 to the opening-up and reform in 1978, stress was put on the informative and conative functions, — that is, information and influence on the reader. The

paratexts in that era, in particular prefaces, reflected a tendency to stress thought content and biographical and social context as opposed to literary form and literary context. During the post-reform era until the end of the 20th century, “the ideological residuals of previous decades” were still visible in many paratexts, though, Hong Kong scholar Sun argues, “such clichéd propaganda criticism was no more than political camouflage: not many people, except the politically naïve, really believed it!” (Sun 2018: 119). In others, however, a desire was shown to rid of the dominance of ideology, such as in the prefaces and blurbs of Milan Kundera’s translated works in the 1980s. In the 21st century, with the widespread commercialization in the Chinese society and China’s increasing integration into a globalized world, much more emphasis has been put on the literary qualities and artistic values of the translated works.

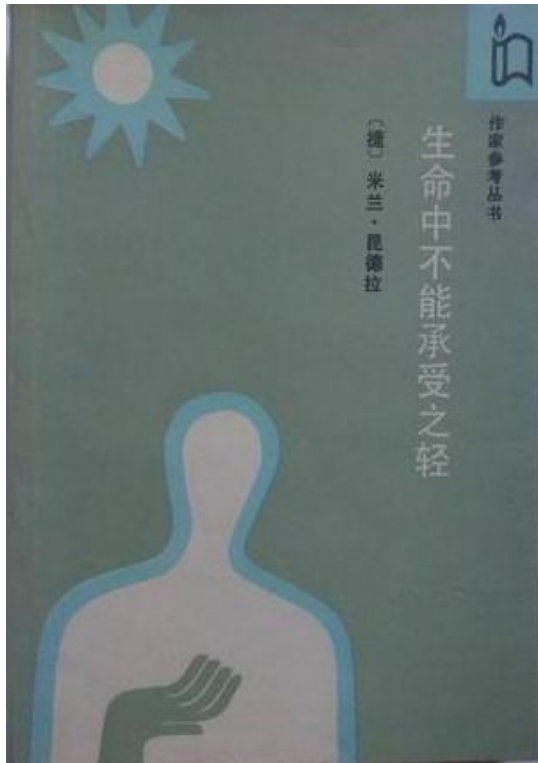
Marketization of the publishing industry has also led to dramatic improvement in the packaging, marketing and promotion of translated books, especially in their cover design and overall look. Most books published in the PRC in the past century, especially in the pre-reform era, were produced in plain editions with no or very few illustrations. The printing, binding and paper quality were in general very poor, which, as pointed out by Kong (2005: 51), “were the result of the nonprofit, state-sponsored publishing system, specifically the extremely low book prices set by the government”. Since the reforms in the publication industry in the 1990s, publishers have tried to increase the appeal of their books by creating eye-catching cover designs and texts with unique formats. In this process, more foreign features have been introduced. For example, some of the cover designs and page margins had European style floral patterns, which embodied exquisite taste for most Chinese. What’s more, most translated Czech works in the 21st century have the Czech titles (or other foreign languages if they are translated indirectly) alongside the Chinese ones. The following examples of book covers of Czech literature, from different time periods, show some of the aforementioned transformations:



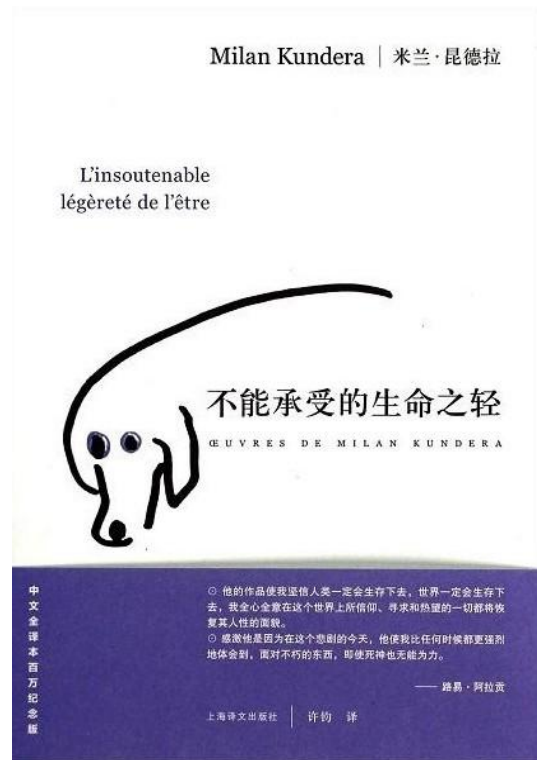
Picture 6.1 The book cover of the 1957 Chinese version of *Babička*, published by the People's Publishing House



Picture 6.2 The book cover of a 1998 Chinese version of *Babička*, a republication produced by the People's Publishing House



Picture 6.3 The book cover of the 1987 Chinese version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), published by The Writers Publishing House



Picture 6.4 The book cover of the 2010 Chinese version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), published by the Shanghai Translation Publishing House, with a dog drawn by the author himself (every detail of the paratexts in the Shanghai Translation series was strictly overseen by Kundera).



Picture 6.5 The book cover of the 2020 Chinese version of K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year), published by Chongqing University Press.

In the case of the book in Picture 6.5, apart from the 60 black-and-white illustrations in the Czech original, made by the author's elder brother Josef Čapek, the publisher has also added to the book a dozen colored illustrations specifically made by British illustrator Lucy Grossmith, reflecting the increased globalization of the work of translating and marketing foreign literature in China. One of the illustrations is shown below:

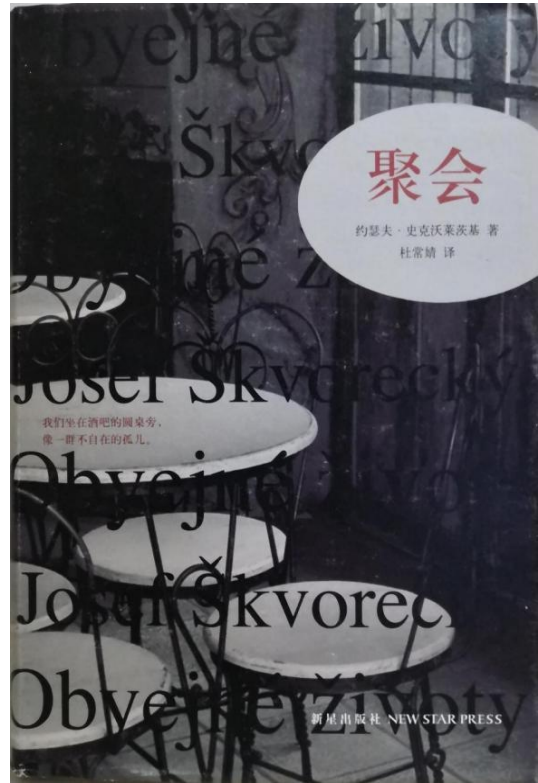


Picture 6.6 One of the colored illustrations in the 2020 Chinese version of K. Čapek's *Zahradníkuv rok* (The Gardener's Year), published by Chongqing University Press.

These improvements and innovations in the packaging of foreign literature in mainland China, argues Kong (2005: 130), have been strongly influenced by Western publishing techniques. Furthermore, in line with Špírk's concept of "indirect reception", i.e. "reception through the lens of another culture" (Špírk 2011: 59), as well as what Li Wenjie calls "double indirectness" in both the process of translation and the process of interpretation (Li 2017: 192), the paratexts are often based on the information that the mediating system provides to publishers. Examples include the blurbs of the 2010 indirectly translated version of *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), which cites positive comments by French writer Louis Aragon. The blurbs of Chinese versions of Czech literary works, in the latter part of the third period, also frequently quote praises by prominent writers from dominant Anglophone cultures, such as Arthur Miller, or favorable comments by important English media like *New York Times* or *Newsweek*. Of course, the endorsements from other famed Czech writers, not least Milan Kundera, were also an important paratextual ingredient.



Picture 6.7 The 2013 Chinese version of Josef Škvorecký's novel *Obyčejné životy* (Ordinary Lives), published by Newstar Press, with the blurb citing Milan Kundera's recommendation and *Newsweek's* comment.



Picture 6.8 The 2013 Chinese version of Josef Škvorecký's *Obyčejné životy* (Ordinary Lives), without yaofeng (book belt), a type of detachable blurb and a packaging technique said to have been imported from Japan.



Picture 6.9 The book covers of the 2019 Chinese versions of Z. Svěrák's *Nové*

povídky (left) and *Povídky* (right), in the “Stories from Prague” series published by Zhejing Literature & Art.

6.4.3.5 Book series and translated image

6.4.3.5.1 Czech literature in book series

Compared with the first two periods, one significant feature of the third period, apart from the enormous increase in the number of foreign literary works translated, is “a much more systematic approach to introducing Western ideas, culture, and literature, in contrast to the piecemeal approach of the preceding period” (Kong 2005: 124). This systematic approach is mostly seen in the publication of foreign literature in book series. When it comes to Czech literature in Chinese translation, the form of book series is remarkable not just in its scale — most translated Czech works have come in series of some kind: works by a particular writer, works by Noble literature prize winners, model works for writers, the world’s banned works, selected love stories, anti-fascist works, Eastern European works, world classics, and even books about gardening, books about dogs, and so on. Book series are notable also in their significance — the three important contemporary writers, Bohumil Hrabal, Milan Kundera and Ivan Klíma, have all been introduced to China mainly by means of book series.

This period’s first large-scale multi-national series is People’s Literature Publishing House’s “Foreign Literature Classics”, a project that was initiated at the end of the 1950s, interrupted by the Cultural Revolution, and resumed after 1978. By 2001, almost 150 titles of world classics had been produced by People’s Literature, which proved to be a great success and won wide acclaim among readers. Covering poetry, drama, and fictional works from ancient and medieval times all the way up to the years before World War II, it includes Karel Čapek’s *Válka s mloky* (War with the Newts), indirectly translated and published in 1981. This was followed by “Twentieth-Century Foreign Literature Series”, another series jointly produced by Shanghai Translation Press and Foreign Literature Press. It includes the 1983 direct translation of *The Good Soldier Švejk*, along with other modern and contemporary Western works such as Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, William Faulkner’s *Sound and Fury*, D. H. Lawrence’s *Sons and Lovers*, and Gabriel García Márquez’s *Hundred Years of Solitude*, etc.

The most important series in the late 1980s and early 90s is the “Model Works

for Writers” series published by The Writers Press. Claiming that its aim was to “offer a glimpse into the trends of thought and literature in the world”, it includes, among other works of social sciences and literature, five of Milan Kundera’s novels including *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being), which started a “Kundera craze” among Chinese writers and intellectuals at that time.

The 2000s is a significant decade for the introduction of Czech literature in mainland China, which saw the publication of the translations of three canonized contemporary writers, each in their own series: B. Hrabal’s 7-book series by China Youth in 2002 - 2004 (republished by Beijing October Art & Literature a decade later in the 2010s), and I. Klíma’s 5-book series by China Friendship in 2004. Shanghai Translation bought the copyright of 13 of Milan Kundera’s works in 2002, and started the publication of its series since. The Shanghai Translation Milan Kundera series have proved a huge success, with multiple republications during the following decade.

The 2010s was marked by an ambitious series: “Blue Eastern Europe” produced by the Huacheng Publishing House, which as of now has had 57 translated works from seven Central and Eastern European countries. Among the 15 Czech works in it, there are 7 by Ivan Klíma, 4 by Bohumil Hrabal, plus K. Čapek’s *The Noetic Trilogy*, V. Vančura’s *Rozmarné léto* (Summer of Caprice), J. Topol’s *Chladnou zemí* (The Devil’s Workshop) and R. Denemarková’s *Peníze od Hitlera* (Money from Hitler). By now, Bohumil Hrabal and Ivan Klíma’s important works have all been translated in mainland China.

Aside from the books devoted to single Czech writers, there are also those collections of short stories, essays or poems by writers from Central and Eastern European countries, which are labeled as “Short stories/Essays/Poems from Eastern Europe”, or combined with other books of literature from other parts of the world to form a larger series of world classics in the genre in question. For example, the book *Bei wangque de ge*, published in 2000 by Baihua Art & Literature, is a collection of over 80 translated essays by writers from seven Central and Eastern European nations, including 14 by Czech authors. It is in turn part of a 13-book series of “New Collection of World Classic Essays”, with each book devoted to one part of the world. These books, due to their multinational nature, have not been included in our statistical analysis, but theoretical discussion of them is not without significance.

6.4.3.5.2 Book series and image of a nation

Literary translations, along with their paratexts, play an important role in image building. On the one hand, “it is in the field of [...] literature that national stereotypes are first and most effectively formulated, perpetuated and disseminated” (Leerssen

2007: 26). On the other hand, translation is “potentially the most influential [type of rewriting] because it is able to project the image of an author and/or a (series of) work(s) in another culture” (Lefevere 1992b: 9). Furthermore, studies of translation paratexts frequently involve “explorations of the influence of paratexts on target culture images of a particular source culture author or of the source culture more generally” (Batchelor 2018: 37).

Kong argues that “the conception of a ‘series’ was a meaningful marketing gesture”, since *congshu* (series) in Chinese publishing circles “are normally associated with the classics and with authoritative editions” (Kong 2005: 61). In addition, “if readers like a given book, they will usually look for further, similar ones” in the same series, which offers important marketing advantages (Cecilia Alvstad 2012: 78). Books and authors that are dissimilar but are “produced, represented and promoted as part of a larger whole”, however, will risk “being paratextually ‘translated’ into sameness, their internal differences minimized” (ibid.: 79). This has important implications for the translated image of a nation.

Hanna Pięta (2018), in her research of how indirect literary translation constructed the images of communist Poland in para-fascist Portugal, summarized the theoretical implications of “image”, a “discursive representation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’” (Leerssen 2007b: 342). Image is not a sociological or anthropological fact but an “intertextual construct”, which means it is often based “not on a direct empirical observation of reality but rather on an existing reputation derived from preexisting texts” (Pięta 2018: 346). Images tend to be highly variable, and can shift according to changing ideological circumstances. The major image of Czech literature in mainland China, generally speaking, has gone from one of “the oppressed peoples” in 1921-1949, to “socialism-builder” in 1950-1977, and then since the 1980s to “intellectuals in a former socialist country who reflect on their nation’s past and their own identity and position in society”. Czech literature’s major image of “reflective intellectuals” has in part been framed through the use of book series with the label “Eastern Europe”, which reminds readers of the country’s socialist history.

6.4.3.5.3 Stereotyped image: “Eastern Europe”

The representation of another culture always involves an “unavoidable degree of subjectivity”, which is actually “one of the main differences between an ‘image’ and objective information” (Leerssen n.d.). Images, in national stereotyping, often work by making generalizations and by “turning a single attribute into the essence of an entire nation” (Pageaux, cited in Beller 2007: 9). Kathryn Batchelor made the hypothesis that “the use of cultural stereotyping through paratexts is a common –

perhaps even default – strategy in the marketing of foreign texts” (Batchelor 2018: 38-39). This can be observed in various paratextual factors. Gerber (2012: 55), for example, has shown how the book covers of Australian translations often carry images reflecting cultural stereotypes. Pellatt also notes that “[f]oreign publishers of English versions of Chinese books seem to prefer either extrovert stereotypical red, or romantic stereotypes of sampans and plum blossoms” (Pellatt 2018: 171). Hong Kong scholar Lee points to the fact that Anglophone publishers, through text selection (commissioning the translation of works by politically sensitive Chinese authors), “as well as through rhetorical framing in the paratexts (preface, blurb, and so forth)”, have managed to “discursively produce a China that is invariably despotic and authoritarian” (Lee 2018: 252).

This discursive and paratextual framing is largely ideology-based: “Many works of Chinese literature are read by non-Chinese readers as social or historical documents rather than as literature: their appeal to outsiders is as ‘truth’ about China, rather than as compelling, stylish fiction”, as Valerie Pellatt of Newcastle University points out (Pellatt 2018: 167). This is at least to some degree also true of Czech literature. Encyclopedia Britannica, for instance, defines Ivan Klíma as “Czech author whose fiction and plays were long banned by his country’s communist rulers”³⁶.

One main way of the paratextual image building of Czech literature is through book series and anthologies, “which reflect the inclusion or exclusion of certain types of publications, decisions that are not always guided explicitly by publishing policies but often implicitly by social conventions” (Wolf 2002: 49). This, of course, is not unique to Czech literature in China. In her study of Asian, African, and Latin American literature in Swedish translation, Cecilia Alvstad (2012: 82) observed that those literatures are often presented paratextually as belonging together as part of a larger whole. This “paratextual construction of sameness” (Batchelor 2018: 38) also happens to Czech literature, with the term “Eastern Europe” frequently applied. In 1978-2020 there have been 28 books published with that label. Some of them are books by single Czech authors included in series such as “Blue Eastern Europe” or “Eastern European Literature”; others are multi-author anthologies of short stories, essays or poetry from “Eastern European” countries; still others are multi-author Eastern European anthologies included in series of “World Literature” of the genre in question. The works generally come from former socialist countries including Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, etc³⁷. Most of the books have prefaces that explain the common features of these countries in terms of their past socio-political contexts and their literature.

³⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ivan-Klima>

³⁷ The geographically Eastern European countries like Ukraine, oddly, are often not included in this group, perhaps due to their closeness to Russian literature.

6.4.3.5.4 De-stereotyping attempts: “Blue Eastern Europe” and “Stories from Prague”

The “Blue Eastern Europe” series was launched in 2012 by Huacheng Publishing House. Despite the retained label in its name, it is somewhat different from all the previous series. Its chief editor, Gao Xing (2014), said he agreed with many writers from those countries that the conventionally used term “Eastern Europe” is a highly politicized concept and detrimental to literary evaluation. He therefore calls for the redefining of the notion, by removing ideological interference and viewing those literatures from the perspective of literature itself. He also proposed the inclusion of more countries such as Lithuania, Moldova as well as the former-Yugoslavia nations like Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. As for the series name “Blue Eastern Europe”, Gao (2014) said that the countries in question have conventionally been associated with the color “red”, indicating their socialist past. The color “blue”, by contrast, is usually associated with the sky and ocean, which are both extensive and inclusive. So he chose the color to indicate the extensiveness and inclusiveness of those literatures, which are much more than socialism-related literary works³⁸. By 2019, Huacheng has published in the series 57 books, including 15 from the Czech Republic, 15 from Poland, 10 from Romania, 8 from Albania, 7 from Hungary, 1 from Slovenia, and 1 from Lithuania. “Blue Eastern Europe” has become a flagship brand in the introduction of literature from Central and Southeastern European countries in mainland China. Although its stated aims – to reshape the image of the relevant literatures, to change stereotypes about them, and to break the Western European and American monopoly of Chinese translated literature market – have been partly achieved, their efforts have also, in my opinion, been undermined by the retention of the term “Eastern Europe”³⁹. At least in terms of Czech literature, this turns out to be more like a marketing strategy: 11 of the 15 Czech works are by Bohumil Hrabal and Ivan Klíma, who during the previous two decades had already been introduced to China in their own series, though the translation of award-winning and younger-generation contemporary Czech authors, J. Topol and R. Denemarková, did bring badly needed new blood. Anyhow, Huacheng should be given credit for championing such a de-stereotyping champion over the conventionally “Eastern European” literatures, albeit with limited success.

The latest Czech literature series, “Stories from Prague”, was published in 2019

³⁸ The works of Milan Kundera and Ivan Klíma may also be viewed as socialism-related in some sense, because of their criticism of socialism.

³⁹ Gao Xing (2014) proposed the continued use of the term, for two reasons: it has been widely accepted in China, and it continued to be used by major western countries, such as the U.S., especially as a research field in some of their universities.

by Zhejiang Literature & Art, which includes Z. Svěrák's *Povídky*, *Nové povídky* and *Filmové příběhy*. This can be seen as a step forward in shedding the stereotyped socialism-related image⁴⁰, not just because of the absence of the “Eastern Europe” label, but also because of the adoption of “Prague” in its name, a term with far more associations than former socialism⁴¹. Svěrák's series has garnered positive reviews on Douban Books, the largest Chinese book reviewing site, though its readership is still much smaller than those of the major Czech writers. It remains to be seen whether this de-stereotyping trend will persist in the future and what new major image will be produced of Czech literature in China.

6.4.3.6 The composition of translators in the post-reform era

Due to the dramatic changes in socio-cultural contexts, the profiles of Czech literature translators in the post-reform era China are much more varied compared with the first two periods. They can be categorized into six main groups.

The first group is those who had translated Czech literature in 1940-1977 and resumed it in this third period, including Yang Leyun and Wu Qi, who translated directly from Czech, Zhuang Jiyu from Czech, Lao Rong from a combination of Czech, esperanto and Russian, and Shui Ningni from Russian.

The second group are the direct translators newly-emergent since 1978. These mainly include those who graduated from Charles University, such as Liu Xingcan, Jiang Chengjun, Wan Shirong, Chen Pingling and Xu Weizhu, and those who studied Czech language and literature in Beijing Foreign Studies University, the best of its kind in China, like Liu Hong, Peng Xiaohang, Lu Yingjiang, Du Changjing, Yang Rui, etc. The Czechia-educated translators, it should be noted, had been the main force of Czech-Chinese literary translation until the late 2000s. And during the 2010s, when most of the Charles university-educated translators had deceased or become too old

⁴⁰ This does not mean that Svěrák is a stereotype-breaking author. Rather, it is just the way he was presented in China, or more exactly, the paratextual presentation of the translations of his works, that can in a way be seen as a step forward in shedding the socialism-related stereotype of Czech literature.

⁴¹ The shedding of the former socialism-related stereotype does not necessarily mean freedom from any stereotypes, which, in my opinion, is impossible. Rather, it is more likely than not to be replaced by a new one or new ones. Actually, it might be argued that Svěrák's stories support the stereotype of “little fun Czech people who make their way and live their lives under any circumstances”. The socialism-linked image, outdated, seems to be more a projection of Chinese intellectuals' own feelings, which, by grouping the Czech literature together with many other countries, also reflects a “construction of sameness”, while the “little fun Czech people” image, by contrast, seems to be a rather peculiar feature of Czech literature, if not overgeneralized.

for the job, there have appeared more China-educated translators. Some of the translators in this group, like Liu Xingcan, Jiang Chengjun, and Xu Weizhu, work in Chinese academic institutions or universities, and are important researchers of Czech literature.

The third group are competent indirect translators with excellent credentials, almost all from English, such as Li Hui, Zhang Zhi, Gao Xing, Xia Jingyu etc. One major reason for their involvement is the relative lack of direct translators from Czech. The writer-translator Han Shaogong, the first translator of Kundera's book, from English, is especially worth noting, for his importation of new literary models in the 1980s, when the Chinese literature was again coming to "a turning point". During the 2010s the large-scale book series "Blue Eastern Europe" claimed that it would prefer direct translation "whenever it is possible". When this turned out not possible, with the retirement of most older-generation direct translators during the 2010s, it had to turn to some indirect translators, mostly from English.

The fourth group are highly competent indirect translators of Milan Kundera's works, from French. The reason, in this case, is not the lack of direct translators, but rather the author's request that translations be made from the French texts he designated. The Shanghai Translation Publishing House then managed to find some of the best translators from French, such as Xu Jun, a professor at then Nanjing University, and Yu Zhongxian, the chief editor of the journal *World Literature*, among others.

The fifth group are cheap amateur translators, such as college students of Chinese literature with limited knowledge of English. They were often recruited by smaller publishers to retranslate the classics of world literature, whose copyrights had expired, in order to "capture a share of the (re)translation market at low costs" (Xu & Tian 2014: 257). Sometimes what they did was just "re-interpretations" of existing TL versions of the world's literary classics (ibid.: 253), or what Brian Mossop (2006: 787) calls "collage translations", assembling fragments from previous translations by prestigious publishers. This could lead to shoddy translations and even plagiarism, which gave rise to a chaotic retranslation market. Things have been getting better with more stringent publication regulations and with the maturing of mainland China's translation market. These days the "pseudo-retranslations", pirated or plagiarized versions that claim to have been retranslated by different translators, have almost ceased to exist.

The sixth group of translators are those from outside mainland China. This is a result of China's integration into a globalized world as well as mainland publishing houses' increasing interaction with Taiwanese and Hong Kong publishers. There are translators from Taiwan, such as Chen Li and Zhang Fenling (who translated J. Seifert's collected poems, published by Changjiang Literature & Art in 2019), Geng

Yiwei (K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok*, published by China Pictorial in 2005 and republished by Baihua Literature & Art in 2015), Wu Yifan (K. Čapek's *Dášeňka čili Život štěněte*, People's Literature in 2008), and Lin Shihui (M. Viewegh's *Román pro ženy*, Hunan Literature & Art in 2005). There are also those from other parts of the world, like Jiang Weiqian, a teacher at Charles University, whose translation of R. Denemarková's *Peníze od Hitlera* (Money from Hitler) was published by Huacheng in 2019. Jiang Wenhui, who works at Royal Roads University in Canada, got her translation of one of K. Čapek's The Noetic Trilogy novels published by Huacheng in 2016. Finally, the Chongqing University Publishing House's 2020 version of K. Čapek's *Zahradníkův rok* (The Gardener's Year) is co-translated by Ondřej Fischer, a Czech translator, and Chao Wei, a Chinese one. Along with one British illustrator, Lucy Grossmith, who produced a dozen colored illustrations specifically for the Chinese version, they reflect the further integration of the Chinese publication into a globalized world in a new century.

Chapter 7. Comparative textual analysis

The researcher in every translation history project, according to Assis Rosa, “should start by observing the back-drop and moving on to the particular case study, moving from context to text, or from macro to micro” (2013: 39-40). And the micro-textual comparative study, points out Toury, could involve a number of parallel translations into one TL, at one point in time or at different points in time, or several parallel translations into different languages (Toury 2012: 95-98). We therefore chose five texts for the textual comparison, including the original Czech text of *The Good Soldier Švejk*, the indirectly translated Chinese target text and the mediating English text (which is itself a direct translation), and the directly translated versions in Chinese and in English. The units of comparative analysis are the parallel textual segments in these texts. And our operations on these units of comparative analysis involve attempts to establish regularities of behaviour and to reconstruct the translation strategies adopted.

7.1 Choice of texts

The comparative analysis will be conducted of five different versions of Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*, which is one of the most important novels of the 20th-century Czech literature, and whose translations are a prime candidate for investigation within Translation Studies (Špirk 2011: 247, 252). Moreover, the indirect translation provides added nuance to the research.

Among the five texts involved in the analysis, the foremost is the Czech original text. Yet two things need to be noted here. First, this subchapter is not a full-fledged micro-textual contrastive analysis of the entire Czech novel and its complete translations, but is to be regarded merely as an analysis of a sample, especially considering there are two translations involved that are not complete themselves. Therefore, of the four-volume original *Švejk*, only the first volume *Díl První: V zázemí* [Part I: Behind the Lines] is included, which accounts for almost 28% of the entire novel. Second, Špirk in his study of *The Good Soldier Švejk* and its Portuguese translation points to “the intrinsic difficulties with the concept of the original in the case of Hašek’s *Švejk*” (2011: 250). Due largely to Hašek’s carefree attitude about his work, the book is a case in which “the ultimate and unequivocal original either never existed or can not be reconstructed” (Špirk 2011: 250), and so “there is no authorized

text of the work” (Parrott in Hašek 1973: xx). As there is not a shared source text by all the four translations used in our comparisons, the edition of the original work we use is the 1951 version of *The Good Soldier Švejk*, on which Liu based her 1983 Chinese translation.

Also, there are Xiao Qian’s 1956 Chinese version, an indirect translation, and Paul Selver’s 1930 English version, the mediating text the former is based on. There have been different opinions on the inclusion of texts in the research of indirect translation. Cardozo (2011, cited in Hanna Pięta 2017: 202) suggests that marked ITrs should be evaluated vis-à-vis their immediate mediating texts and not their ultimate STs, though Hanna Pięta points to “the ethical issues that such deliberate bypassing of the ultimate ST might raise” (Pięta 2017: 202). Scholars like Toury (2012: 166) consider the determination and involvement of MTs as something that “should be taken into account”, whereas Špirk argues that “**it is perfectly legitimate to do without the mediating texts**” (Špirk 2011: 56; emphasis in original) when the focus of research is to know what was the target-culture readers’ impression of a source-culture text. On the other hand, Li Wenjie, in her study of indirect translations of Andersen’s tales, reveals that if a study aims at issues on micro-levels, such as disclosing the reasons behind the distance between ST and TT, or if it attempts to explain how the indirectness has influenced the TT, and furthermore the images of ST in the target culture, then MTs ought to be included in order to reach solid findings (Li 2017: 187). That’s why we decide to include not just the Czech ST and the Chinese indirect TT, but also the English MT in our comparison.

Liu Xingcan’s 1983 direct translation is also included, whose comparison with Xiao’s indirect version is expected to produce some interesting findings as to the different influence of (in)directness on translations. From another perspective, Liu’s version is a retranslation following Xiao’s, so their comparison might reveal something concerning the “retranslation hypothesis” (see Section 2.5.3.1).

Finally, Parrott’s 1973 direct English translation is included to serve as a “reference value”, since it is considered by Špirk to be “an edition that pays due tribute to the novel’s significance” (Špirk 2011: 255) and to be “generally closest to Hašek’s original text” (ibid.: 267).

7.2 Macro-structural comparison

Paul Selver’s 1930 English version and Xiao Qian’s 1956 Chinese indirect translation based on it are not complete translations. Selver’s translation “reduced the book to less than two-thirds” (Parrott in Hašek 1973: xxi); the Epilogue to Part I is missing, as is the entire Part IV. In addition to these, Xiao’s translation had further deletion of two

chapters in Part I. By contrast, Parrott's and Liu's are both complete translations.

On a macro-structural level, special attention was paid to the titles, chapter titles, illustrations and translator's notes. The entire title in Czech is "Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk during the World War", though many Czech editions display only the "abbreviated" title on the book cover (Špírk 2011: 258). Paul Selver used the abbreviated version "The Good Soldier: Schweik" for his title, and Xiao Qian followed suit with "好兵帅克(The Good Soldier Schweik)". Liu Xingcan's direct translation opted for the slightly longer title "好兵帅克历险记(Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk)", presumably to distinguish itself from Xiao's Chinese version before it, while trying to keep the title brief. Cecil Parrott's complete title "The Good Soldier Švejk and His Fortunes in the World War" is the most faithful among the four translations.

When it comes to the chapter titles, apart from those of the missing parts in the case of Xiao (the Epilogue to Part I, Chapter 12 and Chapter 13 in Part I, and Part IV) and Selver (the Epilogue to Part I, and Part IV), the titles of the first three parts in their translations are also omitted, leaving only the numbers (Part I, Part II, and Part III). The available chapter titles are all adequately translated, except for two notable alterations: the Czech place names are deleted. In Selver and therefore Xiao, Part I's Chapter 5: "Švejk na Policejním Komisařství v Salmově Ulici" has been turned into "Schweik at the Commissariat of Police (帅克在警察署里)", and Part II's Chapter 2 "Švejkova Budějovická Anabáze" into "Schweik's Anabasis (帅克的远征)". We will later have some more detailed discussions of the attempts to minimize the local color in Selver's and Xiao's translations. The chapter titles in Parrott's and Liu's versions, in contrast, are all faithfully translated.

With regard to the illustrations, the four translations are all accompanied by the original illustrations by Josef Lada, attesting the fact that Lada's illustrations, gradually coming to epitomize both the novel and its protagonist, have become so canonical as to be included in many translations (Špírk 2011: 251). Liu even added to the appendix of her translated book an article by Josef Lada talking about how he made illustrations for *Švejk*. What's more, Xiao and Parrott both dedicated a part of their translator's preface/introduction to the discussion of Lada's illustrations.

Finally, when it comes to the translator's notes, their numbers in the four translations are totally beyond expectation. The four translations, in terms of their completeness, are ranked as follows: Xiao < Selver < Liu = Parrott. Yet their numbers of translator's notes and the rankings are: Selver (35) < Xiao (124) < Parrott (128) < Liu (788). We will return to this topic later in the micro-textual analysis section, where this is relevant.

7.3 Micro-textual comparisons

The micro-textual comparison was carried out on Part I of the Czech original, corresponding to approximately 28% of the total text, and its translations, with special attention paid to offensive language, tabooed subjects, and cultural elements. The intention of the comparative analysis is not to pass any kind of judgement on the techniques adopted by the translators, but to shed some light on matters relating to the translating strategies, target culture restrictions, and faithfulness to the original versus manipulation.

Selected passages of *Švejk* will be presented in the following order: the Czech original (Hašek 1951), the English mediating text (Selver 1930), the Chinese indirect translation (Xiao 1956), the Chinese direct translation (Liu 1983) and the English direct translation (Parrott 1973). Where these texts diverge, the relevant passages will be compared and discussed. In order to highlight the offensive, tabooed or cultural elements, they are shown in bold type. In the case of the two Chinese translations, their rough back translations into English are provided, also with the offensive, tabooed and cultural elements shown in bold type.

7.3.1 Translation of offensive language in *Švejk*

Offensive language, also variously referred to as taboo language, abusive language, swearing, or wear words in academic research, has been defined and categorized in many different ways. According to Tony McEnery, it constitutes “any word or phrase which, when used in what one might call polite conversation, is likely to cause offence” (2004: 1-2). Fernández Dobao defines it as “strong words, emotion-loaded language which has the power to express anger, annoyance, contempt and a great range of strong emotions and attitudes (2006: 222). It “refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatised in the culture” (Andersson and Trudgill 1990: 53) and is therefore “considered offensive, shocking, or indecent when used in certain contexts” (Allan 2001: 148).

Offensive words can derive from a wide variety of things, creatures, human experiences, conditions and deeds. First there is filth-related ones. Hughes (2006: 182) points out that “[t]he use of terms like foul, filth, dirt, and dirty to categorize offensive or abusive language is profound and ancient”. Historically, other names related to filth were “morally or spiritually unclean” or “lascivious” (ibid.). Scum, an unpleasant dirty substance that forms on the surface of water, for example, can be used in English

to refer to nasty and unpleasant people. Excretion, a subcategory of filth, have relevant offensive terms in different languages, such as shit, dung, turd, muck, hovno, hnůj and 屎. When used as abusive language, the literal meaning of these words has been partially or totally lost. Subsequently, any disgusting or unpleasant person, thing or situation may be derogatorily qualified by them. What's more, even the smell of such filth and excretion can be used as offensive words: stinking, smrad and 臭, to qualify something very unpleasant.

Excretion is also related to the semantic field of "body parts and functions", which, along with sexual references, produce a lot of swear words in different languages. Apart from the most frequently used English four-letter word and its counterparts in various languages, there are other words connected with concealed body parts, such as arse, prdel and 屁股, which are considered vulgar and rude to use.

A curse, "wishing someone misfortune and misery by the help of a supernatural power like gods and devils" (Al-Yasin and Rabab'ah 2019: 236), is mostly religion-related in the west, involving such words and phrases as damn, god-forsaken, "go to hell", and "vem vás čert". They can be used to express annoyance and frustration or to insult someone.

Animal name is another field from which many abusive words derive. When they are used, a parallel is drawn between someone and the animals in terms of their shared negative qualities. These terms go from the more general brute, cattle, bestie, potvora, dobytek and 畜生, to specific animals like swine, hog, prase and 猪, dog, pes and 狗, and even skunk, hyena and mezek.

What's more, terms with reference to inferior intelligence or mental/physical conditions are frequently used in swearing, such as fool, idiot, half-wit, thickheaded, blb, blboun, pitomec, and their Chinese counterparts 傻瓜 and 蠢货.

There are also a large numbers of offensive words in English, Czech and Chinese that can be used to qualify someone as bad people, including rascal, hooligan, scoundrel, blackguard, padouchové, uličník, lotr, 无赖, 地痞 and 流氓. Finally, sometimes the above-mentioned words of different categories can come together in combination as in god-forsaken idiots, stinking vermin, blbouni pitomí, etc.

With regards to their functions, offensive words in the speech of the characters can be classified into three different types: expletives (swearwords expressed by the speaker for the sake of relieving his or her emotions); name-calling (those addressed directly at the interlocutor in a conversation) (Gomez 2016: 488) and epithets (used as negative labels given to refer to absent people who are disliked by the speaker) (Al-Yasin and Rabab'ah 2019: 239).

Due to the impact that these words may have on the target audience, offensive language is a sensitive issue that translator have to face. The literary works that

frequently use offensive language were/are often controversial or even subjected to censorship. And translators throughout the centuries “have frequently decided to avoid elements of the original which could potentially clash with reader sensitivity” (Trupej 2019: 58). On the other hand, researchers have acknowledged the influential role of offensive words in spoken and written discourse. Hjort lists several of their possible functions in the context of literary writing: On the macro level, they take part in constructing a socio-geographical milieu, evoking ideas of location, social status and education, as well as of age and gender. On the micro level, offensive words serve specific functions such as marking annoyance, surprise and disappointment, in line with many of those in speech. Moreover, they can also be used in creating humorous effects, for example through non-standard use of swearing formulas, idiosyncratic or neologistic swearwords or taboo wordplay (Hjort 2015: 320). Writers can use offensive words to “introduce in their works a much more informal and colloquial language, on behalf of naturalness and realism”, so as to make their characters behave and talk as real people do (Fernández Dobao 2006: 223). This not only plays a major role in the description and presentation of the characters, but has an impact on the register and style of the works. A text of this nature, such as *The Good Soldier Švejk*, represents a major challenge to the translators, who have to adapt the original to a foreign language readership.

Different approaches to categorizing the translation strategies for offensive words have been proposed. Here we adopt the categorization of the translation patterns based on Ávila-Cabrera (2016), but with some adjustments to suit our study, to observe: whether the load of the offensive terms has been maintained (the offensive load is kept), neutralized (the offensive load disappears, by changing an abusive term for an inoffensive term), intensified (the offensive load is toned up, by substituting an inoffensive term for an offensive one), or omitted (the load is missing, after the total deletion of the textual part in which the offensive word is used).

In the following section, comparative analysis will be conducted on the representative textual samples taken from Part I of *The Good Soldier Švejk* and its four translations, in terms of the translation of offensive language:

Example 1:

Original:

„Stojí to všechno za **hovno**,” odpověděl Palivec, ukládaje tácky do skleníku.

Selver:

"All **damn** rotten," replied Palivec, putting the glasses away into a cupboard.

Xiao:

“糟透了，”帕里威兹回答说，一面把玻璃杯放进橱里。

("Awful," replied Palivec, putting the glass in the cupboard as he did so.)

Liu:

“不错顶个屁！”巴里维茨回答说，一面把碟子放进橱柜里。

("Not bad for **fart**!" Palivec replied, putting the dishes away in the cupboard.)

Parrott:

'**Shit** on everything!' answered Palivec, putting the glasses away into a cupboard.

Example 2:

Original:

Pan Palivec poznamenal však, že taková přesnost stojí za **hovno**, a optal se Švejka tiše, jestli ti ostatní zavření páni nejsou zloději, že by mu to mohlo jako živnostníkovi škodit.

Selver:

Mr. Palivec, however, remarked that he didn't care a **damn** whether he could rely on people or not, and he asked Schweik on the quiet whether the other prisoners were thieves who might do harm to his business reputation.

Xiao:

可是帕里威兹先生说，他才管不着他们守不守信用呢，同时，他低声问帅克，别的犯人是不是小偷，会不会损坏他那买卖的名声。

(But Mr. Palivec said he didn't care whether they are reliable or not, while he asked Schweik quietly whether the other prisoners were thieves who might harm the

reputation of his business.)

Liu:

巴里维茨先生却说这种守信用顶个屁。随后他又悄悄向帅克打听这里的犯人是不是小偷，因为和小偷在一起是有损他这个买卖人的名誉的。

(But Mr. Palivec said such punctiliousness was worth a **fart**. Then he quietly asked Švejk if the prisoners were thieves, because it would be bad for his reputation as a tradesman to be with thieves.)

Parrott:

But Palivec remarked that punctiliousness of that sort was not worth a **shit** and lowering his voice asked Švejk whether the other gentlemen under arrest were thieves, because it might harm his business.

In Example 1 and Example 2, all the translators, except for Xiao, maintained the offensive load in the original. But they took different approaches. Parrott chose the semantically equivalent English swear word “shit”, thus retaining the referential meaning. Both “hovno” and “shit” denotatively mean excrement or discharge. Selver, however, changed the original excretion-related word to a religion-based abusive word “damn”. This maintained the expressive function, though the literal meaning of the original is lost. As Andersson and Trudgill (1990) point out, offensive words are not used in a literal sense but in an emotive one. Their function is not referential but expressive and even though they have a literal meaning, this has usually faded away or been completely lost. So it’s acceptable to substitute “damn” for “hovno” to express a similar, though somewhat weaker, emotion. On the other hand, Liu opted for a domesticating solution. “屁(fart)” as a Chinese abusive term is connotatively equivalent to “hovno” and “shit”, despite their different literal meanings. Finally, in Xiao’s version, the original taboo-breaking term was replaced by an inoffensive term “awful” in Example 1 and removed in Example 2, so that the offensive load was neutralized and disappeared in the target text.

Example 3:

Original:

„Na takovou maličkost se nepamatuju, já jsem se nikdy o takovou **hovadinu** nezajímal a nikdy jsem nebyl na to zvědavěj,” odpověděl pan Palivec, „přílišná zvědavost škodí.”

Selver:

"I can't remember a little detail like that. I never cared a **damn** about the whole business, and I wasn't inquisitive about it," replied Mr. Palivec. "It doesn't do to be so inquisitive."

Xiao:

Omitted

Liu:

“这种**屁**大的事儿我可记不住了。我对这些**鸟事**从来不感兴趣，也从来不过问，”巴里维茨先生回答说，“多管闲事，惹是生非。”

("I don't remember this **fart**; I never cared for such **bloody nonsense**, and I never was curious about it," replied Mr. Palivec; "too much curiosity is harmful.")

Parrott:

'I can't possibly remember anything so unimportant. **Bloody nonsense** of that sort never interested me and I've never bothered my head about it,' answered Palivec. 'Curiosity killed a cat.'

In example 3, it's an animal-related swear word "hovadinu" in the original, which originally means cattle and used offensively to mean someone stupid, gross, uneducated, etc. Selver changed it to a religion-based expressive equivalent, maintaining the offensive load. Parrott this time did not retain the original referential meaning, but chose "bloody nonsense" to express the same strong negative emotion. Xiao's version saw the total deletion of the textual part in which the swear word is used, so the offensive load is missing. In Liu's version, aside from the "鸟事" similar to Parrott's solution "bloody nonsense", another excretion-related offensive word "屁 (fart)" was added to indicate "the little detail that is too unimportant to remember", therefore giving the target text a heavier offensive load than the original.

Example 4:

Original:

To se ale zmýlili **setsakramentsky**, a i vy všichni se také **setsakramentsky** zmýlíte.

Selver:

Well, that's where they made a **damn** big mistake, and you're all making a **damn** big mistake, too.

Xiao:

哼，可是他们打错算盘啦，而你们也都打错算盘啦。

(Well, that's where they made a big mistake, and you're all making a big mistake, too.)

Liu:

这可**他妈的**打错了算盘！你们这些**狗崽子**也**他妈的**打错了算盘，

(But that's where they made a **bloody** mistake, and you **sons of dogs** are all making a **bloody** mistake, too.)

Parrott:

But they all found they'd made a **bloody** mistake, and all of you'll find you've made a **bloody** mistake too.

In Example 4, both Selver and Parrott maintained the offensive load of the two instances of the original “setsakramentsky” by translating them into “damn” and “bloody” respectively. Xiao neutralized the load by removing the offensive elements while keeping the rest of the sentence. Liu, by contrast, intensified the load by not only retaining the two original offensive expressions but adding a new one “狗崽子 (sons of dogs)” to convey a stronger emotional charge.

Example 5:

Original:

„**Vem vás čert**, Švejku,” řekla nakonec úřední brada,

Selver:

"**Go to blazes**, Schweik," said the jack-in-office at last,

Xiao:

“帅克，**滚你的吧!**” 最后那个摆官架子的家伙说了。

(“**Roll yourself away**, Schweik," said the jack-in-office at last,)

Liu:

“**见鬼去吧**，帅克!” 官架子十足的大胡子警官终于嘟哝说。

(“Go to see the **ghosts**, Švejk,” said the official at last,)

Parrott:

'**Go to hell**, Švejk,' said the official at last,

In Example 5, the offensive load is maintained in all the four translations. Parrott chose a swearing expression of religious origin, like Hašek. Selver, by changing “go to hell” to “go to blazes”, still managed to transfer the same connotative meaning, though the religious color of the swearing is lost. Xiao and Liu both resort to a domesticating solution, out of cultural and reception considerations. Due to the relatively short history of Christianity in China, the Chinese language lacks native swearing expressions related to the religion. The two Chinese translators could have transferred the source phrases “go to blazes” and “vem vás čert” literally. Yet here another factor seemed to come into play: the register. Abusive language “belongs to colloquial language within a low register” (Ávila-Cabrera 2016: 211). Sticking to the original referential meanings by using literal translations would risk the loss of the original register. So the two translators finally chose two idiomatic abusive expressions in Chinese colloquial language: “见鬼去吧 (literally “go to see the

ghosts”, with the concept of “鬼 (ghost)” stemming from Chinese traditional superstitious belief and folklore and devoid of religious color)” and “滚你的吧 (literally “roll yourself away” and connotatively similar to “get lost” or “fuck off”).

Example 6:

Original:

„Himldonrvetr,” hulákal jeden z členů komise, břinkaje šavlí, „tak von vůbec nemyslí. Pročpak, vy jeden **siamskej slone**, nemyslíte?”

Selver:

"Himmeldonnerwetter!" bellowed one of the members of the commission, clanking his sword, "So he doesn't think at all, doesn't he? Why don't you think, you **Siamese elephant?**"

Xiao:

“Himmeldonnerwetter!”一位委员腰刀铿然碰响着，气哼哼地说。“原来他什么都不想，对吗？你为什么不思想思想，你这只暹罗蠢象！”

('Himmeldonnerwetter,' bawled one of the commission members, rattling his sword. "So he doesn't think at all, doesn't he? Why don't you think, you **stupid Siamese elephant?**")

Liu:

“Himmeldonnerwetter,” 委员的腰刀碰得铿锵一响，大声喊道。“原来他什么也没想！你这头大笨驴，为什么啥也不想？”

("Himmeldonnerwetter!" bellowed one of the commission members, clanking his sword, 'So he doesn't think at all. Why don't you think, you **big dumb donkey?**")

Parrott:

'Himmeldonnerwetter,' bawled one of the members of the commission, rattling his sabre. 'So he doesn't think at all. Why in God's name don't you think, you **Siamese elephant?**'

Example 7:

Original:

Vrchní štábní lékař přistoupil těsně k Švejkovi: „To bych rád viděl, vy **mořské prase**, co si asi teď myslíte.”

Selver:

The chief of the medical staff came close up to Schweik. "I'd like to know what you think you're up to, you **porpoise**, you !"

Xiao:

军医参谋长走近了帅克，对他说：“我很想知道你究竟想捣些什么鬼。你，你这**海豚**！”

(The chief of the medical staff came up close to Schweik and said, "I'd love to know what you're up to, you, you **dolphin**!")

Liu:

军区参谋长走近帅克，说：“我倒想知道，你这个**猪猡**，现在究竟在想些什么**鬼名堂**！”

(The senior staff doctor came close up to Švejk and said, "I'd love to know, you **swine**, what the **ghost** you're thinking about now!")

Parrott:

The senior staff doctor came up close to Švejk: 'I'd like to know, you **swine**, what you're thinking about now?'

Example 6 and Example 7 show the cultural specificity of offensive language. Swearing is culture-specific. It is related to those subjects which are considered taboo in a particular culture and a good reflection of the values and beliefs of the society to which it belongs (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 57). The differences existing between cultures in what is regarded as taboo are therefore directly reflected in the swearing

they use (Fernández Dobao 2006: 223). The animal-related offensive words are a case in point. Here the swearing “mořské prase” and “siamskej slone”, with the added adjectives, are not idiomatic Czech offensive phrases but seem to be idiosyncratic and personal inventions of the author Hašek, though the animals “prase” and “slone” in Czech, carrying negative connotations of “dirty and lazy” and “awkward” respectively, could be used as insults.

In Example 6, both Selver and Parrott stuck to the original form with “Siamese elephant”. Xiao followed Selver’s mediating text, but cleverly added an adjective “stupid” to make it clear for the Chinese readers who might get confused by the swearing. Elephants in China generally have a positive association, presumably because white elephants serve as mounts for some bodhisattvas in Buddhism to ride on, and also the word “象(elephant)” sounds the same in Chinese as “祥(auspicious)”. Liu, by contrast, chose to drop the original “elephant” image, and adopted that of “驴(donkey)”, which in Chinese can be associated with “stupid”. She also added “dumb” to explicate the message and “big” to get it a bit closer to the size of elephant. Hence “大笨驴(big dumb donkey)” in her version.

In Example 7, Parrott and Liu both abandoned the “mořské (marine)” part in the original expression and retained the “prase (pig)” image, which has similar derogatory connotations in their target languages. Liu also added another abusive term “鬼(ghost)” to the sentence to slightly intensify the offensive tone. Selver translated “mořské prase” faithfully as “porpoise”, a subspecies of dolphin, adhering to the original referential meaning. Xiao followed the mediating text and translated “porpoise” into a more general term “海豚(dolphin)”. Because China’s political and cultural centers were historically located in inland areas, most of the Chinese traditionally knew little about the marine animal and it is not found in idiomatic Chinese expressions, though modern Chinese people tend to associate dolphin with “intelligent and lovely”. Therefore, a faithful literal translation is more likely than not to cause confusion on the part of the Chinese target readers. Cultural consideration is most likely one important reason why Andersson and Trudgill suggest that offensive language “should not be interpreted literally” (1990: 53).

Example 8:

Original:

„Já se do takových věcí nepletu, s tím at’ mně každej políbí **prdel**,” odpověděl slušně pan Palivec, zapaluje si dýmku, „dneska se do toho míchat, to by mohlo každému člověkovu zlomit vaz. Já jsem živnostník, když někdo přijde a dá si pivo, tak mu ho natočím. Ale nějaký Sarajevo, politika nebo nebožtík arcivévoda, to pro nás nic není,

z toho nic nekouká než Pankrác.”

Selver:

"I never shove my nose into that sort of thing, I'm hanged if I do," primly replied Mr. Palivec, lighting his pipe. "Nowadays, it's as much as your life's worth to get mixed up in them. I've got my business to see to. When a customer comes in and orders beer, why I just serve him his drink. But Sarajevo or politics or a dead archduke, that's not for the likes of us, unless we want to end up doing time."

Xiao:

“我向来不过问那一类事，勒死我我也不往那种事上插嘴，”帕里威兹先生小心翼翼地回答说，一边点上他的烟斗。“如今要跟这类事纠缠上，那就等于去送命。我有我的买卖要做。一位主顾进来叫啤酒，那么我就给他们一杯啤酒。可是什么萨拉热窝，什么政治，或者什么死了的大公爵，那些跟我们这种人毫不相干，除非我们找死。”

("I've never been into that sort of thing, I'm hanged if I do," replied Mr. Palivec, politely, as he lit his pipe. "to get into such things nowadays would be to get killed, and I have my business to do; a customer comes in and orders a beer, then I give them a beer; but Sarajevo, or politics, or a dead archduke, those have nothing to do with men like us, unless we seek death.")

Liu:

“我可不管这些鸟事。谁想要我过问这类事，那就请他来吻一下我的屁股吧！”巴里维茨谨慎地回答，一面点着他的烟斗。“如今这世道，谁要是跟他妈的这种事沾上了边，那就等于找死。我是买卖人，顾客进来要杯啤酒，我就给他倒杯啤酒。什么萨拉热窝，什么政治，或者死了个什么大公，跟我们屁相干！谁要管这些鸟事，就只有到庞克拉茨去蹲班房。”

("I don't care about any of that **shit**. If anyone wants me to meddle in such matters, let him kiss my **ass**." Palivec replied primly, lighting his pipe. "It's death for anyone to get involved in a **bloody** thing like that these days. I'm a tradesman. When a customer comes in and asks for a beer, I pour him a beer. Sarajevo, or politics, or a dead archduke, I don't give a **fart**! Anyone who cares about this **shit** has to go to Pankrk and stay in prison."

Parrott:

'I don't poke my nose into things like that. They can kiss my **arse** if I do !' Palivec replied politely, lighting his pipe. 'Nowadays, if anyone got mixed up in a business like that, he'd risk breaking his neck. I'm a tradesman and when anyone comes in here and orders a beer I fill up his glass. But Sarajevo, politics or the late lamented Archduke are nothing for people like us. They lead straight to Pankrk'

In Example 8, the original conversation by Mr. Palivec has just one offensive term “**prdel**”. Selver neutralized the expression, so that there is no offensive elements in his version. Xiao, who based his translation on Sever, followed suit. Parrott transferred faithfully the “kiss ass” swearing and maintained the offensive load. Liu’s version is very peculiar in that it added four more abusive terms to the text, significantly intensifying the offensive load. This seems to contradict the description “slušně (decently)” in the original sentence. However, what’s interesting is that, when Mr. Palivec first appeared in the novel, Hašek introduced the character this way: Palivec byl známý sprost’ák, každé jeho druhé slovo byla zadnice nebo hovno (Palivec was a well-known scumbag, every second word he said was ass or shit). Yet Mr. Palivec’s conversations in the original, though sparsely scattered with occasional swearing, turn out to be much more refined than his initial introduction indicates (it is not clear if the Czech original version, which this present analysis is based on, has undergone some censorship to make it cleaner). Among the five versions of Mr. Palivec, it seems the one in Liu’s translation is closest to the character’s introduction, though not to the extent of “každé jeho druhé slovo byla zadnice nebo hovno”⁴².

Example 9:

Original:

Vy se tomu, **holomci**, nikdy nenaučíte,” pokračoval polní kurát, „já jsem pro to, všechny vás postřílet; rozumíte mně dobře?! Já to tvrdím z tohoto božího místa, **ničemové**, neboť bůh je něco, co se vás nebojí a co s vámi zatočí, až budete z toho **pitomí**, neboť vy váháte obrátit se ke Kristu a raději jdete po trnité cestě hříchu.”

Selver:

"You won't turn to Christ and you prefer to tread the thorny path of sin."

⁴² Meanwhile, it can not be denied that there is some exaggeration in the original introduction of the character.

Xiao:

“你们不愿意亲近基督，而你们甘愿走罪恶的荆棘之路。”

(You hesitate to turn to Christ and prefer rather to walk along the thorny path of sin.)

Liu:

“你们这些**草包**，一辈子也学不会，”神父接着说。“所以我赞成把你们都枪毙掉。听懂我的话了吗？我站在神的位置上断言：你们这些**废物**，上帝是不怕你们、有法子制服你们的。你们都得变成**大傻瓜**，因为你们不愿亲近基督，宁肯走上罪恶的荆棘之路。”

("You **scumbags**, you will never learn it in your lives," continued the chaplain; "therefore I am in favor of shooting you all, do you understand? I state this from the holy place of God, you **worthless things**. God is not afraid of you and has a way of cracking down on you. You will become **tomfools**, because you will not turn to Christ, but would rather tread the thorny path of sin.")

Parrott:

'You'll never learn it, you **bastards**,' continued the chaplain. 'I'd like to have you all shot, do you understand? I state this from this holy place of God, you **scoundrels**, because God's a thing that's not afraid of you and'll **give you hell**, and all because you hesitate to turn to Christ and you'd rather go along the thorny path of sin.'

In Example 9, the three original offensive terms were retained in Parrott's and Liu's versions, and the offensive load maintained, though there is some difference in the referential meanings of their chosen words. According to Fernández Dobao, in the translation of offensive language, the literal and referential meaning of the original lexical item is "of little relevance". And what needs to be taken into account is "the emotional charge" of the offensive word "in order to express in the target language the same emotion and attitude the speaker intends to express in the source language and thus produce in the receptor of the translation the same impact the original swear word produces in the receptor of the source text" (2006: 239). The three offensive terms, in contrast, went missing with the relevant textual parts in Selver and therefore Xiao's translations, leaving the offensive load neutralized.

To sum up, the textual analysis shows that the translators, when translating offensive words, need to take multiple factors into consideration: the referential

meaning, the connotative meaning, the emotional charge, the register in the original, and the target culture acceptance. Sometimes the translators attempt to strike a balance between these; other times they tend to prioritize one factor over the others. Generally speaking, Parrott is the most faithful to the source text among the four translators, in terms of the translation of offensive language and the maintenance of the offensive load in the original. Selver is generally faithful in this respect, though he has been observed in some cases to omit or neutralize the offensive terms. Xiao has shown a stronger tendency to neutralize offensive elements and especially to make omissions, therefore toning down the general offensive load. However, it needs to be noted that Xiao's omissions seem to be made mostly not out of micro-textual concerns. He omitted in his translation some minor characters and some of the anecdotes given by Švejk to illustrate his points. The omitted minor characters, most of them army officials and prisoners, tend to use more abusive language. Liu's translation of offensive language in *Švejk*, on the other hand, shows a remarkable tendency to intensify the offensive load, by adding some new abusive terms to the target text. This seems a bold move on the part of the translator, seen from the perspective of Toury's standardization law, according to which, "in translation, items tend to be selected on a level which is *lower* [emphasized in original] than the one where textual relations have been established in the source text" (Toury 2012: 305). The aim, it seems, is to make the target text more dramatic, to enhance the colloquial register in it⁴³, and generally to get good target reception. Judging by the translated book's popularity in China and its large numbers of reprints and re-editions in the target culture, the aim seems to have been met. The five versions of *Švejk*, including the original and its four translations, in terms of the general level of the offensive load in their texts, can be ranked as follows: Xiao < Selver < Parrott = Hašek < Liu (this is just a tentative argument, which needs to be confirmed by future quantitative research).

⁴³ The colloquial register in the original text of *Švejk* is shown in not just the choice of words, especially offensive terms, but also the change in word forms, such as word endings which are different from standard usage and only used on very informal occasions: *siamskej* vs. *siamský*, *každej* vs. *každý*, and *nějaký* vs. *nějaké*, for example. Since there is no such changes in Chinese, it seemed Liu chose to make up for this by using more offensive terms, so as to have similar effect in terms of the original informal register.

7.3.2 Translation of taboo subjects in *Švejk*

According to English sociolinguist Trudgill (2000: 29):

Taboo can be characterised as being concerned with behaviour which is believed to be a supernaturally forbidden, or regarded as immoral or improper.

Writing in the same vein, Wardhaugh (1986: 230) explains that:

Taboo is one way in which a society expresses its disapproval of certain kinds of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members, either for supernatural reasons or because such behaviour is held to violate a moral code.

It is clear from the above that taboo behaviour does not enjoy the approval of the society because such a behaviour violates socio-cultural and moral values (Adeyanju 2008: 159). Taboo is therefore “a good reflection of at least part of the system of values and beliefs of the society in question” (Trudgill 2000: 18). Since every society has its value and belief system, taboo is “a universal phenomenon” but on the other hand “varies from one sociolinguistic environment to another” (Adeyanju 2008: 159). There are taboo subjects that are applicable across cultures, such as sex, religion and defecation, but “not necessarily to the same degree within similar situations” (Baker 1992: 234).

As we have dealt with taboos “related to subjects such as sex, religion, intimate bodily functions and concealed parts of the body” (Fernández Dobao 2006: 223) in the previous “offensive language” section, it seems necessary to make a distinction between taboo/offensive language and taboo subjects.

The discussion of offensive/taboo language and words generally involve their connotative meaning and emotive function, as they “are not used in a literal sense but in an emotive one” and “[t]heir function is not referential but expressive and even though they have a literal meaning, this has usually faded away or been completely lost” (Fernández Dobao 2006: 224). When such words as shit, fuck or damn are used as taboo words, for example, their literal and referential meanings are partially or totally lost, and they are used to derogatorily qualify any unpleasant person, thing or situation, or to express strong emotions like anger, shock or frustration.

On the other hand, our discussion in this section of the taboo subjects in *Švejk* involves the referential meanings of relevant terms, expressed euphemistically or not. For example, the “hovno” in “*stojí to všechno za hovno* (it's all worth the shit)” is an offensive/taboo word, used merely to express negative feelings, and there is no real excretion involved in the situation, whereas the “*sraly*” in “*sraly na něj mouchy* (flies were shitting on him)” is a taboo subject, and it is the referential meaning of the lexical term that is completely relevant to the situation.

In other words, taboo/offensive language concerns words and expressions which are not supposed to be used, and the focus is the reaction to particular words. Taboo subjects, by contrast, concern things which are not supposed to be said, and the focus is the reaction to the concepts. As Trudgill noted, taboo is “a linguistic as well as sociological fact” (2000: 19). If in the “offensive language” section taboo was treated more as a linguistic fact, here in this “taboo subjects” section it is treated more as a sociological fact.

Taboo subjects can be included in serious literature, some of them world classics, “for ridicule, for creating humourous effects, for protesting against social inequality and for raising awareness about social injustice” (Sidiropoulou 1998: 195). A translator of such works “may decide to omit or replace whole stretches of texts which violate the reader's expectations of how a taboo subject should be handled - if at all - in order to avoid giving offence” (Baker 1992: 234). Such an approach succeeds in making the translation “clean” and less offensive to some readers and critics, yet the credibility and artistic effects of the work could be undermined, argued Ziman (2008: 77). In this case, it is hard, as always, to strike a balance between adequacy and acceptability.

The four translators in our data took different approaches in their translation of the original parts with taboo subjects. Generally, Parrott and Liu retained all the taboo-related textual parts, while Selver and Xiao rather frequently resorted to omission strategy to leave out such parts. The following are discussions of their translation of the subjects, with some typical examples provided.

7.3.2.1 Taboo subjects of bodily functions and body parts

Bodily functions and waste matters, especially “faeces” and “defecation”, remain a tabooed area in most societies. According to Allan and Burrige, the reticence derived from “fear of witchcraft” and is motivated by “concerns about pollution”: the bodily effluvia of almost anyone, especially any non-intimate, seems revolting to us (2006: 162). This excretion taboo, along with sexual taboo, affect also “those parts of the body most directly involved in these activities”: “[t]he most intimate and at the same time the most concealed parts of the body are to be mentioned in polite conversation only through euphemisms or roundabouts” (Fernández Dobao 2006: 235).

As Table 7.1 shows, in Examples 1, 2 and 3, the textual parts with reference to the performance of bodily functions were omitted by Selver, though the messages are in general conveyed euphemistically or implicitly in the original. In Examples 4 and 5, the parts involving the characters undressing themselves or being nude were also deleted. These all correspond to his approach to translating excretion-related taboo

words (see Section 7.3.1), when all the original “hovno” words were translated into “damn” or other swear words, and some of the “ass” terms also disappeared in his translation. So Selver’s intolerance towards both taboo language and taboo subjects of excretion is evident. Such omissions by Selver have also been inherited by Xiao in his indirect translation.

In contrast, both Parrott and Liu have retained the taboo subjects of bodily function and body parts. However, a closer examination shows in Liu’s version a tendency towards explication and dysphemism (Spears 2000: 134), i.e., toning up the expression by substituting an euphemism or an implicit expression for a more explicit one: Hašek’s “vydělal jsem se” and Parrott’s “relieved myself” vs. Liu’s “拉了一泡屎 (took a shit)”, for example. This also corresponds to her approach to translating the taboo/offensive words (see Section 7.3.1), when she at times intensified the offensive load.

	Original	Selver	Xiao	Liu	Parrott
1.	Kousl jsem jednoho soudního lékaře při komisi do nohy, vypil jsem inkoust z kalamáře a vydělal jsem se, s odpuštěním, pánové, před celou komisí do kouta.	Omitted	Omitted	<p>在法医委员会的一位大夫的腿上咬了一口，还喝了一瓶墨水。对不起，诸位，我还当着整个法医委员会的面，在屋角里拉了一泡屎。</p> <p>(I took a bite out of the leg of one of the medical experts on the commission, drank a bottle of ink. And, sorry gentlemen, I also took a shit in the corner of the house in front of the entire commission.)</p>	I bit one of the medical experts on the commission in the leg, drank ink out of the ink pot and relieved myself, if you'll pardon the expression, gentlemen, in the corner in the view of the whole commission.
2.	<p>Když ho nakrmili, vzali ho pod paždí a odvedli na záchod, kde ho poprosili, aby vykonal malou i velkou tělesnou potřebu.</p> <p>I o této pěkné chvíli vypravuje Švejk s láskou a nemusím jistě reprodukovat jeho slova, co s ním potom dělali. Zmíním se jedině, že Švejk říká:</p>	Omitted	Omitted	<p>喂饱后，又搀着他上厕所，让他在那儿把大小便拉掉。</p> <p>关于这一美好的瞬间，帅克也讲得津津有味。至于他们此后还干了些什么，当然不必重述他的话了，这儿只想提到帅克所说的一句话：</p> <p>“就是在我拉屎撒尿的那会儿，他们也有一个人搀扶着我哩。”他们把他带回来后，又将他扶到床上，一再叮嘱他睡觉。</p> <p>(After feeding him, they took him under the arms</p>	<p>When they had finished feeding him, they took him under the arms and led him off to the W.C., where they asked him to perform his large and small bodily needs.</p> <p>And Švejk talks with affection about this lovely moment too and I certainly do not need to reproduce his</p>

	<p>„Von mě z nich jeden při tom držel v náručí.“</p> <p>Když ho přivedli nazpět, uložili ho opět do postele a opětně ho poprosili, aby usnul.</p>			<p>and led him to the toilet, where they asked him to perform his small and large bodily needs.</p> <p>Švejk talks about this nice moment with delight, and as to what they did with him afterwards, it is certainly unnecessary to reproduce his words. All I'll mention is that Švejk said:</p> <p>"One of them held me in his arms while I was pooping and peeing."</p> <p>When they brought him back, they put him to bed again and once more asked him to go to sleep.)</p>	<p>words describing what they did with him after that. I will only mention that he said:</p> <p>'One of them held me in his arms while I was doing it.'</p> <p>When they brought him back, they put him to bed again and asked him once more to go to sleep.</p>
3.	<p>...usilovně přemýšlejícího, jak se to mohlo stát, že ho někdo polil tak zvláštním způsobem, že se přilepil kalhotami ke kožené pohovce.</p> <p>„Poslušně hlásím, pane feldkurát,” řekl Švejk, „že jste se v noci . . .”</p> <p>Několika slovy vysvětlil mu, jak se hrozně mýlí, že je polit.</p>	Omitted	Omitted	<p>.... 苦苦寻思：怎么可能发生这样的事，竟然有人用一种特殊的方法把他淋得通身湿透，两个裤脚管全都紧贴在皮沙发上了。</p> <p>“报告，神父先生，”帅克说，“您昨天夜里……”</p> <p>他三言两语向神父解释清楚，说是他错认为自己挨淋了。神父头昏脑胀，....</p> <p>(... struggled to figure out how this could have happened that someone had used a special method to get him so wet that he had got stuck to</p>	<p>...and puzzling hard how it could happen that someone had wetted him in such a peculiar way that he had got stuck to the leather couch with his trousers.</p> <p>'Humbly report, sir,' said Švejk, 'that in the night you ... '</p> <p>In a few words he explained</p>

	Polní kurát, který měl hlavu neobyčejně těžkou,			<p>the leather couch with his trousers.</p> <p>'Humbly report, sir,' said Švejk, "that last night you"</p> <p>He explained to the chaplain in a few words that he had mistakenly thought he had been wetted. The chaplain was having a heavy hangover</p>	<p>to the chaplain that he was terribly mistaken if he thought that he had been wetted. The chaplain, who had an unusually heavy hangover,</p>
4.	<p>Ztratil úplně všechny pojmy, a obraceje se na Švejka, řekl tesklivě: „Paní, dejte mně první třídu.” Učinil pokus spustiti si kalhoty.</p> <p>„Hned se zapneš, svině!” rozkřikl se Švejk, „už tě znají všichni drožkáři, poblil jsi se už jednou, a ještě teď tohle. Nemysli si, že zůstaneš zas něco dlužen jako posledně.”</p>	Omitted	Omitted	<p>他完全迷糊了，冲着帅克凄凉地说：“夫人，让我上趟高级茅房吧！”说着马上就要脱裤子。“马上给我把裤子扣好！你这猪猡！”帅克对他吼道，“所有马车夫都认得你了。已经吐过一次啦，现在还想来这个。别想象上次那样，又欠人家一屁股债！”</p> <p>(He was completely confused, and said miserably to Švejk, "Madam, I need to use the first-class toilet.' and was about to take off his trousers. "Button up your trousers at once, you swine!" yelled Švejk at him, "All the droshky drivers know you; you've thrown up once, and now you want to do this; don't think you'll get away with it without paying, like last time!")</p>	<p>He no longer had a clue and turning to Švejk said dejectedly: 'Madam, give me first class.' Then he tried to take his trousers down.</p> <p>'Button yourself up at once, you swine!' Švejk shouted at him. 'All the droshky drivers know you only too well already. You spewed all over yourself once, and now this! Don't imagine you'll get away with it without paying like last time!'</p>

5.	Na otázku jednoho z ošetřovatelů, co to dělá za hlouposti, odpověděl: „Poněvadž nejsem voblečenej, jsem nahej a nechci na ty pány nic ukazovat, aby si nemysleli, že jsem nezdvořilej nebo sprostěj.”	Omitted	Omitted	<p>当一个护理员问他这是干什么蠢事儿时，他回答说：“因为我赤身露体，啥也不想让这些老爷们看见，免得他们说我不讲礼貌，撒野。”</p> <p>(When one of the nurses asked him what's with the nonsense he was up to, he replied," Because I'm naked, I don't want these gentlemen to see anything, lest they think I'm rude or vulgar.")</p>	When one of the nurses asked him what nonsense he was up to now, he answered: 'As I'm not dressed, I'm naked and I wouldn't like to show these gentlemen anything, in case they should think me rude or vulgar.'

Table 7.1 Examples of textual parts in *Švejk* on the taboo subjects of bodily functions and body parts, and their translations

7.3.2.2 Sex-related taboo subjects

Sex taboo, which to this day severely constrains the discussion of sexual activity as a topic, is “presumably a hangover from a time when all sex was unholy, except as necessary for procreative purposes between married couples” (Allan & Burridge 2006: 144) and “a reflection of the great emphasis traditionally placed on sexual morality” (Trudgill 2000: 19). On the one hand, sex taboo is present across many western and eastern countries. On the other hand, like other taboo types, it is culture-specific, at least in the sense that it is not applicable to the same degree across various cultures. The patterns of the translation of taboo language and subjects in this regard, therefore, are “key indicators of a society’s attitude towards sex/sexuality, (im)morality, (in)decency, the body and gendered/sexual ideologies” (Santaemilia 2019: 252).

There are actually not any explicit sexual descriptions in *Švejk*, so the sex taboo subject involved in this book’s discussion is in a broad sense. It is manifested in two main aspects. The first is extra-marital relationship, which is a serious violation of sexual morality in the western as well as eastern societies. The following examples illustrates how the four translators, from not just different countries but different times, approach this issue in *Švejk*:

Example 1:

Original :

Jedna paní kavárníková, **kteřa žila u něho celých čtrnáct dní, než si pro ni pan manžel přijel**, vyšila mu roztomilý přehoz na stůl, opatřila mu všechno spodní prádlo monogramy a byla by snad dokončila vyšívání nástěnného koberce, kdyby byl manžel nezničil tu idylu.

Jedna dáma, **pro kterou za tři neděle přijeli rodiče, chtěla udělat z jeho ložnice dámský budoár**, a rozestavila všude různé titěrnosti, vázičky a pověsila mu nad postel obrázek anděla strážce.

Ze všech koutů ložnice i jídelny vycitřovala se ženská ruka, která vnikla i do kuchyně, kde bylo možno vidět nejrozmanitější kuchyňské nářadí a náčiní, **velkolepý to dar jedné zamilované paní továrnice**, která přivezla s sebou **kromě své vášně** řezací přístroj na veškerou kuchyňskou zeleninu a zelí, přístroj na strouhání žemličky, tření jater, kastroly, pekáče, pánve, vařečky a bůhví co ještě.

Odešla však za týden, poněvadž nemohla se smířit s myšlenkou, že má nadporučík kromě ní ještě asi kolem dvaceti jiných milenek, což zanechalo jisté

stopy ve výkonnosti ušlechtilého samce v uniformě.

Parrott:

One lady, **the wife of a cafe proprietor, who lived with him for a whole fortnight until her husband came for her and took her home**, embroidered for him a delightful table runner, put monograms on all his underclothing and might indeed perhaps have completed the embroidery of the wall hangings, if her husband had not destroyed the idyll.

Another lady, **whom her parents fetched after three weeks, wanted to turn his bedroom into a lady's boudoir and** placed everywhere various fancy things and little vases and hung a picture of the guardian angel over his bed.

In all corners of his bedroom and dining room the traces of a feminine hand could be felt. **And this extended** to the kitchen, where could be seen the most varied kitchen implements and utensils, **which had been the magnificent gift of the lovesick wife of a factory-owner. Together with her passion** she brought with her a gadget for cutting all kinds of greens and cabbages, a machine for making bread crumbs and scraping liver, various casseroles, roasters, frying pans, basting ladles and God knows what else.

But she went away after a week, because she could not reconcile herself to the thought that the lieutenant had besides her some twenty other loves, which left certain traces on the performance of the noble male in uniform.

Liu:

一个咖啡馆的老板娘在上尉这儿住了整整十四天，直到她丈夫来找她回去为止。她给他绣了一块漂亮的台布，在他所有内衣上绣上了他姓名的缩写字母。要是她的丈夫不来毁坏她这田园诗一般的生活，她也许会把他墙上的壁毯绣完哩。

另一位在三周之后被父母接走的太太想把他的房间布置成女性卧室，她到处摆设小玩意儿、小花瓶，还在床头贴了一张守护天使像。

在他卧室和餐厅的各个角落都可以感觉出一只女性的手在这儿活动的痕迹。这只手也伸到了厨房，那儿可以看到五花八门、一应俱全的烹调用具，这是一位爱上了他的女厂主送给他的贵重礼物，她除了随身带来用于切各种蔬菜的刀具外，还有面包捣碎器、肝泥搅拌器、锅、铁盘、平底锅、搅拌棒，天晓得还有些什么。

但她一星期之后就走掉了，因为她不能容忍上尉除了她之外大约还有二十个左右的情妇，而且她们都在这位高尚男性的军服上留下了她们的手艺痕迹。

(A cafe proprietress stayed with the captain for fourteen days until her husband

came for her and took her home, and she embroidered for him a lovely table runner, besides stitching monograms on all his underclothing, and she might have completed the embroidery of the wall hangings if her husband had not come to ruin her idyllic life.

Another lady, **who was fetched by her parents after three weeks, wanted to turn his bedroom into a lady's boudoir, and she** placed various bric-à-brac and little vases everywhere, and hung a picture of a guardian angel over his bed.

The traces of a feminine hand could be felt in all corners of his bedroom and dining room, and this reached into the kitchen, where one could see the most varied kitchen utensils, **the magnificent gift of a factory owner's wife who had fallen in love with him and who** had brought with her, in addition to an appliance for cutting vegetables of all kinds, an apparatus for grating bread and scraping liver, casseroles, roasters, frying pans, ladles and God knows what else.

But she left after a week, because she could not reconcile herself to the idea that the lieutenant had about twenty other mistresses besides her, and that they had all left traces of their handiwork on the noble male's uniform.)

Selver:

One lady had embroidered a charming antimacassar for him, besides stitching monograms on all his underwear. She would probably have completed a set of wall decorations if her husband had not put a stop to the proceedings. Another had littered his bedroom with all sorts of bric-à-brac and had hung a picture of a guardian angel over his bed. **A third had left her traces in the kitchen in the form of various utensils which, together with her passionate attachment, she had brought with her. There were an appliance for chopping vegetables, an apparatus for slicing bread, a mincemeat machine, casseroles, baking pans, tureens, ladles and heaven knows what else.**

Xiao:

一位太太替他绣了一块很漂亮的桌布,并且在他所有的内衣裤上绣上他的姓名第一个字母。要不是她的丈夫出来干涉,她很可能把在墙上搞的一套装饰也完成了。另外一个女人在他的卧房里零零落地堆满了一些各色各样的古董,并且在他床头挂了一幅守护天使的像。

(One lady embroidered for him a lovely table runner, and stitched monograms on all his underclothing, and she might probably have completed a set of wall decorations if her husband had not come to intervene. Another lady placed various bric-à-brac

everywhere in his bedroom, and hung a picture of a guardian angel over his bed.)

In Example 1 (here the order of the five versions is rearranged according to how complete the texts are; those parts in bold type in the original, Parrott's and Liu's versions were deleted by Selver, and the words in bold type in Selver's version were deleted by Xiao), all the original messages were retained in Parrott's and Liu's translations. Selver's deletion, in contrast, reduced the text to almost half. Then Xiao further halved it with his own omission, so that in Xiao's version we are left with just one-fourth of the original text. Both Selver and Xiao's omissions, it seems, are to a large extent out of concerns over the taboo subject of extra-marital affairs. The description of Lieutenant Lukáš's affairs with various ladies, though not completely erased, were significantly toned down.

There are three main omissions in Selver's translation. First, the fact that the first woman who lived with him for fourteen days was the wife of a cafe proprietor was deleted, thus playing down the lady's marital status. Second, the message that the third lady was the wife of a factory-owner was left out, so that Selver's readers would have no idea that she was married. Third, the part about the third lady leaving because she could not stand the thought that the lieutenant had besides her about twenty other mistresses was also removed. Besides these taboo-triggered omissions, there were also two other deletions which made the translated text briefer.

Based on Selver's translation, Xiao further removed the remaining description about the third lady. Since the extra-marital taboo message about the character had already been omitted by Selver, it seems Xiao's move was just an attempt to get a briefer text. This is actually a common omission technique in Xiao's version: Švejk in the novel frequently gave examples or anecdotes to illustrate his points, when Xiao would omit one or two of these, so as to get a more concise translation while retaining the main points in the original. Yet if we ask two questions: would Xiao share Selver's ideological concerns about the extra-marital subject? and would Xiao have deleted such descriptions himself? Both answers would certainly be yes. One important proof is that later in the same chapter Xiao deleted all the plots involving Lieutenant Lukáš's affair with Mrs. Katy, another married lady, amounting to almost 5,000 words in the Selver version. So Xiao turned out to be more stringent than Selver on such issues, due to the reservedness of Chinese people, his target readership, on matters of sex.

Despite the completeness of the original messages in Parrott's and Liu's versions, a few minor and subtle alterations have been observed. In the original, Lieutenant Lukáš is said to have "kolem dvaceti jiných milenek". The Czech term "milenek" indicates a sexual partner in the general sense or a person who acts as a third party in the relationship of others. Liu translated the phrase accurately as "二十个左右的情妇

(some twenty other mistresses)”, while Parrott, by rendering it into “some twenty other loves”, avoided the sexual and immoral implication.

Example 2:

Original :

Mě už prohlédl nějaký pan doktor na policejním ředitelství, jestli nemám **kapavku**.”

Selver:

Omitted

Xiao:

Omitted

Liu:

警察局有位大夫曾经给我检查过，怀疑我有淋病。

(One doctor at the police station once examined me, who suspected that I'd got **gonorrhoea**).

Parrott:

I was examined by one doctor already at police headquarters to see if I'd got **V. D.**'

Example 3:

Original:

Vypravoval, že je dlužen za jezdecké boty, bičik a sedlo, že měl před lety **kapavku** a že ji léčil hypermanganem.

Selver:

He said that he had not yet paid for his riding boots, whip and saddle, that some years ago he had suffered from a **certain disease** which had been cured with permanganate.

Xiao:

他说他买的马靴、鞭子和鞍子到今天还没付钱呢；说几年前他得过**一种病**，后来是用石榴治好的。

He told me that he had not yet paid for riding boots, a whip and a saddle, that he had had a **certain disease** years ago and that he had cured it with pomegranate.

Liu:

说他买马靴、鞭子和马鞍时还欠着账；又说他几年前得过**淋病**，是用高锰酸钾治好的。

He told me that he owed money for his riding boots, whip and saddle, that he had suffered from **gonorrhoea** years ago and that he had cured it with hypermanganese.

Parrott:

He told how he owed money for riding breeches, a whip and a saddle, that he'd had **V. D.** some years ago and had cured it with permanganate.

Example 2 and Example 3 involve another subcategory of the sexual taboo subject: sexually transmitted diseases. In Example 2, the original “kapavku” was translated by Liu and Parrott into “淋病(gonorrhoea)” and “V. D. (venereal disease)” respectively, while the whole sentence was omitted by Selver and therefore Xiao. In Example 3, Liu and Parrott resorted to the same translations of the term, whereas Selver this time replaced the “tabooed” disease term with a vague “a certain disease”, so that this taboo subject disappeared in the mediating text of Xiao’s indirect translation. Sexually transmitted diseases, like gonorrhoea, leprosy and syphilis in earlier times and later AIDS, “was linked in the minds of many with sin and depravity”, and with “unnatural, ungodly sexual practices” and “intravenous drug users” (Allan & Burridge 2006: 217). The avoidance of such terms in translations is another manifestation of the impact of taboo subjects on translators.

The differences in the translations of sexual taboo subjects shows not only cultural specificity but also the development of human societies from different parts of the world. In the past, English and Chinese translators were both wary of sexual

taboo subjects, even those in the broad sense, and tend to omit or tone down the relevant terms or descriptions. Chinese translators in the first half of the 20th century, such as Xiao, displayed greater intolerance to sexual taboos like extra-marital relationship, compared with their English counterparts such as Selver. This conservativeness stems from traditional Chinese philosophy and thought, especially Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, which all advocate reservedness and conservation on sexual matters. However, Trudgill points to “the rapidity with which patterns of taboo may change” (2000: 20). The change is not just reflected in the increased tolerance towards many formerly tabooed issues, but also the declining discrepancy between translations in many languages, as shown by Parrott’s and Liu’s versions, among many others.

7.3.2.3 Religion-related taboo subjects

Profanity and blasphemy, both related to religious taboo, are used interchangeably in some academic studies. Yet there have been some significant attempts to distinguish between them. Hughes argues that the main difference between them is on the intention, in that profanity “is usually regarded as habitual”, while blasphemy “is more obviously intentional or deliberate” (Hughes 2006: xvii). Jay points out that a profane word “is not an attack on the Church”, but “amounts to indifference toward or a misuse of religious terminology” (Jay 2005: 71). By contrast, blasphemy, which is more troublesome, “is an attack on religion and religious figures” and “represents an intentional and offensive threat to religion subject to greater punishment than profanity” (ibid.). These actually corresponds to our previous distinction between taboo language and taboo subjects. The offensive expressions we discussed in Section 7.3.1, such as “damn”, “vem vás čert” and “go to hell”, belong to profanity and therefore taboo language, considered “to be secular or indifferent toward religion” (Jay 2005: 71). What’s under discussion in this section is blasphemy, to be seen as intentional attack on religion (Jay 1999: 191).

Due to the important role that the Catholic tradition has historically played in western societies, God, the church, priests and the like was not to be taken as subjects of ridicule. Yet the *Good Soldier Švejk*, described by Christie Davies as “a savage book”, is notable for its many politically incorrect elements, including “blasphemy and disrespect for religion and authority” (Davies 2000: 301). Cecil Parrott, the best known translator of Hašek into English, argued in his translator’s Introduction that “Hašek’s method of treating the Catholic Church” is to “add to it as much filth as possible” (Parrott in Hašek 1973: xvii). Such religious taboo subjects in the book certainly posed challenge to translators, and some of the translated texts, like Selver’s, show signs of censorship (or self-censorship) on ideological grounds.

	Original	Selver	Xiao	Liu	Parrott
1.	Já to tvrdím z tohoto božího místa, ničemové, neboť bůh je něco, co se vás nebojí a co s vámi zatočí, až budete z toho pitomí,....	Omitted	Omitted	我站在神的位置上断言：你们这些废物，上帝是不怕你们、有法子制服你们的。 (I state this from the holy place of God, you worthless things. God is not afraid of you and has a way of cracking down on you.)	I state this from this holy place of God, you scoundrels, because God's a thing that's not afraid of you and'll give you hell,....
2.	„Pojďme tedy někam, ale k Šuhům nepůjdu, tam jsem dlužen.” ⁴⁴	Omitted	Omitted	“我们现在到哪儿逛逛吧。就是别到‘舒希’妓院①去，我欠那儿的债。” ① 从前布拉格渔街上的一所妓院。 "Let's go somewhere, but I will not go to the Suhu①; I am in debt there." ① A brothel in Prague's Benediktinské Street in the past.	'Well, let's go somewhere, but I won't go to U Suhu.' I've got debts there.' 1. A notorious brothel.
3.	Po cestě k ženě obchodníka se starým nábytkem polní kurát vyprávěl Švejkovi, že včera vyhrál mnoho peněz v božím	Omitted	Omitted	在前往旧家具商老婆住处的路上，神父对帅克说他昨天玩“上帝赐福”牌时赢了许多钱，搞得好的话，可以把钢琴赎回来，就象邪教徒答应要献上什么祭品似的。	On their way to the wife of the furniture-dealer the chaplain told Švejk that the day before he had won a lot

⁴⁴ This example can be seen as a mixture of sex-related and religion-related taboos, as the suggestion to go to the brothel is made by a clergyman.

	<p>požehnání, a když to dobře dopadne, že vyplatí klavír ze zastavárny.</p> <p>Bylo to něco podobného, jako když pohaní slibují nějakou oběť.</p>			<p>(On the way to the wife of the old furniture dealer, the chaplain told Švejk that he had won a lot of money the day before gambling at 'God's blessing', and if it turned out well, he'd redeem the piano from the pawnshop. It was something like the pagans promising a sacrifice.)</p>	<p>of money gambling at 'God's blessing' and that if all went well he'd buy the piano back from the pawnbroker. It was rather like when heathens promise to bury an offering.</p>
4.	<p>Slyšel jsem o vás, že jste jednou v pátek omylem snědl v restauraci vepřovou kotletu, poněvadž jste myslel, že je čtvrtek, a že jste si na záchodě strkal prst do krku, aby to šlo ven, poněvadž jste si myslel, že vás bůh zahladí. Já se nebojím jíst v pústě maso a nebojím se ani pekla.</p>	Omitted	Omitted	<p>我听人家谈到过您，说您有一次在礼拜五，您以为是礼拜四，到餐馆错吃了一块猪排，于是跑到厕所去把个手指伸到喉咙里，好让它吐出来，因为您以为上帝会严惩您。我可不怕在大斋期吃肉，也不怕地狱。对不起！</p> <p>(I've heard about how you once accidentally ate a pork cutlet in a restaurant on a Friday because you thought it was Thursday, and how you stuck your finger down your throat in the W.C. to get it out because you thought God would severely penalize you. Sorry but I'm not afraid of eating meat in Lent and I'm not afraid of hell.)</p>	<p>I've heard about you, how once on a Friday by mistake you ate a pork cutlet in a restaurant, because you thought that it was Thursday, and how you stuck your finger down your throat in the W.C. to get rid of it, because you thought God would obliterate you. I'm not afraid of eating meat in Lent and I'm not afraid of hell-fire either.</p>

Table 7.2 Examples of textual parts in *Švejk* on religious taboo subject, and their translations

Compared with Parrott's and Liu's faithful reproductions, in Selver's translation, some unfavorable accounts of clergymen, the representatives of the Catholic church, and their undesirable behaviors (making ungodly remarks, visiting brothel, gambling, eating meat on a Friday) was deleted, as seen in examples 1-4, so that Hašek's mocking of the Catholic moral values, regarded by Habsburg dynasty as the keystone of the empire, was undermined. And these parts are of course also missing in Xiao's indirect translation.

Example 5:

Original:

Andílkové mají v zadnici vrtuli od aeroplánu, aby se tolik nenadřeli se svými křídly.

Selver:

Omitted

Xiao:

Omitted

Liu:

天使的臀部都装上了飞机用的螺旋桨，免得累着自己的翅膀。

(The behinds of the angels are fitted with aeroplane propellers, so they don't have to work so hard with their wings.)

Parrott:

The cherubs have aeroplane propellers in their behinds so as not to have to work so hard with their wings.

Example 6:

Original:

Jisto je, že to byl oltář, kterého by mohli stejně používat nějací pohani na Zambezi či šamáni Burjatů i Mongolů.

Opatřen řvavými barvami, vypadal zdáli jako barevné tabule určené pro zkoumání daltonistů na železné dráze.

Vynikala jen jediná figura. Nějaký nahý člověk se svatozáří a nazelenalým tělem **jako biskup husy, která už zapáchá a je v rozkladu.**

Tomu svatému nikdo nic nedělal. Naopak, měl po obou stranách dva křídlaté tvory, kteří měli znázorňovat anděly.

Ale divák měl dojem, že ten svatý nahý muž řve hrůzou nad tou společností, která ho obklopuje.

Andělé vypadali totiž jako pohádkové příšery, něco mezi okřídlenou divokou kočkou a apokalyptickou příšerou.

Selver:

There was only one figure which stood out prominently. It consisted of a naked man with a halo and a body turning green. On either side of him were two winged creatures, intended to represent angels. They looked like legendary monsters, a cross between a wildcat with wings and the apocalyptic beast.

Xiao:

只有一个人像是突出的：画面上是个一丝不挂的男人，头上现出光轮，通身都发青。左右各有一个插了翅膀的东西，原意是代表天使，样子活像传说里的妖怪，像是带翅膀的野猫和《启示录》里的兽类交配出来的。

(Only one figure stood out: a naked man with a halo and a greenish body. There are two winged creatures on either side of him, supposed to represent angels. They looked like legendary monsters and a cross between a winged wild cat and the beast of the apocalypse.)

Liu:

毫无疑问，它是个经台，但这个经台连住在赞比西河的多神教徒、西伯利亚的布里亚特族和蒙古族的巫师似乎都可使用。

经台的颜色鲜艳夺目，有点儿象用来检验铁路员工是否色盲的彩色板。

只有一个人物是突出的。那是个一丝不挂的裸体男人，头上一圈灵光，遍身发青，

好象一只已经腐烂发臭的鹅屁股。

虽然谁也没有对这位圣徒有所行动，但是他两边各有一个长着翅膀、代表天使的形象，一看让人感到这位裸体圣徒似乎被他周围的环境吓得大吼大叫。因为那对天使画得象是童话中的妖怪，是某种介于带翅膀的野猫和《启示录》中的怪物之间的一种东西。

(It was certainly an altar, but it could have been used by some pagans living on the Zambezi River and by the Shamans of the Buriats in Siberia and Mongols.

Painted in screaming colours, the alter looked like a colour board used to test railroad workers for color blindness.

Only one figure stood out, a naked man with a halo and a greenish body **like the rump of a goose that is already decaying and stinking.**

Although no one was doing anything to that saint, two winged creatures representing angels on both sides of him **gave the impression that the holy naked man was screaming with horror at the company around him,** for the pair of angels looked like fairy-tale monsters, something between a winged wild cat and a apocalyptic beast.)

Parrott:

What was certain was that it was an altar which could have been used equally well by heathens in Zambesi or by the Shamans of the Buriats and Mongols.

Painted in screaming colours it appeared from a distance like a coloured chart intended for testing colour-blind railway workers. One figure stood out prominently - a naked man with a halo and a body which was turning green, **like the parson's nose of a goose which has begun to rot and is already stinking. No one was doing anything to this saint. On the contrary,** he had on both sides of him two winged creatures which were supposed to represent angels. **But anyone looking at them had the impression that this holy naked man was shrieking with horror at the company around him,** for the angels looked like fairy-tale monsters and were a cross between a winged wild cat and the beast of the apocalypse.

In Examples 5 and 6, some of the unflattering descriptions of catholic icons, which are the representations of the images of holy figures and deities, as well as those of the altar, were omitted. As a result, the Selver version in Example 6 reduced the original to half, and so did Xiao's translation. Those words in the original that were retained in Parrott and Liu but disappeared in Selver's and therefore Xiao's versions are shown in bold type.

If we look at taboo-motivated omissions from the perspective of indirect translation, it seems on the surface that indirect translators play a completely passive role in relation to the mediating translators before them. A close examination, however, reveals that things can be more complicated than that. The indirect translators have their own considerations, whether ideological or not. These considerations may converge with or diverge from those of the mediating translators.

When both translators' ideological concerns converge. The omission strategy triggered by taboo subjects can theoretically be a shared consensus, that is, the indirect translator would have approved of the decision if given the chance. Actually, the indirect translator may even go further and make more omissions in his version, as Xiao did with the sexual taboo subjects on the basis of Selver's version.

There are also times when the mediating translator's ideological concerns diverge from that of the indirect translator⁴⁵. This can lead to what Ringmar described as a "possible drawback of ITr", which is that "cultural adjustments -- including omissions -- that are made in the MT may be unnecessary or irrelevant for TT-readers" (Ringmar 2007: 11). They would also be irrelevant for the indirect TT translator, who does not share the ideological or cultural concerns, for example over certain taboo subjects specific to the mediating culture. There have been, for instance, some omissions and alterations by Selver when references to monarchy and the British are involved. The most typical example is the sentence in Chapter 15 of Part 1: "Taková blbá monarchie nemá ani na světě bejt", which was translated by Selver into "This silly, rotten country ought to be done away with", substituting "country" for "monarchy (monarchie)". Another example is "Gott strafe England", an anti-British slogan used by the German Army and the Austrian-Hungarian army during World War I. The slogan, which appears four times in the first three chapters of the original, was in Selver's version either omitted or remained non-translations in its original form, without any explanations or notes, so that readers with no knowledge of German would have no idea what they meant. Interestingly, in Xiao's translations a note in one case was added to explain the meaning "上帝惩罚英国(May God punish England)", leaving the indirect TT readers in this case better informed than the MT readers.

Finally, even when the indirect translator does not share the mediating taboo, he/she might still approve of the omissions in the MT (if he/she knows about them), not out of ideological concerns, but for other reasons. For example, the Catholic religious taboo subject actually did not hold true for the Chinese translators and readers, because China did not have a Christian tradition. As a matter of fact, from the perspective of an ideologically atheist socialist country, especially in the 1950s, Hašek's bitter attacks on and ridicule of the religion could be favorable. Yet Xiao,

⁴⁵ In some cases, like this one, the translators might know that certain parts in the MT were omitted or censored, while in others the indirect translators might be unaware of it.

well aware of Selver's manipulations of the original anti-Catholic subject, talked in his preface about why he had selected Selver's version as his source text: "This translation is abridged and is about one third of the original. I selected it to translate, because it omitted some original Catholic references and some Czech-based puns and jokes, which would be hard (for Chinese readers) to understand, while preserving the essence of the original" (Xiao in Hašek 2001: 1, my translation). So Xiao's approval of Selver's omissions of some Catholic elements was not related to taboo, but out of consideration for the target readers and the translation's reception in the target culture. It had particular significance, especially when we consider that this was in the 1950s, when the majority of Chinese people knew next to nothing about the western societies, so that many concepts and things familiar to the English MT readers might require numerous explanations and notes for the TT Chinese readers to understand, which would leave them too overburdened to truly appreciate a humorous masterpiece. That's why, in addition to Selver's omissions, Xiao further deleted from the MT two chapters in Part 1: Chapter 12 "A Religious Debate" and Chapter 13 "Schweik Administers Extreme Unction", whose titles indicate their heavy load of Catholic topics. That's also why, even after extensive omissions based on Selver's version, Xiao's translated book still contains 124 notes, much more than Selver's 35, and very close to the 128 notes in Parrott's unabridged translation (see Section 7.2). The disparity shows how much more effort Chinese translators, from a far more distant culture than the U. K. in relation to the Czech lands, had to expend "to transfer things and concepts from one universe of reference to another, not just words from one language to another" (Florin 1993: 122).

7.3.3 Translation of cultural elements in *Švejk*

Translation, according to Bassnett (2010), deals with a whole set of extralinguistic criteria. There can be a fundamental dissimilarity between the effects of the ST and those of the TT, as a result of the cultural distance between the source text (ST) audience and the target text (TT) audience. It is therefore the mission of the translator to bridge the cultural gap between monolingual speakers of different languages, which can best be seen in literary translations. On the other hand, literary works, in part due to their great number of cultural elements, are more difficult to translate than other kinds of texts (Daghoughi and Hashemian 2016: 171).

Cultural elements, also referred to in various studies as cultural references/referents, culture-specific items/terms, culture-bound items/terms, culturemes or realia, among others, are a major source of cultural gap and therefore of

the difficulties in translation. The most prototypical cultural elements are those items or concepts, or the references to them, which do not exist in a specific target culture. So the items or concepts might be unknown to the majority of the target readers, or the TL has no words for them (see Aixelá 1996, Olk 2001, Zojer 2011 and Daghighi & Hashemian 2016). Besides, many researchers have also included in their discussions another type of cultural elements. In this case, the given concepts are available in both the source and target cultures, but they deviate significantly in denotation or connotation from the lexical equivalents in the other culture, thus revealing considerable mismatches across cultures (see Olk 2001 and Marco 2019).

As cultural elements are tied up with a country's culture, history, society or geography, attempts have been made to categorize them from an extralinguistic cultural perspective. Newmark (2001: 95) distinguishes between five domains: ecology (flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills), material culture (artifacts like food, clothes, houses and towns, transport), social culture (work and leisure), organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts, plus gesture and habits. In a similar vein, Nedergaard-Larsen makes distinctions between the categories related to geography, history (buildings, events and people), society (economy, politics, social organization, social conditions, and ways of life), and culture (religion, education, media, cultural and leisure activities) (1993: 211). Rühling (1993, cited in Pablé 2003), on the other hand, notes the difference between characteristic and specific cultural elements. An element that is characteristic of a people or a culture may also be characteristic of another (Pablé 2003: 100), whereas a specific element "occurs exclusively in one culture and in no other (of all possible cultures)" (ibid.: 101).

Most studies on the translation of cultural elements make use of some kind of typology of techniques, or procedures, to account for the type of relationship obtained between ST cultural elements and their matching TT segments. A number of them, who provided very thorough classifications, are especially worth mentioning. Newmark (1988) lists twelve procedures for handling what he calls cultural words, and Franco Aixelá (1996) arranges eleven translation procedures according to their degree of intercultural manipulation: some tend towards conservation (of the ST cultural item), others towards substitution (by a target culture item). Davies (2003) is sceptical of the possibility of ranking procedures on a scale according to their degree of adaptation, and provided a list of strategies "with no underlying principle" (Marco 2019: 22). Olk (2013) put forward a classification including seven categories, ranked on an exoticising/naturalising scale. Marco's (2019) classification, which is very close to Olk's, aligned seven translation techniques in terms of the distance from the target reader. Despite certain divergences, there seems to be considerable overlap between the procedures distinguished by these authors. There are six most common translation procedures that are included in almost all of the researchers' typologies:

1. preservation of the ST item, in its original form, or with it adapted to the spelling

and morphology of the target language

2. literal translation
3. substitution by neutral and culture-free words
4. substitution by target-culture-related terms
5. added information like intertextual glosses or notes, to explicate or explain the ST element
6. omission

These techniques have been given different names and some of them more detailed categorization, which are shown in Table 7.3⁴⁶.

	Newmark (1988)	Franco (1996)	Aixelá (2003)	Davies (2003)	Olk (2013)	Marco (2019)
1	Transference	Repetition		Preservation	Transference	Borrowing of the ST item
	Naturalization	Orthographic adaptation				
2	Through -translation	Linguistic (non-cultural) translation		Preservation	Target-language (TL) expression referring to the source culture	Literal translation
3	Functional equivalent	Absolute universalization		Globalization	Neutral explanation	Neutralisation
	Descriptive equivalent					
4	Cultural equivalent	Naturalization		Localization	Cultural substitution'	Intercultural adaptation

⁴⁶ What the techniques in the table have in common are somewhat covered by the corresponding 1-6 procedures listed above.

5	Additional information (notes, additions, glosses)	Extratextual gloss Intratextual gloss	Addition	Transference +explicitation Transference +explanation	Amplification
6		Deletion	Omission	Omission	Omission

Table 7.3 The main translation techniques to deal with cultural elements in some researchers' typologies.⁴⁷

Researchers have frequently discussed the two basic goals of the translator. One is to preserve the characteristics of the source text and maintain its culture specificity as far as possible. The other is to move the source text as much as possible into the target culture by minimizing and adapting its foreign characteristics, and to produce a target text accessible and culturally acceptable to the target readers. The translator is torn between these two potentially conflicting aims and has to make constant attempts to reconcile them. These two opposite extremes have been designated by various labels, such as Toury's (2012) adequacy vs. acceptability, James Holmes's (1988) exoticizing vs. naturalizing, and Venuti's (1995) foreignization vs. domestication, among "an ever-growing number of word-pairs for the two terms" (Chan 2001: 74). The techniques used by translators, as a consequence, could be seen as "a continuum from the complete non-translation at the one end to total adaptation at the other one" (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 219). With regard to the texts involved, "translated texts can never be described as either wholly indigenised or foreignised, and source texts are never completely acculturated or exoticised", so that all translated texts exhibit features of both processes and "hybridity" appears as "a defining feature of translated texts" (Chan 2001: 73-74).

In the following section, a comparative analysis will be conducted on representative textual samples taken from Part I of *The Good Soldier Švejk* and its four translations, in terms of the translation of cultural elements. The main focus will be on place names, material and social elements and foreign languages in *Švejk*.

⁴⁷ The translation techniques in the same line correspond roughly to each other, but may not be exactly the same.

Examples 1-8 involve the translation of place names, which can be defined as “proper names of natural or human geography entities in specific space positions endowed by human with regionality and ethnicity and are generally named by local residents in their own language” (Qu & Li 2015: 538). The use of place names in literary works contributes to the construction of “four-dimensional” fictional worlds on a geographical level (Nord 1993, cited in Pablé 2003: 99). The Czech place names mentioned in *Švejk*, many of them in Prague, add considerable local color to the book and play a role in the “creation of ambience” in the literary work (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 222). There are four main translation techniques used to deal with them in our data: preservation, omission, neutralization and additional information, with the translators showing different tendencies and preferences.

Example 1:

Original:

„Víte co, Švejku,” řekl vlídně pan komisař, „nač se zde, **na Salmovce**, máme s vámi zlobit?

Selver:

"I'll tell you what, Schweik," said the commissary affably. "There's no reason why we should be cross with you here.

Xiao:

“我来答复你，帅克。”巡长和蔼地说。“我们这儿没理由跟你闹气。

"I'll tell you what, Schweik," said the commissary kindly; "we have no reason to be angry with you here.

Liu:

您听我说，帅克，”巡长和蔼地说，“凭什么在这儿、在萨尔莫瓦大街，我们要跟您过不去呢？

"You know, Švejk," said the inspector kindly, "why should we be angry with you here **at Salmova Street?**

Parrott:

'All right, Švejk,' said the inspector affably, 'why should we have to be bothered with you here **at Salmova Street?**

In example 1, the locative prepositional phrase “na Salmovce” is omitted in Selver’s and therefore Xiao’s translations. Parrott and Liu preserved the place name, while adapting it to the spelling and morphology of the target language. Due to the different phonological and graphemic systems of Czech and Chinese, such adaptation (from Salmovce to 萨尔莫瓦) is almost always adopted when transferring the original proper names, which Franco Aixelá (1996) calls orthographic adaptation or Newmark (1988) naturalization. Moreover, Parrott and Liu also added to these a simple generic term street/大街, which can be seen as a combined use of transference and additional information, or what Olk (2013) calls transference+explanation (eg. Harrods → das Kaufhaus Harrods [the department-store Harrods]). Though the added information might be “redundant to a source-culture reader”, this approach “retains the cultural identity of the item”, while also attempting to “accommodate the presumed needs of the target reader” (Olk 2013: 349).

Example 2:

Original:

Výtržnosti učinil konec vrátným přivolaný policejní strážník, který Švejka předvedl na **policejní komisařství do Salmovy ulice.**

Selver:

This disorderly behaviour was stopped by a police officer who had been summoned by the asylum porter and who conveyed Schweik to **the commissariat of police.**

Xiao:

院里的看门的只好把巡官找来，把这扰乱秩序的行为弹压下去。巡官就把帅克带到警察署去了。

The asylum porter had to summon a police officer to stop this disorderly behaviour, and the officer took Schweik to **the commissariat of police.**

Liu:

闹得院里的门房只好把巡警叫来。巡警将帅克带到**萨尔莫瓦街上的警察所**去，这场风波才算平息下来。

The asylum porter had to summon a police officer to stop this breach of the public peace, who took Švejk off to **the police station in Salmova Street**.

Parrott:

This breach of the public peace was stopped by a police officer who had been summoned by the asylum porter and who took Švejk off to **the police station in Salmova Street**.

Example 3:

Original:

„Vem vás čert, Švejku,” řekla nakonec úřední brada, „jestli se sem ještě jednou dostanete, tak se vás vůbec nebudu na nic ptát a poputujete přímo k **vojenskému soudu na Hradčany**.”

Selver:

"Go to blazes, Schweik," said the jack-in-office at last, "and if you get brought here again, I'll make no bones about it, but off you'll go before **a court-martial**."

Xiao:

帅克，滚你的吧！”最后那个摆官架子的家伙说了。“如果你再被逮到这儿来，我不客气，可就送你送军事法庭去惩办了。”

“Roll yourself away, Schweik," said the jack-in-office at last, "If you get brought here again, I'll not hesitate to march you off to **a court-martial**."

Liu:

见鬼去吧，帅克！”官架子十足的大胡子警官终于嘟哝说。“要是你再被抓到这

儿来，那我什么也不会问你，直接把你交给赫拉昌尼区的军事法庭。

“Go to see the ghosts, Švejk,” said the official at last, "If you get brought here again, then I won't ask you any questions but march you straight off to **the court-martial at Hradcany**.

Parrott:

'Go to hell, Švejk,' said the official at last, ' and if you ever come here again, I shan't ask you any questions but march you straight off to **the military court at Hradcany**.

In examples 2 and 3, the Czech names, with prepositions, serve to qualify the institutions in front of them. Selver in two cases all omitted the Czech place names which indicate the exact locations, leaving only the institution names. And Xiao followed Selver in his indirect translation. Parrott and Liu used transference procedure, preserving in their versions both the institution names and their exact locations in Prague.

Example 4:

Original:

..... kvůli zamezení výtržností dal doprovázet vozík se Švejkem dvěma jízdními strážníky **na Střelecký ostrov**.

Selver:

.... to restrict the continuance of any disorder he had the Bath chair, with Schweik inside it, escorted by two mounted constables **to the headquarters of the medical board**.

Xiao:

为了制止他继续扰乱治安，就由两名骑警把帅克连他的轮椅护送到**体格检查委员会那里**。

.... to stop disturbances he got two mounted constables to escort Schweik and his bathchair **to the headquarters of the medical board**.

Liu:

为了制止他继续扰乱治安, 两名巡警把帅克连同他的轮椅一起送到设在斯特舍列茨基岛的征兵委员会。

... in order to stop disturbances two mounted police escorted Švejk and his bathchair **to the headquarters of the call-up board on Strelecky Ostrov.**

Parrott:

... in order to reduce disturbances to a minimum he had Švejk and his bathchair escorted by two mounted police all the way **to the Strelecky Ostrov.**

Example 4 is slightly different from the previous ones, in that though just the Czech place name is mentioned, the reference is actually made to the institution “odvodní komisi” located there, as revealed in other parts of the chapter. Selver this time resorted to the technique of neutralisation (see Marco 2019) and deculturalised the Czech place name by substituting it with the more particular institution name there. As a result, the source textual segment on which Xiao based his indirect translation became culture-free after Selver’s removal of the original cultural element. Liu, by adopting transference+explanation, made it clear to the readers both the institution and its location in Prague. This is done “[w]hen simple preservation of the original CSI [culture-specific item] may lead to obscurity”, so “the translator may decide to keep the original item but supplement the text with whatever information is judged necessary” (Davies 2003: 77). In Parrott’s version, only the place name was transferred and no information about the institution was added, in which case “the distance between ST expression and TT is basically zero” (Olk 2013: 348) from the perspective of the technique used, though probably not from the readers’ perspective, who need to infer the actual reference from the context.

Example 5:

Original:

...za čtvrt hodiny bylo již vidět **na rohu Ječné ulice a Karlova náměstí** Švejka v průvodu druhého policejního strážníka, který měl pod paždí objemnou knihu s německým nápisem Arrestantenbuch.

Selver:

... within a quarter of an hour Schweik could have been seen **in the street** under the escort of another police officer who was carrying under his arm a fat book inscribed in German: Arrestantenbuch.

Xiao:

不到一刻钟，帅克就走**在街**上了。押他的是另一位巡官，他腋下夹着一本厚书，上面用德文写着 Arrestantenbuch^①。

... within a quarter of an hour Schweik was walking **down the street**, escorted by another police officer who was carrying under his arm a thick book, on which was written in German: Arrestantenbuch.^①

Liu:

一刻钟后，他又**在耶茨纳大街拐角和查理士广场**出现了。押送他的是另一位巡警，他腋下夹着一本厚簿子，上面用德文写着：《Arrestantenbuch》^①。

... a quarter of an hour later Švejk could be seen **at the corner of Jecmi Street and Charles Square** under the escort of another police officer who was carrying under his arm a thick book inscribed in German: Arrestantenbuch.^①

Parrott:

... a quarter of an hour later could be seen **at the corner of Jecmi Street and Charles Square** under the escort of another police officer who was carrying under his arm a voluminous book of prisoners' records with the German title Arrestantenbuch.

Example 6:

Original:

„To prosím neznám,” zněla odpověď, „ale myslím, že rozhodně bude větší než **pod vyšehradskou skálou na Vltavě.**”

Selver:

"I'm afraid I don't, sir," was the answer, "but it's pretty sure to be deeper than **what the river is just below Prague.**"

Xiao:

“这个，对不起，大人，我可不知道，”他是这么回答的。“不过我可以相当有把握地说，它比布拉格南边那条河要深。”

"That, I'm sorry, sir, I don't know," was his reply; "but I'm pretty sure that it is deeper than **that river south of Prague.**"⁴⁸

Liu:

“这个，很抱歉，我不知道，”他回答说，“但我想，准比伏尔塔瓦河畔、维舍堡^③悬崖底下的河水还要深一点儿。”

③ 布拉格城区伏尔塔瓦河畔的一座著名城堡，城堡下是伏尔塔瓦河的最深处。

"That, I'm sorry to say, I don't know," he replied, "but I think it is certainly deeper than **the Vltava below the rock of Vysehrad.**"^③

③ A well-known castle on the banks of the Vltava in Prague, under which was said to be the deepest part of the river.

Parrott:

'No, please sir, I don't,' was the answer, ' but I think that it must be definitely deeper than **the Vltava below the rock of Vysehrad.**'

In examples 5 and 6, Selver neutralized or generalized the original Czech place names by translating “na rohu Ječné ulice a Karlova náměstí” into “in the street”, and “na rohu Ječné ulice a Karlova náměstí” into “what the river is just below Prague”, leaving culturally much diluted source texts for Xiao. Liu and Parrott in example 5 both used the transference technique, keeping a minimum distance between their translations and the original. Parrott repeated the procedure in example 6, while Liu supplemented it with additional information, in the form of extratextual gloss, to provide more background information about the castle and the river in question.

⁴⁸ There is a shift in meaning here (the river is not south of Prague).

Example 7:

Original:

Ale nějaký Sarajevo, politika nebo nebožtík arcivévoda, to pro nás nic není, **z toho nic nekouká než Pankrác.**"

Selver:

But Sarajevo or politics or a dead archduke, that's not for the likes of us, **unless we want to end up doing time.**"

Xiao:

可是什么萨拉热窝，什么政治，或者什么死了的大公爵，那些跟我们这种人毫不相干，除非我们找死。”

But Sarajevo, or politics, or a dead archduke, those have nothing to do with men like us, **unless we seek death.**"

Liu:

什么萨拉热窝，什么政治，或者死了个什么大公，跟我们屁相干！谁要管这些鸟事，就只有到庞克拉茨^①去蹲班房。”

① 布拉格一所大监狱设在这里。

Sarajevo, or politics, or a dead archduke, I don't give a fart! Anyone who cares about this shit has to **go to Pankrk^① and stay in prison.**

① A big prison was located here in Prague.

Parrott:

But Sarajevo, politics or the late lamented Archduke are nothing for people like us. They **lead straight to Pankrk'1**

1. The Prague prison.

Example 8:

Original:

Von je jako **ten žebrák vod Svatýho Haštala.**"

Selver:

And he **don't half bite.**"

Xiao:

它咬起来可狠哩！”

It doesn't half bite!"

Liu:

它活象**哈什塔教堂行乞的那个叫花子**①。”

① 第一次世界大战前警察局逮捕一个常在哈什塔教堂行乞的乞丐。因为他称霸一方，不让别的乞丐在该教堂附近行乞。

It's like that beggar at St Hastal①.

① Before WWI a beggar at the church of St. Hastal was arrested by the police for bullying and driving away other beggars.

Parrott:

It's like the beggar of St Hastal.¹

1. A church in Prague where a beggar, who had made its porch his permanent beat, was arrested by the police for driving away other beggars.

Example 7, like example 4, makes metonymic reference to the institution, in this case a prison, located in the named Czech place. Example 8, similarly, could be seen as making reference to the beggar's characters: bullying and vicious. Selver chose to neutralize the original cultural elements and substitute them with what Newmark (1988) terms functional equivalent. In contrast, Liu and Parrott, deeming simple preservation of the original cultural terms insufficient, supplemented the transference with footnotes, making the implied meanings much clearer for target readers.

To sum up, when translating Czech place names, Selver often used the techniques of omission and neutralization, thus deculturalising the original and reducing the local flavor. Left facing the culture-free source text segments, Xiao's translation in many cases involved no Czech names or cultural elements. Liu and Parrott, on the other hand, preferred the transference of place names, sometimes combined with additional information in intertextual explanations or extratextual footnotes, both retaining the cultural identity of the ST terms and facilitating the understanding of TT readers. In part due to the larger cultural distance from the Czech lands, Liu tend to use more explanations and footnotes than Parrott.

The following examples 9-19 involve the translation of material and socio-cultural elements. These include names of artifacts like food and medicine, game names, artifacts and symbols related to political institutions, and name of famous person in one case. The elements can be culture-specific, such as “ořechovka”, “opodeldokem”, “Božena Němcová”, found exclusively in Czech culture and in no other. They can also be “characteristic” (Pablé 2003: 100) or “intercultural” (Davies 2003: 71), in that they may also be characteristic of another or other similar cultures, such as the fruit brandy “slivovice”, the card game “jedenadvacet”, and “orlíček” or “černožlutý orel”, the emblem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There are five main translation techniques included in the mainstream typologies and found in our data: neutralization, localization, literal translation, additional information and omission. Yet there seem to be cases that can not be covered by them, which we'll include in the following discussion.

Example 9:

Original:

... tak mu do držky nalejete **slivovici**, aby se ten pes trochu vožral...

Selver:

... you make him swallow **brandy**, so that he gets a bit tipsy...

Xiao:

... 先灌它点**白兰地**, 这样它就会晕头晕脑的....

... pour some **brandy** down its throat, so that it gets a bit tipsy...

Liu:

.... 先灌它点儿**李子酒**，让它有点儿醉意....

.... pour some **plum spirit** down its throat, so that it gets a bit tipsy....

Parrott:

.... you must pour some **slivovice** down its throat, so that it gets a bit tipsy....

Example 10:

Original:

„Já mám pět piv a jeden rohlík s **párkem**. Teď mně dej ještě jednu **slivovici** a já už musím jít, poněvadž jsem zatčenej.”

Selver:

"I've had five beers and a couple of **sausages** with a roll. Now let me have a **cherry brandy** and I must be off, as I'm arrested."

Xiao:

我喝了五杯啤酒，吃了两根**香肠**，一个长面包。好，我再来杯**核桃白兰地**就得走了，因为我已经被捕了。”

I've had five beers, a couple of **sausages** and a roll. I'll have a **cherry brandy** and then I must go, as I'm under arrest."

Liu:

“我喝了五杯啤酒，吃了一个角形小面包加一根煮**香肠**。请您再给我来一盅**李子酒**。我就该走啦，因为我已被捕。”

"I've had five beers, a croissant with **sausage**. Now give me one more **plum spirit** please and I must go, because I'm under arrest."

Parrott:

'I've had five beers, a couple of **frankfurters** and a roll. Now give me one more **slivovice** and I must go, because I'm under arrest.'

Example 11:

Original:

Kdyby zde byla pravá **ořechovka**," povzdechl, „ta by mně spravila žaludek. Taková ořechovka, jako má pan hejtman Šnábl v Brusce."

Selver:

Now, if I only had some genuine **cherry brandy** here," he sighed, "it'd put my stomach right in no time. The sort of stuff that Captain Schnabel's got."

Xiao:

要是我此刻有点真正的**樱桃白兰地**，”他叹了口气，“我的肠胃一定可以立刻就好了。

If I had some genuine **cherry brandy** now," he sighed, "that would surely put my stomach right in no time."

Liu:

“要是有点儿真正的**胡桃酒**就好了，”他叹了一口气，“这对我的胃有好处。普鲁斯采的施纳布尔大尉有那种酒。”

If I only had some genuine **walnut spirit** here," he sighed, "it'd put my stomach right. Captain Smibl in Bruska has that sort of wine."

Parrott:

'If we only had here genuine **orechovka**,' 2 he sighed. 'That would put my stomach right. The sort of orechovka which Captain Smibl in Bruska has.'

2. The same [Schnaps], made out of walnut.

“Slivovitz (slivovice)” is a fruit liquor (or fruit brandy) made from damson plums and produced in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, both commercially and privately. In example 9, Selver generalized the term and replaced it with the more generic word “brandy”. Though this makes the TT accessible to readers from a wider range of cultural backgrounds, the technique is not in a strict sense what Marco (2019) terms neutralization or Davies (2003) globalization, i.e., substitution by culture-free words. The word brandy is not really culture-free but exists across cultures in the western world. So it seems this translation technique, which is not covered by the main typologies, could be termed “cross-cultural adaptation”. Xiao then transferred “brandy” in its transliterated form “白兰地”, which in Chinese is widely known and associated with the west, though not specifically with the Czech culture. Liu resorted to a combination of neutralization and additional information, replacing it with the generic term “酒(spirit)” plus a brief explanation of its material “李子(plum)”. Parrott used the transference procedure and preserved the Czech term in the TT. Here a conflict seems to arise between the transference of the form and that of the concept. Liu’s explanation approach enables a better understanding of the beverage, yet it abandoned the form of the original cultural term, which represents a signal of its Czech identity. Parrott’s transference approach preserved the exotic flavour of the form, but it may lead to loss of recognizable meaning and disparity in the relevant knowledge between the ST and TT readers: most readers of the English version may have no idea what “slivovice” is made from.

In Example 10, Liu and Parrott repeated their procedures with “slivovice”. It seems Selver’s technique this time can also be described as “cross-cultural adaptation”, where the “cherry brandy” used to substitute for the ST item is specific neither to the Czech culture nor to the British culture, but shared interculturally. “Cherry” used as material for fruit brandy might be more familiar to British readers and more easily understood, but the local colour of both the form and the concept of “slivovice” got totally lost as a result. If Parrott’s transference without any explanation might leave many TT readers having no idea what the drink was made from, Selver’s cross-cultural adaptation here actually distorted the original meaning by replacing the material of the drink, though the function of the item as an alcoholic beverage remained. Xiao then closely followed Selver in his indirect translation, leaving his Chinese readers believing that the brandy Švejk drank was made from cherry. Another case of cross-cultural adaptation seems to be Parrott’s translation of “párkem” as “frankfurters”, in contrast to other translators’ “sausages/香肠”. Though both the referents and their function are very similar, the name “frankfurters” itself shows its German origin. So “cross-cultural adaptation” refers to the technique of replacing the source cultural element with another item similar to the original one and more familiar to the target readers, either shared by both the source and the target cultures or from a third culture.

In example 11, “ořechovka”, another drink characteristic of the Czech culture, was translated using the same procedures as in example 10 by Selver (cross-cultural adaptation) and Liu (neutralization plus explanation). With “slivovici” and “ořechovka”, two distinctively different drinks becoming the same “cherry brandy” in Selver’s version, the drawback of the translator’s cross-cultural adaptation technique becomes evident. This also affected Xiao’s secondhand translation based on Selver. Parrott this time adopted a combination of transference and additional information in a footnote, both retaining the original term and explaining the material of this local drink.

Example 12:

Original:

Mám revma, mažu se **opodeldokem.**”

Selver:

I've got rheumatism and I'm using **embrocation** for it."

Xiao:

我有风湿症，现在正在搽着药呢。 ”

I've got rheumatism and I'm rubbing myself with **embrocation.**"

Liu:

我有风湿症，正用樟脑油抹膝盖哩。 ”

I've got rheumatism and I rub my knees with **camphor embrocation.**"

Parrott:

I've got rheumatism and I rub myself with **Elliman's embrocation.**'

In Example 12, Selver neutralized and generalized the original “opodeldokem”, a local medical lotion, with a culture-free generic term “embrocation”. Xiao, facing no

cultural elements in his source text, used literal translation. Liu, as in some previous examples, adopted a combination of neutralization and additional intratextual explanation. The resulting translation was one main ingredient in the medical lotion “樟脑 (camphor)” plus a generic term “油 (embrocation)”. Parrott opted for localization (Davies 2003), or intercultural adaptation in Marco’s (2019) term, translating the source cultural element as “Elliman's embrocation”, a similar product produced in England. Despite similar functions, the reference is anchored firmly in the target British culture.

Example 13:

Original:

Vzadu hráli **maso!**

Selver:

At the back they were playing **put and take**.

Xiao:

后排的人们在玩着骰子。

At the back they were playing **dice**.

Liu:

在后排的人正在玩“弹肉”②。

② 一种庸俗的游戏，参加者依次互相以指猛弹对方的臀部。

At the back they were playing '**flick flesh**'.②

②A vulgar game where the participants flick each other's buttocks in turn.

Parrott:

At the back they were playing '**flesh**'. 1

1. A game among soldiers where one soldier bares his buttocks and the others hit him from behind. If he can guess which of the others has hit him, that soldier has to

change places with him.

Example 14:

Original:

Byla pěkná společnost u nadporučíka Lukáše a **hrálo se jednadvacet**.

Selver:

Lieutenant Lukash gave a party and they were **playing poker**.

Xiao:

卢卡施请了回客，他们玩起扑克来。

Lieutenant Lukash also gave a party and they were **playing poker**.

Liu:

有一天，卢卡什上尉家高朋满座，打“二十一点”。①

① 扑克牌的一种玩法。得二十一点者赢，过了二十一点就输了；都不到二十一点时，就比点数大小，大的赢，小的输。

Lieutenant Lukas gave a splendid party and they played **twenty-one**.①

① A card game where the player wins if the hand totals or comes closest to 21 without exceeding it or being beaten by the dealer.

Parrott:

Lieutenant Lukas gave a splendid party and they **played vingt-et-un**.

Examples 13 and 14 involve the translation of names of games. In Example 13, Selver adopted localization, translating “maso”, a game among the soldiers, into “put and take”, a very popular gambling game in England during the 1920-30s when Selver translated the novel. The “playing dices” in Xiao’s version could be seen as a substitution by a different element from the same category, i.e. another game. Liu

used a combination of literal translation and intratextual explanation (by adding “弹 (flick)” to explicate the movement in the game) and footnote. Parrott similarly combined the procedures of literal translation and additional explanatory footnote. In Example 14, Selver used “cross-cultural adaptation” to replace the card game “jedenadvacet” with “poker”, a cross-culturally shared term more familiar to the target readers, which was then transferred by Xiao into Chinese. Liu adopted literal translation combined with explanatory footnote. Parrott’s technique, it seems, could also be seen as cross-cultural adaptation, with the term “vingt-et-un” associated with France, a third country.

Example 15:

Original:

.....jeho soused od piva ukázal mu **orlíčka** a prohlásil, že ho zatýká a ihned odvede na policejní ředitelství.

Selver:

.....his fellow-toper showed him his **badge** and announced that he was now arresting him and would at once convey him to the police headquarters.

Xiao:

刚才那位邻座的酒客掏出他的**证章**给他看了看，然后宣布逮捕他。立刻把他带到警察局去。

His drinking companion showed him his **badge** and announced that he was arresting him and would take him at once to police headquarters.

Liu:

刚才还是他的邻座酒客的人如今向他出示**双头鹰证章**①，宣布他被逮捕，并要立即把他带到警察局去

① 奥地利秘密警察的证章。

His drinking companion showed him his **two-headed eagle badge**① and announced that he was under arrest and was to be taken to the police headquarters at once.

① The warrant of the Austrian State Security.

Parrott:

His drinking companion showed him **his eaglet 1** and announced that he was arresting him and would take him at once to police headquarters.

1 The two-headed eagle was the warrant of the Austrian State Security.

Example 16:

Original:

... ale rozhodně se mýlili, že B, F, L jsou začáteční písmena nějakých pánů, kteří za 40, 50, 80 atd. korun prodávali český národ **černožlutému orlu**.

Selver:

... but they would be quite mistaken if they supposed that B, F and M are the initials of persons who for 40, 50 or 80 crowns betrayed the Czech nation to **the Austrian eagle**.

Xiao:

如果他们以为 B、F、M 这些字母都代表人名的简写，以为那些人为了四十、五十或八十克郎就把捷克民族出卖给**奥地利皇室**，那就大错特错了。

... they would be quite mistaken if they thought that B, F and M were the initials of people who for 40, 50 or 80 crowns sold the Czech nation to **the Austrian royal house**.

Liu:

要是他们错将 B、F、L 当做人名缩写，以为这些人为了四十、五十、八十克郎就把捷克民族出卖给了**黑黄双头鹰①**的话，那就大错特错了。

① 奥匈帝国的徽志。

... they would certainly be mistaken if they supposed that B, F, L were the initials of people who for 40, 50 or 80 crowns sold the Czech nation to **the black and yellow**

two-headed eagle①.

①The emblem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Parrott:

... but they certainly were deceived if they thought that B, F, L were the initials of any gentlemen who for forty, fifty, eighty etc. crowns sold the Czech nation to **the black and yellow eagle**.

Examples 15 and 16 both concern the translation of social elements: “orlíčka” or “černožlutému”, the emblem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Example 15, the cultural element “orlíčka” was generalized by Selver and replaced by a culture-free term “badge”, which was then literally translated by Xiao. Liu combined literal translation with intratextual explanation in “双头鹰证章 (two-headed eagle badge)” and then added a footnote. And Parrott used literal translation plus extratextual footnote. In Example 16, Selver explicate the eagle’s connection with Austria, while Xiao then further dropped the image of the raptor, somewhat neutralizing the cultureme. Liu again explicated the “双头 (two-headed)” image of the eagle and then added a footnote to explain the emblem. Parrott translated the cultural term literally, without further explanation.

Example 17:

Original:

Taková věc je horší než hledání živé vody v pohádkách Boženy Němcové.

Selver:

Omitted

Xiao:

Omitted

Liu:

找这种油真比鲍日娜·聂姆佐娃①的童话里写的找活水还要难。

① 鲍日娜·聂姆佐娃（1820—1862），捷克著名女作家。

This sort of oil was more difficult to find than **the water of life in Bozena Nemcova's fairy tales.**①

① Bozena Nemcova (1820—1862), a famous Czech female writer.

Parrott:

This errand was more difficult than looking for the water of life in Bozena Nemcova's fairy tales. 1

1. Bozena Nemcova, one of the greatest Czech writers and a collector of Czech and Slovak fairy tales.

In Example 17, the difficult task in search of the oil consecrated by a bishop is compared to looking for the water of life in Boženy Němcové's fairy tales. The sentence with the culture-specific element disappeared in Selver's and therefore Xiao's version. Liu and Parrott both retained it and added footnotes to give brief explanations of the Czech female writer.

To sum up, the translators displayed different tendencies in approaching the cultural elements in the ST. Liu stuck to the technique of additional information, combined with neutralization or literal translation, or transference. The added information was in the form of brief intratextual explanation, or extratextual footnotes, or both. Parrott's procedures went from transference or literal translation without any explanation, to their combination with additional footnotes, to localization with target-culture elements, and to cross-cultural adaptation involving the terms from a third country. Selver's main techniques include neutralization, localization, cross-cultural adaptation with elements shared by both the source and target cultures, and omission. Xiao in some cases faced deculturalized mediating texts, which he usually translated literally. With the cultural elements left in the MT, he mainly used transference, literal translation and omission. In some cases additional explanation or further localization was given.

In the text of *Švejk* there appear shorter passages or individual words or phrases in foreign languages: German (for the most part), Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Latin, Bosnian, Tartar. The two main foreign languages in Part I of the book are German in the army setting and Latin in the religious setting. In the period when the Czech lands

belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, “the Czech-German bilingualism existed to a great extent”, especially in towns (Daneš 1993: 230). And in the Austro-Hungarian army setting in the book there are a large number of German words and phrases, “some of which were distorted, in army slang, by Czech mispronunciation” (Daneš 1993: 231). All this “adds a peculiar colour and humour to the language” (Parrott in Hašek 1973: xx). Like the offensive language we discussed earlier, the kinds of foreign languages spoken also have some significance in the characterization, which can reflect the identity and status of the characters. Daneš, for example, analyzed the speech of chaplain Katz and pointed out that the officer's speech has two linguo-stylistic layers: one of the religious exhortation (with its stereotypical phrases), the other of his typical way of abuse and insult (Daneš 1993: 236). Some of the religious stereotypical phrases are in Latin, the occasional use of which fits his identity as a Catholic clergyman.

There are four main translation techniques dealing with foreign language elements in our data. First, transference of the original form, without explanation of the meaning. Second, preservation of the original form combined with an explanation of its meaning in a footnote. Third, rendering in the normal target language, with an inserted note that it was said in a certain kind of foreign language. Fourth, rendering in the target language, without any indication that it was said in a foreign language other than Czech. And lastly, omission of the textual segment in question in the TT. These are shown in Table 7.4.

Liu used transference combined with explanatory footnotes with almost all the multilingual elements in *Švejk*. Though this preserved the original forms while enabling the target readers to understand their meanings, the footnotes may have the drawback of distracting the readers occasionally from the main text. Parrott's favorite approach is the use of inserted notes, such as the “in German” in Example 18, to explain that the words were said in a language other than Czech, though in some cases he also adopted literal translation without indication that they were from a third language (Examples 19 and 20), and transference without explanation of the meanings (Examples 22 and 23). Selver in many cases used direct translation without indicating the foreign source, like Example 1, and omission as in Example 19. In a few cases transference without explanation (Examples 22 and 23) and transference plus footnote (Example 20) were also used. Example 21 is special in that what was said was not standard foreign language but broken German, so the four translators all added inserted notes “laboriously/arduously in German” or “with an effort in broken German” to the literal translations in the target languages, in Selver, Xiao and Parrott's cases, or to the transferred original words in Liu's case. Generally speaking, the multilingual feature of the original novel was better preserved in Liu's version, while much of it went missing in Selver and therefore Xiao.

	Original	Selver	Xiao	Liu	Parrot
18	<p>„Der Teufel soll den Kerl buserieren,“</p> <p>ozývalo se v bytě plukovníka, až se třásla okna, „mit solchen Meuchelmördern werde ich bald fertig.“</p>	<p>"There'll be hell to pay when I find the blackguard who did it," bellowed the Colonel till the windows rattled. "I know how to get even with low scoundrels like him."</p>	<p>那个坏蛋要是给我抓住，我要他的命！”上校咆哮得连窗户都震动了。“我知道怎样对付像他这种流氓。”</p> <p>"I'll kill him when I find the blackguard who did it," bellowed the Colonel till the windows rattled. "I know how to get even with scoundrels like him."</p>	<p>“Der Teufel soll den Kerl buserieren, ” ①上校在屋子里咆哮着，连窗子都被震动了， “ mit solchen Meuchelmördern werde ich bald fertig.” ②</p> <p>① 德语：“让魔鬼把你这混蛋抓走！”</p> <p>② 德语：“你这杀人犯，我非让你滚蛋不可。”</p> <p>“Der Teufel soll den Kerl buserieren, ”① bellowed the Colonel in his apartment till the windows rattled. “mit solchen Meuchelmördern werde ich bald fertig.”②</p> <p>① The devil should buster the bastard.</p> <p>② I'll soon be done with such</p>	<p>'Bugger that blasted bloody swine,' could be heard in German all over the colonel's apartment so that the windows rattled. 'I'll be even with that murderous assassin.'</p>

				murderers.	
19	.... Der Kerl meint: man wird glauben, er sei ein wirklicher Idiot...	Omitted	Omitted	<p>.... Der Kerl meint: man wird glauben, er sei ein wirklicher Idiot ②.....</p> <p>② 德语: “这小子以为, 我们相信他真是个白痴哩。”</p> <p>.... Der Kerl meint: man wird glauben, er sei ein wirklicher Idiot ②.....</p> <p>② German: The guy thinks we'll believe he's a real idiot.</p>	.... The swine thinks he'll be taken for a genuine idiot.
20	.... a jestli byste se i mohli spasit před tím prvním, před tímhle se mně nespasíte. Abtreten!”	.... and even if you save yourselves from the first one, I'll see you aren't saved from the other. Abtreten! ” 7 "Dismiss!"	<p>即使你们从前一个地狱超脱了, 后一个你们还是跑不掉。 Abtreten! ①”</p> <p>① 德语: “解散!”</p> <p>Even if you should save yourselves from the first one, you will not be saved from the other. Abtreten! ①”</p> <p>① German: “Dismiss!”</p>	<p>即使你们能超脱第一座地狱, 也难逃脱第二座地狱! Abtreten! ①”</p> <p>① 德语: “解散!”</p> <p>Even if you should save yourselves from the first one, you will not escape from the second. Abtreten! ①”</p> <p>① German: “Dismiss!”</p>	And if you should by any chance save yourself from the first one, I'll see you don't escape from the second. Dismiss!

21	<p>„Wir — melden — gehorsam — Herr — Feldkurat,” řekl namáhavě čahoun, salutuje vojákovi, „ein — Paket — und ein Mann gebracht.”</p>	<p>"We—beg—to—report—sir," said the lanky man laboriously in German, and saluting the soldier. "We have—brought—an envelope—and a man."</p>	<p>我们—报告—长—官—”那瘦高个子很吃力地用德语说，一面向开门的士兵敬礼。“我们—带来—一封信—和一个人。</p> <p>"We—beg—to—report—sir," said the lanky one arduously in German, saluting the soldier. "We have—brought—a letter—and a man."</p>	<p>"Wir — melden — gehorsam — Herr — Feldkurat," ①瘦高个子很吃力地用德语说，一面对那个开门的士兵行礼，“ein — Paket—und ein Mann gebracht.” ②</p> <p>① 德语：“我们—报告—神父先生。”</p> <p>② 德语：“我们—带来—一份函件—和一个人。”</p> <p>"We—beg—to—report—sir," said the lanky one laboriously in German, saluting the soldier. "We have—brought—a letter—and a man."</p> <p>①German: "We—beg—to—report—sir,"</p> <p>②German: "We have—brought—a letter—and</p>	<p>'Hum - bly - report - sir,' said the lanky one with an effort in broken German and saluting the soldier: 'One - bundle - and one man delivered.'</p>
----	--	--	---	---	--

				a man.	
22	Uměl tak krásně vynadat z kazatelny i od oltáře. Uměl tak báječně rvát u oltáře své „ Ite, missa est ”,	He could hurl such delightful terms of abuse from the pulpit. He could bellow his " Ita missa est " so gorgeously from the altar,	<p>他可以从讲台上用令人听了很开心的话语咒骂。他可以在祭台上用雄壮的声调朗诵着 Ita missa est ①</p> <p>① 拉丁文，意思是：“弥撒已完，你们可去。”</p> <p>He could curse in delightful words from the pulpit. He could bellow Ita missa est ① majestically from the altar.....</p> <p>① Latin, which means: “Go, the mass is finished”.</p>	<p>他也擅长从讲坛上甚至从祭台上发出精彩的咒骂，还会在祭台上用绝妙的声调朗诵“Ite, missa est” ② 这句话。.....</p> <p>② 拉丁语：“弥撒完毕，请走。”是结束弥撒时，神父对听众说的告别词。</p> <p>He could let off beautiful terms of abuse from the pulpit and the altar. He could bellow his 'Ite, missa est'② so wonderfully at the altar.....</p> <p>② Latin: "Go, the dismissal is made". These are the concluding words addressed to the people in a Mass.</p>	He could let off such resounding oaths from the pulpit and the altar. He could roar out his ' Ite, missa est ' so gorgeously at the altar,
23	Maje hlavu kupředu a nohy vzadu, kterými pletl jako	With his head thrust forward and his feet trailing behind and	神甫的脑袋往前牵拉着，两只脚拖在后边，就像一只折了腰的猫那样晃荡着。一路	神父的脑袋向前牵拉着，两条腿拖在后面，活象一只折了腰的猫。他嘴里还嘟噜着：	With his head thrust forward and his legs trailing behind and

	<p>kočka s přeraženým hřbetem, polní kurát pobručoval si: „Dominus vobiscum — et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.”</p>	<p>dangling like those of a cat with a broken back, the Chaplain was muttering to himself: "Dominus vobiscum — et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.."</p>	<p>上嘴里还叽咕着： “ Dominus vobiscum — et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.” ①</p> <p>① 拉丁文，意思是：“但愿主和你们同在，也和你的心灵同在。但愿主和你们同在……”</p> <p>His head thrust forward and his legs trailing behind and dangling like those of a cat with a broken backbone, the chaplain was humming to himself: 'Dominus vobis cum - et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.' ①</p> <p>①Latin, which means: The lord is with you — and with the spirit of you. The lord is with you.</p>	<p>“ Dominus vobiscum — et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.” ②</p> <p>② 拉丁语：“主和你们同在——和你们的灵魂同在。主和你们同在。”</p> <p>The chaplain’s head thrust forward and his legs were trailing behind and dangling like those of a cat with a broken backbone. He was humming to himself: “Dominus vobis cum - et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.”②</p> <p>②Latin: “The lord is with you — and with the spirit of you. The lord is with you.”</p>	<p>dangling like those of a cat with a broken backbone, the chaplain was humming to himself: 'Dominus vobis cum - et cum spiritu tuo. Dominus vobiscum.'</p>
--	---	---	---	---	---

Table 7.4 Examples of foreign languages in *Švejk* and their translations

The fictional world (“Textwelt”), or the world within fiction, according to Nord (1993, cited in Pablé 2003: 99), is four-dimensional, i.e. it can be described on a historical, a linguistic, a geographical and a cultural level. Liu and Parrott, it seems, by reserving the numerous geographical, sociocultural and linguistic signals of the early 20th-century Czech lands, have generally retained the fictional world of *Švejk* rather successfully in their translations. In contrast, Selver and Xiao removed much of the local flavor and some of the historical color from the ST. On the other hand, their translations, interestingly, seem to fit more Parrott’s argument that “Švejk is not necessarily a Czech figure. He might be any Central European and is in fact a ‘Mr Everyman’, in the sense that he resembles any ‘little man’ who gets caught up in the wheels of a big bureaucratic machine” (Parrott in Hašek 1973: xv). So if Liu and Parrott moved the target readers as much as possible into the original fictional world of *Švejk*, then Selver and Xiao reconstructed the fictional world by adapting it to the target cultures and minimizing its foreign characteristics.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Research findings

As a translation history study, the present thesis's main goal is to answer the major research questions in translation history: What? Who? How? And Why? (Williams and Chesterman 2002: 16). Besides finding answers to the research questions, our study has also confirmed the initial hypothesis: there are patterns or tendencies in the translation of Czech literature into Chinese, whose explanations can be found in the target socio-historical context. Moreover, there are several topics that have been identified as highly relevant to the answers: ideology and censorship are closely related to the “what” and “why” questions; indirect translation, retranslation and paratexts are linked with the “how” question. What's more, the “who” question is obviously concerned with the topic of translators. Finally, the translation strategies examined in the comparative textual analysis are also connected with the questions of “how” and “why”. The relevant findings are summarized as follows:

8.1.1 Ideology and censorship

During the first historical period under examination, in the early 20th century China, which had a literary system with “differentiated patronage” (Lefevere 2010: 29), different literary communities were promoting rival poetics, with their own idea of “what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole” (ibid.: 26-27). The coexistence of heterogeneous poetics and literary preferences in this period led to the diversity in the foreign literature translated. Literary Research Society was an ardent promoter of “literature for life” and an enthusiastic advocate of the introduction of realist works from Russia and the so-called “oppressed peoples”, in contrast to the Creation Society, who promoted a “art for art's sake” value and demonstrated a preference for Romanticism.

“Literature of the oppressed peoples”, an important concept in the studies of modern Chinese literature as well as Chinese translation history, was motivated by the dominant ideology of the time in the target Chinese culture: keen awareness of an existential crisis and the necessity of self-strengthening in the face of foreign imperialist aggression. The introduction of Czech literature as part of the “literature of

the oppressed peoples” explains the dominance of social-oriented or national-based Czech works in republican China, as well as the slanted nature of the introductory activities in this period. On the other hand, the coexistence of heterogeneous poetics in the target literary norms underlies the presence of alternative literary schools and themes.

The second historical period in 1950-1977 was characterized by the politicization of literature under tight centralized control. The ideological control of literature was reflected not just in the existence of published Czech literature in Chinese translation in 1950-1962, but also in the non-existence of it in 1963-1977.

In addition to the dominant poetics of socialist realism borrowed from the Soviet Union, there is on the periphery another poetics: the introduction of foreign literary classics, which may be seen as a continuation of the previous dominating ideology and poetics in the first historical period: to borrow from foreign countries everything excellent, including literary classics, so as to save and renew the nation. This peripheral poetics, of course, only worked when it did not come into conflict with the dominant socialist ideology and poetics. The selected Czech texts for translation in this period’s China, as a result, can be seen as constituting a continuum, with Czech classic works at one end, the translation of which may also be seen as the continued introduction of “literature of the oppressed peoples”, as most of the translated Czech literary classics in this period are realistic, many of them dealing with the themes of national liberation and social oppression or anti-fascism, despite few exceptions like romantic poetry. At the other end of the spectrum are the proletarian and socialist-realist works.

The censorship of translated Czech literature during the second period in 1950-1977 mainland China, as a form of ideological manipulation, can be seen as happening on three levels: text selection, paratextual and textual level. Since a strict text selection standard would ensure the blocking of politically incorrect works, and the paratextual interpretation would minimize the harm of ideologically dubious texts, the censorship on the textual level turned out to be not so stringent as would be expected.

After the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960s, translated literature from Czechoslovakia and other European socialist countries went into a dramatic decline. Then during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), a period marked by ultra-leftist upheaval in all walks of life, the political and ideological censorship was so severe that the official publication of foreign literature almost came to a complete standstill (Tan 2015: 333).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Chinese government began allowing the introduction of market forces in the publishing industry, and many of the bureaucratic and political restrictions on the content of publications were lifted (Kong 2005: 40).

The marketization of literary publications in China forced publishers to become consumer and market oriented in order to generate profit (Chen 1992: 570). These have brought profound and extensive changes to the publication of translated Czech literature, which fall under five main categories: publication in book series as “a meaningful marketing gesture” (Kong 2005: 61); mass retranslations of classic works, with publishers trying to “produce their own version in order to capture a segment of a lucrative retranslation market” (Xu & Tian 2014: 244); broadening of the definition of literature, which allowed publishing houses “to include more general, culture-oriented content that would appeal to a wider audience” (Kong 2005: 162); improvements in the appearance and packaging of translated books, especially in their cover design and overall look; and cooperation with Taiwan and Hong Kong translators and publishers, which reflects the further integration of the Chinese publication into a globalized world in a new century.

Many of the Czech literary works translated in the third period, especially Kundera, Klíma and Hrabal’s works, which were banned or published underground in the 1970s and 80s in Czechoslovakia, can be seen as going through an evolution from non-translations to translations. Actually, many of these have gone from “non-translations” to “partial translations” and then to “full-translations”, such as Ivan Klíma’s collection *The Spirit of Prague: And Other Essays* and Milan Kundera’s *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being). Ivan Klíma’s memoir *Moje šílené století II* (My Mad Century II) is a case from “non-translation” to “partial translation”. One notable case of “non-translations” is Václav Havel, both a prominent playwright and the former president of the Czech Republic, almost none of whose literary works have come into translation in mainland China⁴⁹, probably due to his political stance on Tibet and Taiwan, two highly sensitive issues for China.

8.1.2 Indirect translation

One defining feature of the first historical period is indirect translation. Since our extensive paratextual (both epitextual and peritextual) examination has produced no evidence of any translators’ knowledge of Czech at this time, the conclusion is that the Chinese translations of Czech literature in the first period are all indirect. And the most obvious reason for indirect translation, in this case, is an absolute lack of

⁴⁹ There is a collection of over 80 translated essays by writers from seven Central and Eastern European nations, published in 2000 by Baihua Art & Literature. Havel is among the 14 Czech authors included in the book, with one of his letters written in jail translated. Because of the multinational nature of the book, it is not included in the list of translated Czech works.

knowledge of the SL, i.e. literally no translator knew the original Czech language. Consequently, Czech and Chinese, two peripheral languages in the international system of transmission of texts, had to conduct their literary communications in a mediated way. The two major mediating languages were English and Esperanto. The intermediary role of English offers no surprises, given its dominant position within the international cultural transfer achieved by means of translation (see Heilbron 1999 and Hanna Pięta 2012). And Esperanto's acceptance in China and its mediating role seem to have two reasons: its echo of the vision of an ideal future society described in ancient Chinese Confucian classics, and its appeal to many modern Chinese intellectuals with "social reformist ideals to rid China of weakness and poverty and to live in a fair and harmonious world" (Song 2003: 123, my translation). Just a very small number of the translations gave explicit information about their indirectness or the MLs used. The non-markedness of indirect translations most likely indicates the default indirect translation practice in the republican China era.

During the second period in 1950-1977, the most significant shift in the languages used in translation is the emergence of direct translations from Czech, the dramatic rise of Russian, and the decline of Esperanto as mediating languages. The reason for indirect translation in this period is the "relative" lack of knowledge of the SL, "when no available translator knows the SL" (Ringmar 2007: 6). The emergence of direct translations from Czech has a lot to do with the close diplomatic communication and the increased cultural and educational exchange between the two countries. What's more, the dominant role of Russian in this period's Czech literature translation in China had obvious ideological and political motivation, when the newly founded People's Republic of China (PRC) adopted a "lean to one side" policy in its foreign relations, in alliance with the Soviet Union (Garver 2016: 29). From a perspective of power relations between cultures/languages, this fits Ringmar's assumption that the SL and the TL, in this case the Czech and Chinese languages, were "small/dominated languages", whereas the ML, Russian, was a "dominant language" (2007: 5). Furthermore, indirect translation may be used as "a means to control the contents of the TT" (Ringmar 2007: 7), with Russian in this case being effectively "the language of censorship" (Gambier 2003: 59). Compared with the other historical periods, the second period has been identified as the era with the highest transparency in the marking of direct and indirect translations, as a result of the standardization measures on the technical level.

The most significant shifts in the third period of 1978-2020 is the rise of direct translations from Czech to Chinese, as well as the dramatic decline in the use of Russian as a mediating language. Direct translations increased both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total number of TTs. By contrast, Russian has dramatically declined both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total number of TTs, which most importantly showed Russia's loss of a mediating center

status after the collapse of the socialist Eastern Bloc and the fall of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the role of English as a mediating language has increased considerably. The mediation of English culture is present not only in indirect translations, but also in direct translations, by influencing text selection and paratexts.

During this period, there is a broad tendency for direct translations to be paratextually marked and indirect translations to be unmarked, though exceptions exist. Direct translations from Czech are mostly marked in the peritext, with their directness sometimes even foregrounded as a selling point, while the hidden nature of indirect translations in the post-reform period may be a sign that they “were accorded inferior status” (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 135, 140), and that the dominant preliminary norm in this period is a high intolerance of indirect translations. On the whole, the concealed indirectness and marked directness seem to reflect both literary and commercial considerations.

Despite some scholars’ suggestion that indirect translation is a decreasing phenomenon (e.g. Heilbron 1999: 436), in the case of Czech literature translated in mainland China, what we so far observe is a trend from indirect toward direct translation: the proportion of direct translations has steadily grown in the three historical periods. However, whether this upward trend will persist remains to be seen. On the other hand, it seems that indirect translations will always maintain a considerable proportion, not least because the translators well versed in lesser translated languages are always hard to come by. Another reason can be commercial. Indirect translation, according to Hanna Pięta, can “be profitable for publishers” in that it tends to be less costly than translating directly from peripheral languages (Pięta 2014: 25). Meanwhile, it can also “be used as a risk-management strategy” to make the translations better conform to tastes in the ultimate target culture (ibid.).

8.1.3 Retranslation

The Chinese retranslations of Czech literary works in the first period of 1921-1949 were more of a result of the target cultural market’s demand. Another important reason was a lack of coordination between translators and publishers, which led to “collisions” (see Paloposki & Koskinen 2010), when multiple versions of the same work appeared more or less simultaneously.

This went through a radical shift in the centralized cultural production of the second period in 1950-1977, which had the lowest retranslation rate and the smallest retranslation numbers, compared with the other historical periods. One important

reason is that, with the highly institutionalized and planned nature of translation activities in this era, the chances of what Paloposki & Koskinen (2010: 35) term “collisions” due to a lack of coordination between translators and publishers were practically nil.

Xu & Tian (2014) investigated “the retranslation boom of the 1990s in mainland China”, when there were many retranslations of the classic works of world literature, which continued in the new century. The major reason for the prospering of retranslations in the third period was commercial considerations, which have driven publishers, under huge pressure to reduce publishing costs and make profits after the marketization of China’s publishing industry since the late 1980s, to “produce their own version in order to capture a segment of a lucrative retranslation market” (Xu & Tian 2014: 244).

The reasons for the lack of retranslations in some cases and the abundance of them in others is certainly an interesting topic. As Cadera and Walsh (2017: 1) point out, “there is not always a clearly identifiable relation between the importance of authors in their original culture and the retranslation of their work”. In other words, the number of retranslations of a work does not seem to be necessarily in direct relation to its position in the target culture. Our study has shown instances of established authors from the canon of the original Czech literature whose works were not retranslated. In other cases, the phenomenon detected was the precise opposite, i. e., some authors and works that are not canonized in the Czech literature got translated multiple times. One notable example is Božena Viková-Kunětická, one of the most retranslated Czech authors in the first period, who is today perhaps remembered more as a politician than a writer. Another example is Julius Fučík’s *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows), the most retranslated Czech work after *The Good Soldier Švejk*, which can in a way be synchronically viewed as a case of “the canonization of a noncanonical work” (Sun 2018: 115)⁵⁰.

The Good Soldier Švejk, which has 24 different versions in 1978-2020, is the most retranslated Czech work in mainland China. One remarkable thing is that all of the retranslations came out after the establishment of a translational canon, Liu Xingchan’s directly translated version in 1983. This supports neither Ricoeur’s (2006) so-called “dissatisfaction with regard to existing translations” nor Antoine Berman’s hypothesis that the appearance of a canonical translation will stop the cycle of retranslating for a long time (see Brownlie 2006: 146). But it shows commercial considerations to be an important reason for retranslations.

⁵⁰ Diachronically, *Reportáž psaná na oprátce* (Notes from the Gallows) was canonized by socialist Czechoslovakia and then exported to Soviet Union, before it was transferred to China. After 1989, the book has lost its canonical role in the Czech Republic. Yet its canonicity lives on in mainland China, due to ideological and commercial reasons (see Section 6.4.3.3, p. 184).

8.1.4 Paratexts

The paratextual materials in the first period in 1921-1949 show some important features. First, due to the lack of translation standardization and coordination, the information about the original text, such as the presentations of writers' names or the country, varied a lot, which might cause confusion. Second, the indirectness of Chinese translations, as a norm of this period, was not marked bibliographically. As a result, there is very limited explicit peritextual information regarding the languages or the mediating texts used for translation.

During the second period in 1950-1977, the institutionalized translational work through centralized planning and regulation led to paratextual changes, such as the standardized Chinese transliterations of Czech writers' names, as well as the markedness of (in)directness and detailed information given about the Mediating Texts. Our study of Chinese translation of Czech literature during the second period shows two main paratextual functions: informative and conative functions — that is, to inform and to influence the reader. Stress was placed on thought content and biographical and social context, as opposed to literary form and literary context. Class struggle was often foregrounded. Emphasis was given to the industry, bravery and sufferings of the working people, and sometimes the invincibility of the peasants and workers under the leadership of the communist party, as well as the heartlessness and greed of the ruling classes. On the other hand, the practice of using paratexts in this way may also to some extent acted as “a strategy for dealing with censorship” (Lygo 2016: 56): to facilitate a translated work's publication by informing the reader of the correct ideological approach to the text.

There are three different “processes of the transmission of translations ideologically” (1996: 140-141): selection of works to be translated, modification of the text itself, and paratextual rewriting. Wang Yougui, in his research into the literary translation history in the second half of 20th century China, claims that the ideological rewriting mainly happened paratextually, and that deliberate textual modifications were far fewer than previously thought (Wang 2015: 90). Our preliminary textual analysis has confirmed his claim, though a more definite conclusion would require more extensive research. However, it would be safe to assume that the paratextual interpretation, which minimized the harm of ideologically dubious texts, plus a stringent text selection standard, would leave no urgent need for textual modification.

When it comes to the paratexts of translated Czech literature in the third period since China's opening-up and reform in 1978, their functions seem to have generally gone through a transition from informative and conative to informative and poetic

ones. During this period, there has been a shift away from the socialist realist convention in paratextual practices. The previous ideologically-charged comments have gradually diminished. In the 21st century, with the widespread commercialization in the Chinese society and China's increasing integration into a globalized world, much more emphasis has been put on the literary qualities and artistic values of the translated works.

Another noteworthy thing since the 2000s is the citation of the praise or recommendation of other writers, in most cases Milan Kundera. These citations of sponsorship by peer writers contrast sharply with the earlier convention of quoting comments by socialist political leaders or politically famous figures from Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union. Marketization of the publishing industry has also led to dramatic improvement in the packaging, marketing and promotion of translated books, especially in their cover design and overall look.

Paratexts are related to indirect translation, in that the features perceived as indicators of the indirectness of a Target Text can be displayed on not only the textual but also the paratextual level (Rosa, Pięta & Maia 2017: 122-123). In line with Špirk's concept of "indirect reception", i.e. "reception through the lens of another culture" (Špirk 2011: 59), as well as what Li Wenjie calls "double indirectness" in both the process of translation and the process of interpretation (Li 2017: 192), the paratexts are often based on the information that the mediating system provides to publishers. These explain why in the second period of 1950-1977 some forewords of Czech translated literature quoted comments by Soviet Union critics, and why, in some cases, the entire forewords or illustrations were retained from the Russian mediating texts. They also explain why in the third period, especially in the 21st century, the blurbs of Chinese versions of Czech literary works frequently quote praises by prominent writers from dominant Anglophone cultures, such as Arthur Miller, or favorable comments by important English media like *New York Times* or *Newsweek*. Such paratextual mediation of the intermediate culture, as mentioned previously, is present in direct translations as well as in indirect translations.

One main way of the paratextual image building of Czech literature is through book series and anthologies. Certain literatures can often be presented paratextually as belonging together as part of a larger whole, indicating a "paratextual construction of sameness" (Batchelor 2018: 38). This is shown in the special issues of the literature of "oppressed peoples" in important periodicals in the early 20th century, as well as the term "Eastern Europe" frequently applied in book series during the third period.

8.1.5 Translators

Examination reveals one important characteristic shared by most of the translators in the first period of 1921-1949: they are not just translators, but most of the time also writers or editors. The earliest among them, such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun, are influential intellectuals who played a prominent role in the development of modern Chinese literature. This fits Even-Zohar's argument that, when translated literature occupies a central position in the literary polysystem, it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem as an innovatory force. And in this case, it often is the leading writers or prospective leading writers who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations (Even-Zohar 1990: 46-47). Similarly, Pym sees "the multiple nature of their employment" as a major key to translators becoming active causes of translations (2014: 156).

The important foreign literature translators in the second period of 1950-1977 were mostly members of the Chinese Writers' Association, editors at state-sponsored journals, newspapers, or state-owned publishing houses, or foreign language teachers at universities. Their institutional affiliation stands in sharp contrast with the republican era literary translators who were mostly freelance translators. If the republican era had a literary system with "differentiated patronage" in the sense that "the economic component remains independent of the ideological one" (Lefevere 2010: 17), then in this second period the patronage is "undifferentiated" in that the ideological, the economic and the status components "are dispensed by one and the same patron" (ibid.), as a result of the institutionalization of translators.

We believe that some Chinese translators in the second period, with their subjectivity and their belief in the value of foreign literatures, acted as some sort of a counterbalance to the politicization of literary translation, and tried to strike a balance between cultural, literary and communication needs with political, ideological and diplomatic needs. They distinguished between short-term translation tasks, carried out to deal with political needs, and long-term translation projects, which put emphasis on well-established and widely-accepted literary classics written by canonized writers. As a result of the short-term tasks, this period produced a large number of what Wang describes as "disposable" translations that were never republished or never saw their originals retranslated after 1979 (ibid.: 276), as happened with almost all the Czech socialist realist works of this time period. On the other hand, the long-term projects have left some excellent translations of literary classics that get regularly republished and followed by regular retranslations even to this day, such as Xiao Qian's 1956 version of *The Good Soldier Švejk* and Wu Qi's 1957 translation of *Babička*.

Hanne Jansen and Anna Wegener support the “social turn” in Translation Studies, which in their view implies an increased attention to the “‘minor,’ less influential or at any rate less visible agents” in the making of a translation (Jansen & Wegener 2013: 11). Similarly, Pym also proposes the discovery of translators as “effective social actors” (Pym 2014: 5-6) with “socially conditioned subjectivity” (ibid.: ix). However, he seems to pay more attention to influential translators, believing that “their status and competence in other professional activities” gives them the ability to challenge power structures in some way (ibid.: 156). A case in point is Mao Dun, who as the cultural minister in the 1950s advocated a faithful rendering of the content as well as the spirit of the source text and was later stripped of his post before the Cultural Revolution. In the meantime, some less influential translators are also worth mentioning, who persisted in their underground translation endeavors even during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

If in the second half of the 20th century Czech-Chinese direct literary translation was largely dominated by Chinese translators educated in Czechoslovakia, the 21st century is seeing the growing role of translators who have graduated with a Czech major from Chinese universities, especially Beijing Foreign Studies University. The increased communications with the outside world have also made it possible for publishers to publish direct translations by translators from outside mainland China. When it comes to the indirect Czech literary translators in the post-reform era, they are mainly composed of three groups: cheap amateur translators employed by smaller publishers to retranslate the classics of world literature, competent indirect translators from English turned to because of the relative lack of direct translators from Czech, and proficient indirect translators of Milan Kundera’s works from French, at the author’s request.

8.1.6 Comparative textual analysis

The micro-textual comparison was carried out on five different versions of Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*, one of the most important novels of the 20th-century Czech literature: Part I of the Czech original, corresponding to approximately 28% of the total text, and four of its translations: Paul Selver’s 1930 direct English translation, Xiao Qian’s 1956 indirect Chinese translation based on Selver, Liu Xingcan’s 1983 direct Chinese translation, and Parrott’s 1973 directly translated English version. Special attention is paid to the translation of offensive language, tabooed subjects, and cultural elements. The intention of the comparative analysis is not to pass any kind of judgement on the techniques adopted by the translators, but to shed some light on

matters relating to the translating strategies, target culture restrictions, and faithfulness to the original versus manipulation.

The textual analysis shows that the translators, when translating offensive words, need to take multiple factors into consideration: the referential meaning, the connotative meaning, the emotional charge, the frequency of use, the register in the original, and the target culture acceptance. Sometimes the translators attempt to strike somewhat of a balance between these; other times they tend to prioritize one factor over the others. The five versions of *Švejk*, including the original and its four translations, in terms of the general level of the offensive load in their texts, can be ranked as follows: Xiao < Selver < Parrott = Hašek < Liu (this is just a tentative argument, which needs to be confirmed by future quantitative research).

The translators also took different approaches to tabooed subject, subdivided into three categories: those related to bodily functions and body parts, sex-related and religion-related. Generally, there is a considerable number of deletions and toning-downs in Selver's and therefore Xiao's versions. Xiao has also in some cases made additional omissions on the basis of Selver's mediating text. In contrast, both Parrott and Liu have in general retained the taboo subjects. When it comes to the taboo subjects of bodily function and body parts, Liu's version shows a tendency towards explication and what Ávila-Cabrera (2016) termed dysphemism, which also corresponds to her approach to translating the offensive words (see Section 4.3.1), when she at times intensified the offensive load. The aim, it seems, is to make the target text more dramatic, to enhance the colloquial register in it, and generally to get good target reception.

With regard to the translation of cultural elements, Liu and Parrott, by reserving the numerous geographical, sociocultural and linguistic signals of the early 20th-century Czech Land, have generally retained the fictional world of *Švejk* rather successfully in their translations. In contrast, Selver and Xiao removed much of the local flavor and some of the historical color from the Source Text. So if Liu and Parrott moved the target readers as much as possible into the original fictional world of *Švejk*, then Selver and Xiao reconstructed the fictional world by adapting it to the target cultures and minimizing its foreign characteristics, and in some sense internationalizing it.

8.2 Limitations and future research

This study has not been able to reach maximum completeness in data collection, as

shown by the corpora's lack of translated Czech literature in periodicals of the third period, for three main reasons. First, when it comes to their influence, the third periods' literary periodicals pale in comparison with not just the first period, when Chinese literature and translated foreign literature centered around periodicals and newspapers (Deng 2009: 62), but also with the second period, when there was only one foreign literature journal in mainland China. Second, during both the second period and the third one, books have remained the main publication form of translated Czech literature. Third, as "the popular reception of an author can be judged more accurately by the publication of his works in book form than by their single appearance in periodicals" (Edgerton 1963: 62), our examination of the last two periods has been focused on translations in books. Moreover, due to the limitations of space and the scope of the research, our discussions have also excluded both "translated Czech children's literature", the translated Czech literary works written specifically for children, and "Czech literature translated for children", i.e., Czech literature originally written for adults but translated and adapted for children readers.

Another problem concerns the verification of (in)directness and the identification of the mediating languages. With the aim of verifying the (in)directness and identifying the MLs and MTs, Pięta (2012: 315-316) proposes a tripartite methodology, consisting of peritext analysis, epitext analysis and ST-MT-TT comparative analysis. Maialen Marín-Lacarta (2012) and Rosa, Pięta & Maia (2017) also had reflections on similar methodological issues of indirect translation. Among the three historical periods under examination, the second one has been identified as the only era in which explicit labeling of direct and indirect translations was fully used. Analyses of both epitexts and contextual information about translators as well as the historical context have helped us identify the other two periods' hidden ITrs, when the ST's title and the TT translator's name appear in the paratext, but with no indication of any other translator or any mediating text (MT) or mediating language (ML) (Marin-Lacarta 2017: 136). In the first period, when indirect translations predominated, just a very small number of the translations gave explicit information about their indirectness or the MLs used. The third period, on the whole, is characterized by concealed indirectness and marked directness. We have been able to reconstruct the Mediating Languages used in the unmarked indirect translations, mainly based on epitextual and contextual information about the translators' life-experience, educational background and their translation activities, combined with the information on the availability of the text in possible MLs. Yet there are still 26% of the Chinese translations in both the first and the third periods whose mediating languages are unidentified, because they are peritextually unmarked, and because epitextual and contextual research has found inadequate information about the translators. Though, generally speaking, English is more likely to be the ML they used in translating the Czech works, we think it better to refrain from making a definite conclusion, before more direct evidence is found. For this reason, our presentation of

the distribution of Mediating Languages used in Chinese translations of Czech literature in 1921-1949 (Figure 4.6) and in 1978-2020 (Figure 6.4) just shows the relative proportions and provides a rough idea of the situation, which remains to be refined with more findings in future.

Future studies could investigate the Chinese translations of Czech children's literature and literature for children. The distinction between the two types seems necessary. The "Czech literature translated for children", such as *The Good Soldier Švejk* translated and adapted for children readers, mainly involves retranslation and adaptation of Czech classic or canonized works, while the "translated Czech children's literature" involves translations of the Czech literary works written specifically for children, such as those by Josef Lada, Bohumil Říha, Pavel Šrut, Miloš Macourek and Květa Pacovská, along with K. Čapek and B. Němcová's short stories for children. Both types have very different features from the translated Czech works for adults, which makes them deserve separate studies.

What's more, researchers in future could conduct comparative analysis into how Czech literature was represented and perceived in different countries. For example, preliminary examination shows there have been considerably more Czech literary works translated in mainland China than in Portugal (see Špirk 2011 for the translation of Czech literature in 20th-century Portugal), despite the latter's relative geographical and cultural proximity with the Czech lands. The reasons behind this somewhat unexpected disparity are worth exploring.

Due to the restrictions of the practical situation, especially the Covid-19 pandemic, we have not been able to collect relevant data through face-to-face interviews or online interviews with translators and editors. This would hopefully be made up for in follow-up studies. In addition, as this study has not fully explored the reception of Czech literature in mainland China, future research can investigate Chinese readers' reading experience of the translations by means such as questionnaires and interviews.

Appendix 1: Main translated works of Czech literature in 1921-1949 mainland China⁵¹

No.	Year	Work	Writer	Translator	ML	Genre	Journal, Issue / Publisher, book title
1.	1921	Blbý Jóna (Stupid Jóna)	J. Neruda	Mao Dun	English	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 12(8)
2.	1921	Koho by ráda	F. Čelakovský	Mao Dun	English	Poetry	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 12(10)
3.	1921	Horník (Miner)	P. Bezruč	Mao Dun	English	Poetry	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 12(10)
4	1921	Výlety páně Broučkovy (The Excursion)	S. Čech	Mao Dun	English	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 12(10)
5.	1922	Flétna (Flute)	J. Vrchlický	Zhou Jianren	Unknown	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 13(7)
6.	1922	Člověk, jenž vydal básně (A man who published poems)	S. Čech	Hu Yuzhi	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Dongfang Zazhi</i> (The East), 19(14)

⁵¹ There are translations of four anonymous Czech folk songs published in 1920, which are not listed in this table, though they are included in some of the statistical analyses in the main text.

7.	1923	The Deal ⁵²	S. Čech	Shen Zhemin	English	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 14(4)
8.	1923	Vánoční koledy (excerpted)	I. Herrmann	Hu Zhongchi	English	Short story	<i>Dongfang Zazhi</i> (The East), 20(8)
9.	1925	Spiritless	B. Viková-Kunětická	Hu Boken	Unknown	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 16(4)
10	1926	<i>Věc Makropulos</i> (The Makropulos Affair) * ⁵³	K. Čapek	Yu Shangyuan	English	Drama	Beixin Publishing House
11.	1927	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Zheng Xiaoxun	English	Short story	<i>Huanzhou</i> , 2(2)
12.	1928	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Wang Tiran	English	Short story	<i>Gongxian</i> , 2(1)
13.	1928	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Zhou Soujuan	English	Short story	<i>Ziluolan</i> , 3(2)
14.	1929	Ostrava	P. Bezruč	Cui Zhenwu	English	Poetry	<i>Zhaohua Xunkan</i> , 1(2)

⁵² There are a number of works whose Czech titles have not been found and are therefore presented in English.

⁵³ Most of the translated Czech literary works in the first period are published in periodicals, while there are a small proportion of them that are published in books (marked with “*”) or in anthologies of works by different authors of Czech origin or mixed nationalities (marked with “#”). Republications in the form of books are not included in the list.

15.	1929	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Cui Zhenwu	English	Short story	<i>Zhaohua Xunkan</i> , 1(3)
16.	1929	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Xiong Shouqian	Unknown	Short story	<i>Guowen Zhoubao</i> , 6(6)
17.	1929	Živý plamen (Living flame)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Cai Shi	Unknown	Short story	<i>Zhaohua</i> , 1(5)
18.	1929	Upír (The Vampire) #	J. Neruda	Cui Zhenwu	English	Short story	<i>Qijian ji qita</i> (Zhaohua Press)
19.	1929	Živý plamen (Living flame) #	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Cui Zhenwu	English	Short story	<i>Qijian ji qita</i> (Zhaohua Press)
20.	1929	<i>Hubicka</i> (A Kiss) *	K. Světlá	Du Heng	English	Short story	Shanghai Zhenshanmei Press
21.	1929	<i>Hubicka</i> (A Kiss) *	K. Světlá	Cui Zhenwu	English	Short story	Zhaohua Press
22.	1930	Na písčité půdě (On the Sandy Soil)	R. Svobodová	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Dongfang Zazhi</i> (The East), 27(13)
23.	1930	Bezdětná (Childless)	I. Herrmann	Lv Shuxiang	English	Short story	<i>Beixin</i> , 4(16)
24.	1930	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Deng Xianyuan	Unknown	Short story	<i>Zhaohua</i> , 1(6)
25.	1931	Živý plamen (Living flame)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Di Sheng	Unknown	Short story	<i>Zhaohua</i> , 2(5-6)

26.	1931	Hubicka (A Kiss)	K. Světlá	Shi Zhecun	English	Short story	<i>Zhongguo xuesheng</i> , 3(5)
27.	1931	Když bolí zuby (Toothache)	K. Čapek	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Essay	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 22(6)
28.	1931	Obyčejná vražda (The Ordinary Murder)	K. Čapek	Zhang Dekun	Unknown	Short story	<i>Nankaidaxue Zhoubao</i> , (107)
29.	1931	Poesie a prosa (Poetry and Prose)	J. Vrchlický	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo Yuebao</i> (Fiction Monthly), 22(11)
30.	1932	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Bao Sanyi	English	Short story	Baiguang Huakan
31.	1932	Bezdětná (Childless)	I. Herrmann	Zhong Xianmin	Unknown	Short story	<i>Wenyi Yuekan</i> , 1(1)
32.	1932	Živý plamen (Living flame) #	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Zhang Tingzheng	Japanese	Short story	<i>Zhongxuesheng fanyi</i> (Shanghai Zhongxuesheng Press)
33.	1933	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Peng Chenghui	English	Short story	<i>Xinlei</i> , 2(3)
34.	1933	Živý plamen (Living flame)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Chun Bing	English	Short story	<i>Shidai Qingnian</i> , 14(15)
35.	1933	Když bolí zuby (Toothache)	K. Čapek	Geng Cun	Unknown	Essay	<i>Qinghua Fukan</i> , 39(3)

36.	1933	Hubicka (A Kiss)	K. Světlá	Zhong Xianmin	Unknown	Short story	<i>Wenyi Yuekan</i> , 3(7, 8)
37.	1933	<i>Ze života hmyzu</i> (The Life of the Insects) *	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Yang Muyi	Japanese	Drama	World literature Research Press
38.	1934	Měl jsem psa a kočku (excerpted)	K. Čapek	Tang Xuzhi	English	Essay	<i>Qingnian jie</i> , 6(1)
39.	1934	<i>Adam stvořitel</i> (Adam the Creator)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Gu Zhongyi	English	Drama	<i>Maodun Yuekan</i> , 3(3-4)
40.	1934	U rotačky (At the rotary)	K. M. Čapek-Chod	Zhu Jun	Unknown	Short story	<i>Wenxue</i> , 2(5)
41.	1934	Don Juan zasněný (Don Juan Dreamy)	J. Šimánek	Lu Yan	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Wenxue</i> , 2(5)
42.	1934	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Li Ni	English	Short story	<i>Xiaoshuo</i> , (13)
43.	1935	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Li Liewen	French	Short story	<i>Shijie Zhishi</i> , 2(3)
44.	1935	Hubicka (A Kiss)	K. Světlá	Chen Jialin, Jian Xianai	English	Short story	<i>Wenxue Jikan</i> (Beiping), 2(3)
45.	1935	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Guang Jian	Unknown	Short story	<i>Wenyi</i> , 2(4)
46.	1935	Hubicka (A Kiss)	K. Světlá	Sheng	English	Short story	<i>Huanzhong</i> , 7(3, 4, 5, 6, 7)

				Ruoming			
47.	1935	Jsou-li andělé ženy? (Are angels women?)	J. Neruda	Tang Xuzhi	English	Essay	<i>Qingnian jie</i> , 8(4)
48.	1936	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Xu Bihui	Japanese	Short story	<i>Zhongyang shishi zhoubao</i> , 5(8)
49.	1936	Když bolí zuby (Toothache)	K. Čapek	Ya Wu	Unknown	Essay	<i>Xifeng</i> (Shanghai), (1-6)
50.	1937	V ledovém objetí	A. Sova	Lao Rong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Wenxue</i> , 8(3)
51.	1937	Voják	F. Halas	Lao Rong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Wenxue</i> , 8(3)
52.	1938	Bezdětná (Childless)	I. Herrmann	Liu Baixu	English	Short story	<i>Xiandai duwu</i> , 3(2)
53.	1939	Červený květ (Red flower)	P. Bezruč	Sun Yongze	Unknown	Poetry	<i>Wenyi xinxing</i> , 1(1)
54.	1939	<i>Bílá nemoc</i> (The White Disease)	K. Čapek	Zhu Wen	Unknown	Drama	<i>Wenxin</i> , 2(1, 2)
55.	1940	Finanční tíseň (Financial difficulties)	J. Hašek	Ke Luo	Unknown	Short story	<i>Shijie huabao</i> , 1(5)
56.	1940	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Ye Qun	English	Short story	<i>Xiyang Wenxue</i> (Western Literature), (3)
57.	1940	Špatné dítě (The naughty child)	O. Theer	Jian Xianai	English	Short story	<i>Shamo huabao</i> , 3(5)
58.	1940	<i>Matka</i> (The Mother)	K. Čapek	Xu Tianhong	English	Drama	<i>Xiandai wenyi</i> , 2(1)

59.	1941	Cigánovy housle (Gypsy's violin)	J. Vrchlický	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Jiangnan wenyi</i> , 1(1)
60.	1941	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Quan Le	Unknown	Short story	<i>Xindongfang zazhi</i> , 4(1)
61.	1941	O kominíkovi (Chimney worker)	J. Wolker	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Gaijin</i> , 5(8)
62.	1941	U rotačky (At the rotary)	K. M. Čapek-Chod	Fa Yun	Unknown	Short story	<i>Haimo</i> , 2(4)
63.	1941	Sbírka známek (Stamp collection)	K. Čapek	Tan Weihang	Unknown	Short story	<i>Xiyang Wenxue</i> (Western Literature), (5)
64.	1941	Živý plamen (Living flame)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Wu Xinghua	Unknown	Short story	<i>Xiyang Wenxue</i> (Western Literature), (5)
65.	1941	Zahradníkův rok (The Gardener's Year) (excerpted)	K. Čapek	Wu Xinghua	Unknown	Essay	<i>Xiyang Wenxue</i> (Western Literature), (9)
66.	1942	Písňe otroka (Songs of a Slave) (excerpted)	S. Čech	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Wenyi Zazhi</i> (Guilin), 1(1)
67.	1942	Hlad (Hunger)	F. Langer	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Wenyi Zazhi</i> (Guilin), 1(2)
68.	1942	Matičce (To my mother)	J. Neruda	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Wenyi Zazhi</i> (Guilin), 2(4)
69.	1942	Smrt hraběte Kryštofa des Loges (The Death of Count)	F. X. Šalda	Meng Jingan	English	Poetry	<i>Wenxue Yibao</i> , 1(1)

		Christopher des Loges)					
70.	1942	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Meng Jingan	English	Short story	<i>Wenxue Yibao</i> , 1(2)
71.	1942	Maryčka Magdonová	P. Bezruč	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(4)
72.	1942	The Lost Paradise	J. S. Machar	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(4)
73.	1942	Matičce (To my mother)	J. Neruda	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(5)
74.	1942	Lyrické vteřiny duše	A. Sova	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(5)
75.	1942	Jaro (Spring)	J. V. Sládek	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(5)
76.	1942	Letter	J. S. Machar	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(5)
77.	1942	Bez názvu (Untitled)	K. Toman	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi (Poetry)</i> , 3(5)
78.	1942	Maryčka Magdonová	P. Bezruč	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Zhejiang Qingnian (Jinhua)</i> , (5/6)

79.	1942	Horník (Miner)	P. Bezruč	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Shi chuanguo</i> , (13)
80.	1943	Balada o nenarozeném dítěti (The ballad of the unborn child)	J. Wolker	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Wenxue pinlun</i> , 1(1)
81.	1943	The Death of Louise	B. Viková-Kunětická	Li Wei	Unknown	Short story	<i>Wenxue</i> (Chongqing), 1(3)
82.	1943	Cigánovy housle (Gypsy's violin)	J. Vrchlický	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Changfeng Wenyi</i> , 1(4-5)
83.	1944	<i>Matka</i> (The Mother)	K. Čapek	Qian Gongxia	English	Drama	<i>Guanghua</i> , 1(1)
84.	1944	Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války (The Good Soldier Švejk) (excerpted)	J. Hašek	Ding Wangxuan	Esperanto	Novel	<i>Zhonghua Manhua</i> , 1(4)
85.	1944	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Zhou Qiuzi	Unknown	Short story	<i>Funv Zazhi</i> (Beijing), 5(8)
86.	1944	Upír (The Vampire)	J. Neruda	Fang Wen	English	Short story	<i>Shiyuetan</i> (Yongan), 2(10)
87.	1944	Byl darebákem (He was a rascal)	J. Neruda	Bao Bo	Unknown	Short story	<i>Dongfang Zazhi</i> (The East), 40(13)

88.	1945	Magdalena	J. S. Machar	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Verse novel	<i>Liuhuo</i> , 1(1)
89.	1945	Měl jsem psa a kočku (excerpted)	K. Čapek	Qi Fangzhao	Unknown	Essay	<i>Yiwen zazhi</i> , 3(1-2)
90.	1945	Špatné dítě (The naughty child) #	O. Theer	Fang Wen	English	Short story	<i>Hong zhi wei</i> (Shiritan Press)
91.	1946	Voják	F. Halas	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Nanbei</i> (Beiping), 1(3)
92.	1946	Živý plamen (Living flame)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Fei Li	Unknown	Short story	<i>127 Huabao</i> , 6(4)
93.	1947	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Fang Wen	English	Short story	<i>Shaonian duwu</i> , 4(1)
94.	1947	Husy (Geese)	B. Viková-Kunětická	Shi Xinghuo	English	Short story	<i>Wenchao Yuebao</i> , 2(4)
95.	1947	Ostrov (Island)	K. Čapek & J. Čapek	Zheyin Daiping	Unknown	Short story	<i>Yuanzi</i> , 1(6)
96.	1948	Horník (Miner)	P. Bezruč	Sun Yong	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Xin Shige</i> , (9)
97.	1948	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows) *	J. Fučík	Liu Liaoyi	Russian	Memoir	Guanghua Press

98.	1949	Prosté motivy #	J. Neruda	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Poetry	<i>Collected Works of Czech literature</i> (Shanghai Guanghai Publishing House)
99.	1949	Byl darebákem (He was a rascal) #	J. Neruda	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Collected Works of Czech literature</i> (Shanghai Guanghai Publishing House)
100.	1949	Hlad (Hunger) #	F. Langer	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Collected Works of Czech literature</i> (Shanghai Guanghai Publishing House)
101.	1949	Křehké štěstí (The fragile happiness) #	F. Šrámek	Wei Huangnu	Esperanto	Short story	<i>Collected Works of Czech literature</i> (Shanghai Guanghai Publishing House)

Appendix 2: Main translated works of Czech literature in 1950-1977 mainland China

No.	Year	Work	Writer	Translator	ML	Genre	Publisher
1.	1951	<i>Děti a dýka</i> (Children and the Dagger)	F. Langer	Xiao Qing	Russian	Novel	Beixin
2.	1952	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Chen Jingrong	French +German +Russian	Memoir	People's Literature
3.	1952	<i>Nad nami svitá</i> (It Dawns above us)	J. Marek	He Liang	Russian	Novel	Guangming
4.	1953	<i>Anna Proletárka</i> (Anna the Proletarian)	I. Olbracht	Ni Liang	Russian	Novel	New Literature & Art
5.	1953	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Chen Shan	Russian	Drama	Pingming
6.	1953	<i>Parta brusiče Karhana</i> (Grinder Karhan's Shift)	V. Káňa	Wang Jinling	English	Drama	People's Literature
7.	1954	<i>Havířská balada</i> (Ballad of a Miner)	M. Majerová	Zheng Yonghui	French	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art Association

8.	1954	<i>Havířská balada</i> (Ballad of a Miner)	M. Majerová	Bao Wenwei, Dai Gang	French	Novel	The Writers
9.	1955	<i>Zpěv miru</i> (Singing Peace)	V. Nezval	Zhu Ziqi	Russian	Poetry	The Writers
10.	1955	<i>Krásná Tortiza</i> (Beautiful Tortiza)	J. Drda	Lin Xiu	Russian	Novel	The Writers
11.	1956	<i>Krakatit</i> (An Atomic Phantasy)	K. Čapek	Sun Liang, Fu Kai	English	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art Association
12.	1956	<i>Divá Bára</i> (Wild Bára)	B. Němcová	Xuan Cao	Russian	Short story	The Writers
13.	1956	<i>Náměstí republiky</i> (Republic Square)	M. Majerová	Dong Wenqiao	German	Novel	New Literature & Art
14.	1956	<i>Němá barikáda</i> (Silent Barricade)	J. Drda	Hong fan, Lao Rong	Esperanto	Short story	The Writers
15.	1956	<i>Strakonický dudák</i> (The Bagpiper of Strakonice)	J. K. Tyl	Jiang Li, Lin Min	Russian	Drama	The Writers
16.	1956	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Xiao Qian	English	Novel	People's Literature
17.	1956	<i>Vesnice pod zemí</i> (Villages Underground)	J. Marek	Lin Qi	Russian	Novel	New Literature & Art

18.	1957	The Collected Plays of Karel Čapek	K. Čapek	Wu Qi	Czech	Drama	The Writers
19.	1957	<i>Rudá záře nad Kladnem</i> (Red Glow Over Kladno)	A. Zápotocký	Fan Fang	English	Novel	New Literature & Art
20.	1957	<i>Vstanou noví bojovníci</i> (New Fighters will Rise)	A. Zápotocký	Xu Xiaoli, Qiu Linqi	French	Novel	The Writers
21.	1957	<i>Babička</i> (The Grandmother)	B. Němcová	Wu Qi	Czech	Novel	People's Literature
22.	1958	<i>Válkou narušení</i> (War of Disruption)	V. Káňa	Zhen Xiaoshi	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
23.	1958	<i>Rudá záře nad Kladnem</i> (Red Glow Over Kladno)	A. Zápotocký	Wang Zhongying, Mai Ya	English	Novel	People's Literature
24.	1958	<i>Lidé na křižovatce</i> (People at a Crossroads)	M. Pujmanová	Xu Shenyue	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
25.	1958	<i>Psohlavci</i>	A. Jirásek	Zhang Jiazhang	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
26.	1958	<i>Štěstí nepadá s nebe</i> (Happiness does not Fall from the Sky)	J. Klíma	Yang Leyun, Kong Rou	Czech	Drama	The Writers
27.	1959	<i>Nikola Šuhaj loupežník</i> (Nikolai Schuhaj,	I. Olbracht	Gao Hua, Ke Qie	English	Novel	China Youth

		Highwayman)					
28.	1959	Bouřlivý rok 1905	A. Zápotocký	Shi Guang	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
29.	1959	<i>Hra s ohněm</i> (Playing with Fire)	M. Pujmanová	Yang Xiahua	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
30.	1959	<i>Lucerna</i> (Lantern)	A. Jirásek	Yang Leyun, Kong Rou	Czech	Drama	People's Literature
31.	1959	<i>Siréna</i> (The Siren)	M. Majerová	Qi Yu	English	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art
32.	1959	<i>Krvavý soud aneb kutnohorští havíři</i> (A Bloody Verdict: The Miners of Kutná Hora)	J. K. Tyl	Wang Jinling	Russian	Drama	China Theater
33.	1959	Selected Short Stories of Jaroslav Hašek	J. Hašek	Shui Ningni	Russian	Short story	People's Literature
34.	1960	<i>Rozbřesk</i> (Dawn)	A. Zápotocký	Yang Leyun, Kong Rou	Czech	Novel	People's Literature
35.	1960	Husitská trilogie	A. Jirásek	Su Jie	Czech	Drama	China Theater
36.	1960	<i>Písně otroka</i> (Songs of a Slave)	S. Čech	Lao Rong	Czech +Esperanto +Russian	Poetry	Shanghai Literature & Art

37.	1960	<i>Máj</i> (May)	K. H. Mácha	Yang Xiling	English	Poetry	People's Literature
38.	1961	<i>Nástup</i> (Onset)	V. Řezáč	Weng Wenda		Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art
39.	1961	<i>Nikola Šuhaj loupežník</i> (Nikolai Schuhaj, Highwayman)	I. Olbracht	Foreign language school, Fudan University	English	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art
40.	1961	Selected Novellas and Short Stories of Ivan Olbracht	I. Olbracht	Yu Sheng, et al.	Russian	Short story	Shanghai Literature & Art
41.	1961	<i>Kus cukru</i> (A Piece of Sugar)	P. Jilemnický	Liao Shangguo	German	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art
42.	1962	<i>Občan Brych</i> (Citizen Brych)	J. Otčenášek	Rong Rude	Russian	Novel	Shanghai Literature & Art
43.	1962	<i>Život proti smrti</i> (Life Against Death)	M. Pujmanová	Gong Liang	Russian	Novel	People's Literature
44.	1962	Josef Kajetán Tyl: Collected Plays	J. K. Tyl	Yang Chengfu, et al.	Russian	Drama	People's Literature

Appendix 3: Main translated works of Czech literature in 1978-2020 mainland China

No.	Year	Work	Writer	Translator	ML	Genre	Publisher
1.	1979	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Jiang Chengjun	Czech	Memoir	People's Literature
2.	1980	<i>Romeo, Julie a tma</i> (Romeo, Juliet and Darkness)	J. Otčenášek	Wong Muzhe	Russian	Novel	Tianjin People
3.	1981	<i>Filosofská historie</i>	A. Jirásek	Zhuang Jiyu	Czech	Novel	Foreign Language Teaching and Research
4.	1981	<i>Válka s mloky</i> (War with the Newts)	K. Čapek	Bei Jing	English	Novel	People's Literature
5.	1981	<i>Mnichov</i>	F. Kubka	Xu Zhe	Czech	Novel	Foreign Language Teaching and Research
6.	1982	Collected Plays of Karel Čapek. 5 plays	K. Čapek	Wu Qi, Yang Leyun, Jiang Chengjun	Czech	Drama	People's Literature
7.	1983	<i>Slezské písně</i> (Silesian Songs)	P. Bezruč	Lao Rong	Es+Cz+Ru	Poetry	Foreign Literature
8.	1983	<i>Jánošík a jeho horní chlapci</i>	M. Malý	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Novel	Guangxi People

9.	1983	Collected Short Stories of Božena Němcová	B. Němcová	Wu Qi, Yang Leyun	Czech	Short stories	People's Literature
10.	1983	Collected Works of Karel Čapek	K. Čapek	Chen Yunning, Yang Xuexin, Wan Shirong, et al.	Cz,Ru,En	Short stories	People's Literature
11.	1983	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Novel	People's Literature
12.	1984	<i>Co Hedvika neřekla</i> (What Hedvika did not tell)	Jaromíra Kolářová	Li Chenmin, Yuan Zhenwu	Russian	Novel	China Federation of Literary and Art Circles
13.	1984	Collected Short Stories and Essays of Jaroslav Hašek	J. Hašek	Shui Ningni	English	Short stories, Essays	Foreign Literature
14.	1985	<i>Staré pověsti české</i> (Old Czech Legends)	A. Jirásek	Wan Shirong	Czech	Legends	People's Literature
15.	1986	Ziluolan.	J. Seifert	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Poetry	Lijang
16.	1986	<i>Kytice z pověstí národních</i> (A	K. J. Erben	Lao Rong	Es+Cz+R	Poetry	Foreign Literature

		Bouquet of Folk Legends)			u		
17.	1987	<i>Smrt v pokutovém území</i>	V. Folprecht	Zhang Yahe	Russian	Novel	Huanghe Literature & Art
18.	1987	<i>Valčík na rozloučenou</i> (The Farewell Waltz)	M. Kundera	Jing Kaixuan, Xu Naijian	English	Novel	The Writers
19.	1987	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (The Unbearable Lightness of Being)	M. Kundera	Han Shaogong, Han Gang	English	Novel	The Writers
20.	1989	<i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves)	M. Kundera	Cao Youpeng, Xia Youliang	Unknown	Short stories	Hunan Literature & Art
21.	1990	<i>Požáry a spáleniště</i>	J. Švejda	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Novel	Chongqing
22.	1990	<i>Povídky malostránské</i> (Tales of Little Quarter)	J. Neruda	Yang Leyun, Jiang Chengjun	Czech	Short stories	Chongqing
23.	1991	14 stories from <i>Povídky z jedné a z druhé kapsy</i> (Stories from a Pocket and Stories from Another Pocket)	K. Čapek	Chen Yunning, Yang Xuexin	Czech	Short stories	People's Literature
24.	1991	<i>Život je jinde</i> (Life Is Elsewhere)	M. Kundera	Jing Kaixuan, Jing Liming	English	Novel	The Writers
25.	1991	<i>Žert</i> (The Joke)	M. Kundera	Jing Kaixuan	English	Novel	The Writers
26.	1991	<i>Nesmrtelnost</i> (Immortality)	M. Kundera	Ning Min	English	Novel	The Writers

27.	1992	<i>Kniha smíchu a zapomnění</i> (The Book of Laughter and Forgetting)	M. Kundera	Mo Yaping	English	Novel	China Social Sciences
28.	1995	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Xu Yaozong, Bai Lishu	Czech	Memoir	China Youth
29.	1995	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Liu Jiesheng	Unknown	Memoir	Shanxi Universities Association
30.	1996	<i>Máj</i> (May)	K. H. Mácha	Jiang Chengjun	Czech	Poetry	Social Sciences Academic
31.	1996	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Lan Zheng	Unknown	Novel	PLA Literature & Art
32.	1998	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Han Yang	Russian	Memoir	Huashan Literature & Art
33.	1999	<i>Má veselá jitra</i> (My Merry Mornings: Stories from Prague)	I. Klíma	Jing Kaixuan, Jing Liming	English	Short stories	Yilin
34.	1999	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Yang Shi	Unknown	Memoir	New Century
35.	1999	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Jin Hua	Unknown	Novel	Ha'erbin

36.	2000	8 stories from <i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves)	M. Kundera		French	Short stories	Dunhuang Literature & Art
37.	2000	<i>Žert</i> (The Joke)	M. Kundera	Qu Bing	Unknown	Novel	Jiuzhou
38.	2000	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Jian Yanli	Unknown	Memoir	Yanbian People
39.	2000	essays from Čapek's four travel books: <i>Italské listy</i> , <i>Anglické listy</i> , <i>Výlet do Španěl</i> and <i>Obrázky z Holandska</i>	K. Čapek	Wan Shirong, Xu Hao	Czech	Travelogue	Shanghai Culture
40.	2001	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (The Unbearable Lightness of Being)	M. Kundera	Zhou Jieping	Unknown	Novel	Jiuzhou
41.	2001	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Guo Chen	Unknown	Novel	Yanbian People
42.	2001	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Qin Yajun	Unknown	Novel	Inner Mongolia People
43.	2002	<i>Pritelkyne z Domu Smutku</i>	E. Kantůrková	Chen Pingling	Czech	Novel	World Knowledge
44.	2002	<i>Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále</i> [I Served the King of England]	B. Hrabal	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Novel	China Youth

45.	2002	<i>Příliš hlučná samota</i> (Too Loud a Solitude), <i>Perlička na dne</i> (Pearls of the Deep)	B. Hrabal	Yang Leyun, Wan Shirong	Czech	Novel	China Youth
46.	2002	<i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves); <i>Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi</i> (Jacques and his Master)	M. Kundera	Gao Xing, Liu Ke	English	Short stories, Drama	Shuhai
47.	2002	<i>Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi</i> (Jacques and his Master)	M. Kundera	Guo Hongan	French	Drama	Shanghai Translation
48.	2002	<i>Nesmrtelnost</i> (Immortality)	M. Kundera	Wang Zhensun, Zheng Kelu	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
49.	2002	<i>Života Sladké Hořkosti</i>	Lída Baarová	Du Xinhua	German	Memoir	Central Compilation & Translation
50.	2003	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Zhu Baochen	Russian	Memoir	Beijig Yanshan
51.	2003	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Chao Fei, Chen Qiufan	English	Essay	Democracy & Construction
52.	2003	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Liu Wei	Unknown	Essay	Nanghai

53.	2003	<i>Žert</i> (The Joke)	M. Kundera	Cai Ruoming	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
54.	2003	<i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves)	M. Kundera	Yu Zhongxian, Guo Changjing	French	Short stories	Shanghai Translation
55.	2003	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (The Unbearable Lightness of Being)	M. Kundera	Xu Jun	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
56.	2003	<i>Kniha smíchu a zapomnění</i> (The Book of Laughter and Forgetting)	M. Kundera	Wang Dongliang	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
57.	2004	<i>Valčík na rozloučenou</i> (The Farewell Waltz)	M. Kundera	Yu Zhongxian	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
58.	2004	<i>Život je jinde</i> (Life is Elsewhere)	M. Kundera	Yuan Xiaoyi	French	Novel	Shanghai Translation
59.	2004	<i>Svatby v domě</i> (In-House Weddings)	B. Hrabal	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Novel	China Youth
60.	2004	<i>Vita nuova</i>	B. Hrabal	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Novel	China Youth
61.	2004	<i>Proluky</i> (Vacant Lot/Gaps)	B. Hrabal	Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai	Czech	Novel	China Youth
62.	2004	<i>Pábitelé</i>	B. Hrabal	Yang Leyun, Wan Shirong	Czech	Short stories	China Youth
63.	2004	<i>Klíčky na kapesníku – Kdo jsem</i>	B. Hrabal	Liu Xingchan,	Czech	Interviews	China Youth

		[Knots on a Handkerchief – Who I Am: Interviews]		Lao Bai			
64.	2004	<i>Milostné léto</i> (A Summer Affair)	I. Klíma	Wan Shirong	Czech	Novel	China Friendship
65.	2004	<i>Láska a smetí</i> (Love and Garbage)	I. Klíma	Wan Shirong	Czech	Novel	China Friendship
66.	2004	<i>Moje první lásky</i> (My First Loves)	I. Klíma	Gao Xing	English	Short stories	China Friendship
67.	2004	<i>Milostné rozhovory</i> (Love Talks)	I. Klíma	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Short stories	China Friendship
68.	2004	<i>Soudce z milosti</i> (Judge on Trial)	I. Klíma	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Novel	China Friendship
69.	2005	<i>Román pro ženy</i> (A Woman's Novel)	M. Viewegh	Lin Shihui	Czech	Novel	Hunan Literature & Art
70.	2005	Dache youxi. : 3 short stories from the collections <i>Směšné lásky</i> (Laughable Loves)	M. Kundera	Gao Xing	English	Short stories	China Peace
71.	2005	<i>Všecky krásy světa</i> (All the Beauties of the World)(excerpted)	J. Seifert	Yang Leyun, Chen Yunning, Yang Xuexin	Czech	Memoir	China Youth
72.	2005	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Geng Yiwei	Czech	Essay	China Pictorial

73.	2005	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Essay	China Pictorial
74.	2005	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Memoir	Zhejiang Literature & Art
75.	2005	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Sun Fali	English	Novel	Yilin
76.	2006	<i>Prima sezóna</i> (The Swell Season)	J. Škvorecký	Shi Xirong	English	Novel	Chongqing
77.	2006	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Song Ruifen	Unknown	Novel	China Theater
78.	2006	<i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí</i> (The Unbearable Lightness of Being)	M. Kundera	Song Ruifen	Unknown	Novel	China Theater
79.	2006	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Chen Yan, Li Yun	Unknown	Novel	Hubei People
80.	2007	Hepan xiaocheng: <i>Postřižiny</i> (Cutting It Short); <i>Krasosmutnění</i> (Joyful Blues/Beautiful Sadness); <i>Harlekýnovy milióny</i> (Harlequin's	B. Hrabal	Wan Shirong, Liu Xingchan, Lao Bai, Yang Leyun	Czech	Novel	China Youth

		Millions)					
81.	2007	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Jiang Chengjun, Xu Yaozong	Czech	Novel	Beijig Yanshan
82.	2008	<i>Po potopě</i>	E. Kantůrková	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Novel	People's Literature
83.	2008	Collected Letters and Travel Essays of Jan Neruda	J. Neruda	Wan Shirong	Czech	Letter, Travelogue	East China Normal University
84.	2008	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Chen Feifei	Unknown	Essay	Tianjing Education
85.	2008	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Wu Yifan	Unknown	Essay	People's Literature
86.	2008	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Xie Lei	Unknown	Memoir	Guangzhou
87.	2009	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Zhang Songtao	Unknown	Novel	Inner Mongolia People
88.	2009	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Xie Shan	Unknown	Novel	Jilin University

89.	2009	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Chang Qing	Unknown	Novel	Beifang Women and Children
90.	2009	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Zhang Houguo	Unknown	Novel	Jilin
91.	2010	<i>Bílé břízy</i>	A. Lustig	Du Changjing	Czech	Novel	China Youth
92.	2010	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Ye Qing	Unknown	Essay	Nanjing University
93.	2010	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Zheng Xian	Unknown	Memoir	Jincheng
94.	2010	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Shi Mo	Unknown	Novel	Inner Mongolia People
95.	2010	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Ma Xiaohui	Unknown	Novel	Ha'erbin
96.	2010	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Li Yi	Unknown	Novel	Shanxi Normal University

97.	2012	<i>Obyčejné životy</i> (Ordinary Lives)	J. Škvorecký	Du Changjing	Czech	Novel	Xinxing
98.	2012	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Jia Yuting	English	Essay	New World
99.	2012	<i>Reportáž psaná na oprátce</i> (Notes from the Gallows)	J. Fučík	Yao Nengxin	Unknown	Memoir	Anhui Normal University
100.	2012	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Zhang Yanjie	Unknown	Novel	Beifang Literature & Art
101.	2012	<i>Paměti a úvahy</i>	Lubomír Štrougal	Li Ming	Czech	Memoir	Central Compilation & Translation
102.	2013	<i>Byla jsem na světě</i>	O. Scheinpflugová	Cong Lin, Jiang Chengjun	Czech	Memoir	International Culture
103.	2013	<i>Městečko, kde se zastavil čas</i> (The Little Town Where Time Stood Still)	B. Hrabal	Yang Leyun	Czech	Novel	Beijing October Arts & Literature
104.	2013	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Yao Nengxin	Unknown	Novel	Anhui Normal University
105.	2014	<i>Moje šílené století</i> (My Mad Century)	I. Klíma	Liu Hong	Czech	Memoir	Huacheng

106	2014	<i>Ani svatí, ani andělé</i> (No Saints or Angels)	I. Klíma	Zhu Li'an	English	Novel	Huacheng
107	2014	<i>Čekání na tmu, čekání na světlo</i> (Waiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light)	I. Klíma	Du Changjing	Czech	Novel	Huacheng
108	2014	<i>Yiri qingren: Moje první lásky</i> (My First Loves); <i>Milenci na jeden den</i> (Lovers for One Day); <i>Milenci na jednu noc</i> (Lovers for One Night)	I. Klíma	Gao Xing, Du Changjing	En+Cz	Short stories	Huacheng
109	2014	<i>Poslední stupeň důvěrnosti</i> (The Ultimate Intimacy)	I. Klíma	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Novel	Huacheng
110	2014	<i>Moje zlatá řemesla</i> (My Golden Trades)	I. Klíma	Liu Xingchan	Czech	Short stories	Huacheng
111.	2014	<i>Jakub a jeho pán: Pocta Denisu Diderotovi</i> (Jacques and his Master)	M. Kundera	Yuchi Xiu	French	Drama	Shanghai Translation
112	2015	<i>The Spirit of Prague and Other Essays</i>	I. Klíma	Cui Weiping	English	Essay	Guangxi Normal University
113	2015	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Geng Yiwei	Czech	Essay	Baihua Literature & Art

114	2015	<i>Rozmarné léto</i> (Summer of Caprice)	V. Vančura	Zhang Zhi	English	Novel	Huacheng
115	2015	<i>Helga's Diary: A Young Girl's Account of Life in a Concentration Camp</i>	H. Weiss	Chen Wenjuan	English	Diary	Baihuazhou Literature & Art
116	2015	The Noetic Trilogy	K. Čapek	Xia Fangyun	English	Novel	Xinhua
117	2015	<i>Povídky z jedné a z druhé kapsy</i> (Stories from a Pocket and Stories from Another Pocket)	K. Čapek	Hu Jing	English	Short stories	Xinhua
118	2016	<i>Moje šílené století II</i> (My Mad Century II)	I. Klíma	Yuan Guan	Czech	Memoir	Huacheng
119	2016	The Noetic Trilogy	K. Čapek	Shu Sunle, Jiang Wenhui, Cheng Shujuan	English	Novel	Huacheng
120	2016	<i>Dášeňka čili Život štěněte</i> (Dashenka, or the Life of a Puppy)	K. Čapek	Su Di	Unknown	Essay	People's Literature
121	2016	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Xu Fei	Unknown	Novel	Beijing Arts and Crafts

122	2016	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Cui Shuping	Unknown	Novel	Coal Industry
123	2016	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Wu Junmin	Unknown	Novel	Qunyan
124	2017	<i>Něžný barbar</i> (The Gentle Barbarian)	B. Hrabal	Peng Xiaohang	Czech	Novel	Huacheng
125	2017	<i>Totální strachy</i> (Total Fears: Selected Letters to Dubenka)	B. Hrabal	Li Hui	English	Letters	Huacheng
126	2017	<i>Ostře sledované vlaky</i> (Closely Observed Trains)	B. Hrabal	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Novel	Huacheng
127	2017	<i>Slavnosti sněženek</i> (Snowdrop Festival)	B. Hrabal	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Short stories	Huacheng
128	2017	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Chen Wei, Yang Rui	Czech	Essay	Beijing Science & Technology
129	2017	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Jin Chen	Unknown	Essay	Sichuan Literature & Art
130	2017	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Han Tingyi, Liu Yang	Unknown	Novel	Guangxi Normal University

		Švejk)					
131	2017	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Hu Yanchao	Unknown	Novel	Wanjuan
132	2018	<i>Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války</i> (The Good Soldier Švejk)	J. Hašek	Zhao Xiaodong	Unknown	Novel	Chinese Overseas
133	2019	The Collected Poetry of Jaroslav Seifert	J. Seifert	Chen Li, Zhang Fenling	English	Poetry	Changjiang Literature & Art
134	2019	<i>Peníze od Hitlera</i> (Money from Hitler)	R. Denemarková	Jiang Weiqian	Czech	Novel	Huacheng
135	2019	<i>Chladnou zemí</i> (The Devil's Workshop)	J. Topol	Li Hui	English	Novel	Huacheng
136	2019	<i>Obecná škola. Po strništi bos.</i> 2 novellas.	Z. Svěrák	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Short stories	Zhejiang Literature & Art
137	2019	<i>Vratné lahve. Kolja.</i> 2 novellas.	Z. Svěrák	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Short stories	Zhejiang Literature & Art
138	2019	<i>Nové povídky.</i> 9 short stories	Z. Svěrák	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Short stories	Zhejiang Literature & Art

139	2019	<i>Povídky</i> . 10 short stories	Z. Svěrák	Xu Weizhu	Czech	Short stories	Zhejiang Literature & Art
140	2019	<i>Franz Kafka - Člověk své i naší doby</i>	Radek Malý	Lu Yingjiang	Czech	Biography	Zhongxin
141	2020	<i>Zahradníkův rok</i> (The Gardener's Year)	K. Čapek	Chao Wei, Ondřej Fischer	Czech	Essay	Chongqing University
142	2020	<i>Perlička na dně</i> (Pearls of the Deep)	B. Hrabal	Xia Jingyu	English	Short stories	Changjiang Literature & Art

Bibliography

- Adamková, Petra. 2017. *Explaining the Czech Foreign Policy Towards China (1992-2017)*. Master's thesis. Prague University of Economics and Business.
- Adeyanju, Dele. 2008. "Attitudes to taboo phenomenon among Yoruba-English bilinguals." *Babel* 54(2): 159-170.
- Aixelá, Javier F. 1996. "Culture-specific items in translation." In *Translation, power, subversion*, ed. by Román Álvarez, and M. Carmen-África Vidal, 52-78. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Albachten, Özlem Berk, and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, ed. 2019. *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Paratexts, Methods*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Albachten, Özlem Berk, and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar. 2019. "Introduction." In *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Paratexts, Methods*, ed. by Özlem Berk Albachten, and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, 1-7. London and New York: Routledge.
- Albin, Veronica. 2005. "On censorship: A conversation with Ilan Stavans." *Translation Journal* 9(3).
- URL: <http://accurapid.com/journal/33censorship1.htm> [retrieved on 2010-08-21]
- Allan, Keith, and Kate Burridge. 2006. *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*. New York: Cambridge University Press,
- Allan, Keith. 2001. *Natural Language Semantics*. Malden (MA):Wiley-Blackwell.
- Alston, Ann. 2008. *The Family in English Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.
- Alvstad, Cecilia, and Alexandra Assis Rosa. 2015. "Voice in retranslation: An overview and some trends." *Target* 27(1): 3-24.
- Alvstad, Cecilia. 2012. "The strategic moves of paratexts: World literature through Swedish eyes." *Translation Studies* 5(1): 78-94.
- Alvstad, Cecilia. 2017. "Arguing for indirect translations in twenty-first-century Scandinavia." *Translation Studies* 10(2): 150-165.
- Al-Yasin, Noor F., and Ghaleb A. Rabab'ah. 2019. "Arabic audiovisual translation of taboo words in American hip hop movies: A contrastive study." *Babel* 65 (2): 222-248.
- Andersson, Lars-Gunnar, and Peter Trudgill. 1990. *Bad Language*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Assis Rosa, Alexandra. 2013. "The Short Story in English Meets the Portuguese Reader: On the 'External History' of Portuguese Anthologies of Short Stories Translated from English." In *Translation in Anthologies and Collections (19th and 20th Centuries)*, ed. by Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa,

- and Maria Lin Moniz, 35–56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ávila-Cabrera, José Javier. 2016. “The subtitling of offensive and taboo language into Spanish of Inglourious Basterds: A case study.” *Babel* 62(2): 211-232.
- Baer, Brian J., Beate Müller, Paul St-Pierre, and Cormac Ó Cuilleain. 2012. “Translation Studies Forum: Translation and censorship.” *Translation Studies* 5(1): 95-110.
- Baer, Brian James. 2011. “Translating queer texts in Soviet Russia.” *Translation Studies* 4(1): 21-40.
- Baker, Mona. 1992. *In Other Words*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, Mona. 2006. *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. London: Routledge.
- Baranczak, Stanislaw, and Clare Cavanagh. 1991. *Polish poetry of the last two decades of communist rule. Spoiling cannibals' fun*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Barrale, Natascia. 2018. “Foreign literature as poison: (self-)censorship in the translation of German popular fiction in Italy during the 1930s.” *Perspectives* 26(6): 852-867.
- Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere. 1990. “Introduction: Proust’s Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The ‘Cultural Turn’ in Translation Studies.” In *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett, and André Lefevere, 79-86. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Bassnett, Susan. 2010. *Translation Studies* (third edition). Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Batchelor, Kathryn. 2018. *Translation and Paratexts*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bauer, Wolfgang. 1999. “The Role of Intermediate Languages in Translations from Chinese into German.” In *De l’un au multiple. Traductions du chinois vers les langues européennes. Translations from Chinese to European Languages*, ed. by Viviane Alleton, and Michael Lackner, 19–32. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme.
- Beaton, Morven. 2007. “Interpreted Ideologies in Institutional Discourse.” *The Translator* 13(2): 271-296.
- Beller, Manfred, and Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, ed. 2007. *Imagology: the cultural construction and literary representation of national characters: a critical survey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Beller, Manfred. 2007. “Perception, Image, Imagology.” In *Imagology: the cultural construction and literary representation of national characters: a critical survey*,

- ed. by Manfred Beller, and Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, 3–16. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Ben-Ari, Nitsa. 2010. “When Literary censorship is not strictly enforced, self-censorship rushes in.” *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 23(2): 133-166.
- Berman, Antoine. 1990. “La retraduction comme espace de la traduction.” *Palimpsestes* 4: 1–7.
- Bianchi, Diana, and Federico Zanettin. 2018. “‘Under surveillance’. An introduction to popular fiction in translation.” *Perspectives* 26(6): 793-808.
- Billiani, Francesca. 2007. “Assessing boundaries --Censorship and translation. An introduction.” In *Modes of censorship and translation. National contexts and diverse media*, ed. by Francesca Billiani, 1-25. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Billiani, Francesca. 2009. “Censorship.” In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd. edition), ed. by Mona Baker, and Gabriela Saldanha, 28-31. London and New York: Routledge.
- Boulogne, Pieter. 2007. “The Early Dutch Construction of F.M. Dostoevskij: From Translational Data to Polysystemic Working Hypotheses.” In *Translation and its Others. Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2007*, ed. by Pieter Boulogne, 1-36.
- URL: <http://www.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/papers.html> [retrieved on 2019-07-05]
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brodie, Geraldine. 2018. “Indirect translation on the London stage: Terminology and (in)visibility.” *Translation Studies* 11(3): 333-348.
- Brokaw, Cynthia J., and Kai-wing Chow, ed. 2005. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.
- Brownlie, Siobhan. 2006. “Narrative theory and retranslation theory.” *Across languages and cultures* 7(2): 145-170.
- Buzelin, Hélène. 2010. “Agents of translation.” In *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Vol 2, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 294–298. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cadera, Susanne Margret, and Andrew Samuel Walsh, ed. 2017. *Literary Retranslation in Context*. Oxford, New York: Peter Lang.
- Cadera, Susanne Margret, and Andrew Samuel Walsh. 2017. “Introduction.” In *Literary Retranslation in Context*, ed. by Susanne Margret Cadera, and Andrew Samuel Walsh, 1-3. Oxford, New York: Peter Lang.

- Calzada-Pérez, María, ed. 2014. *Apropos of ideology: translation studies on ideology-ideologies in translation studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Calzada-Pérez, María. 2014. "Introduction". In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez, 1-22. New York: Routledge.
- Cardozo, Mauricio Mendonça. 2011. "Mãos de segunda mão? Tradução (in)direta e a relação em questão" [Second-hand hands? (In)direct translation and the matter of relation]. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada* 50 (2): 429–441.
- Catford, John Cunnison. 1965. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. An Essay in Applied Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chan, Andy Lung Jan. 2018. "Chinese translation market." In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei and Zhao- Ming Gao, 257-272. London and New York: Routledge.
- Chan, Leo Tak-hung, ed. 2004. *Twentieth-Century Chinese Translation Theory: Modes, Issues and Debates*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Chan, Leo Tak-hung. 2001. "Cultural hybridity and the translated text: Re-reading DH Lawrence in Chinese." *Across Languages and Cultures* 2(1): 73-85.
- Chan, Red. 2007. "One nation, two translations: China's censorship of Hillary Clinton's memoir." In *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*, ed. by Myriam Salama-Carr, 119–131. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Chan, Sin-wai. 2004. *A Dictionary of Translation Technology*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Chen, Jianhua. 2002. *Ershishiji zhong wenxue guanxi* [Comparison between Chinese Literature and Russian Literature of 20th Century]. Beijing: Higher Education Press.
- Chen, Yi. 1992. "Publishing in China in the Post-Mao Era: The Case of Lady Chatterley's Lover." *Asian Survey* 32(6): 568-582.
- Chen, Yugang. 1989. *Zhongguo fanyiwenxue shigao* [History of Chinese translated literature]. Beijing: China Translation and Publishing Corporation.
- Chesterman, Andrew. 2000. "A Causal Model for Translation Studies". In *Intercultural Faultlines*, ed. by Maeve Olohan, 15-27. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- URL:
<https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/librariesprovider20/linguistics-and-language-practice-documents/all-documents/a-causal-model-for-translation-studies---chesterman-928-eng.pdf?Status=Master&sfvrsn=0> [retrieved on 2019-07-31].
- Cioffi, Kathleen. 1996. *Alternative theatre in Poland 1954-1989*. Amsterdam:

Harwood Academic Press.

Classe, Olive, ed. 2000. *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn.

Cui, Weiping. 2016. "Yige ren ruhe zhanwen ziji de jiaogen: ji *Bulage jingshen zaiban* [How to stand firm: the republication of *The Spirit of Prague: And Other Essays*]." URL: <https://book.douban.com/review/8074834/> [retrieved on 2020-02-08]

D'hulst, Lieven. 2010. "Translation history." In *Handbook of Translation Studies. Vol 1*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 397-405. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Daghoughi, Shekoufeh, and Mahmood Hashemian. 2016. "Analysis of Culture-Specific Items and Translation Strategies Applied in Translating Jalal Al-Ahmad's *By the Pen*." *English language teaching* 9 (4): 171-185.

Daneš, František. 1993. "The Language and Style of Hašek's Novel "The Good Soldier Švejk" from the Viewpoint of Translation." In *Studies in Functional Stylistics*, ed. by Jan Chloupek, and Jiří Nekvapil, 223-247. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Davies, Christie. 2000. "The Savage Style of Jaroslav Hasek. The Good Soldier Svejk as a Politically Incorrect Comic Masterpiece." *Stylistyka* 9: 301-313.

Davies, Eirlys E. 2003. "A goblin or a dirty nose? The treatment of culture-specific references in translations of the Harry Potter books." *The Translator* 9 (1): 65-100.

Deng, Jitian. 2009. *Zhongguoxiandaiwenxue de chuban pingtai: 1902-1949* [The Publishing Platforms of Chinese Modern Literature: 1902-1949]. PhD Thesis. Shanghai: East China Normal University.

Denton, Kirk A. 2016. "Historical Overview." In *The Columbia Companion to Modern Chinese Literature*, ed. by Kirk A. Denton, 3-26. New York: Columbia University Press.

Denton, Kirk A., ed. 2016. *The Columbia Companion to Modern Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Dollerup, Cay. 2000. "Relay and Support Translations." In *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress*, ed. by Andrew Chester-man, Natividad Gallardo, and Yves Gambier, 17-26. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

URL:

https://cms13659.hstatic.dk/upload_dir/docs/Publications/174-Relay-and-support--translations-2000--Granada.pdf [retrieved on 2019-07-19]

- Dollerup, Cay. 2014. "Relay in translation." In *Cross-linguistic Interaction: Translation, Contrastive and cognitive Studies*, ed. by Diana Yankova, 21-32. Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press.
- Driver, Nicholas. 2001. "Publishing." In *Doing Business in China*, ed. by Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer. New York: Juris Publishing.
- Du-Nour, Miryam. 1995. "Retranslation of children's books as evidence of changes of norms." *Target* 7(2): 327-346.
- Edgerton, William Benbow. 1963. "The Penetration of Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature into the other Slavic Countries." In *American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists. Sofia, September 1963. Volume II: Literary Contributions*, 41-78. The Hague: Mouton.
- Edström, Bert. 1991. "The Transmitter Language Problem in Translations from Japanese into Swedish." *Babel* 37 (1): 1–13.
- Elber, Irene. 1985. "Images of Oppressed Peoples and Modern Chinese Literature." In *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*, ed. by Merle Goldman, 123-142. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Emerson, Caryl. 2008. *The Cambridge Introduction to Russian Literature*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Er, Dong. 2003. "Zhongguo shouchi huode milan kundela shouquan shisan bu zuopin zhongyiben luxu wenshi [The authorized publication of Chinese translations of Milan Kundera's 13 works in China]." *Shengzhen Shangbao* [Shenzhen Economic Daily] Mar. 15.
- URL: <https://wenku.baidu.com/view/bb6783283169a4517723a339.html> [retrieved on 2020-02-05]
- Even-Zohar, Itamar 1990. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." In *Polysystem Studies* [=Poetics Today 11(1)]: 45-51.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1990. "Polysystem Studies". *Poetics Today* 11(1). Durham: Duke University Press.
- URL:
https://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/Even-Zohar_1990--Polysystem%20studies.pdf [retrieved on 2017-08-21].
- Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1990. "Polysystem Studies". *Poetics Today* 11(1): 1-268.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.
- Fang, Huawen. 2005. *Ershishiji zhongguo fanyishi* [Translation history in 20th century China]. Xi'an: Northwestern University Press.
- Fernández Dobao, Ana María. 2006. "Linguistic and cultural aspects of the translation of swearing: The Spanish version of Pulp Fiction." *Babel* 52(3): 222-242.

- Florin, Sider. 1993. "Realia in Translation." In *Translation as Social Action. Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*, ed. by Palma Zlateva, 122-128. London and New York: Routledge.
- Freeden, Michael. 2003. *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fürst, Rudolf, and Gabriela Pleschová. 2010. "Czech and Slovak relations with China: Contenders for China's favour." *Europe-Asia Studies* 62(8): 1363-1381.
- Fürst, Rudolf. 2010. "Podpora Tibetu, Tchaj-wanu a lidských práv v Číně: Evropská avantgarda nebo český kýč?" In *Hledání českých zájmů: Obchod, lidská práva a mezinárodní rozvoj*, ed. by Petr Drulák, and Ondřej Horký. Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů.
- Gambier, Yves, and Luc van Doorslaer, ed. 2010. *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gambier, Yves. 1994. "La retraduction, retour et détour." *Meta* 39 (3): 413-417.
- Gambier, Yves. 2003. "Working with relay: An old story and a new challenge." In *Speaking in Tongues: Language across Contexts and Users*, ed. by Luis Pérez González, 47-66. Valencia: University of Valencia Press.
- Gao, Xing. 2014. "Dongouwenxue buzhi you milan kundela [Eastern European literature has much more than Milan Kundera]." *Beijing qingnian bao* [Beijing Youth Daily] Jul. 22.
- URL: <http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/wxpl/2014/2014-07-22/212136.html> [retrieved on 2020-02-06]
- Garver, John W. 2016. *China's Quest: The history of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Genette, Gérard. 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gentzler, Edwin, and Maria Tymoczko. 2002. "Introduction." In *Translation and Power*, ed. by Maria Tymoczko, and Edwin Gentzler, xi-xxviii. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gentzler, Edwin. 2001. "Foreword." In *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett, and André Lefevere, ix-xxii. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Gerber, Leah. 2012. "Marking the text: paratextual features in German translations of Australian children's fiction." In *Translation Peripheries: Paratextual Elements in Translation*, ed. by Anna Gil-Bardaji, Pilar Orero, and Sara Rovira-Esteva, 43-61. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Gomez, Naroa Zubillaga. 2016. "(In)direct offense. A comparison of direct and

- indirect translations of German offensive language into Basque.” *Perspectives* 24(3): 486-497.
- Guo, Yanli. 1998. *Zhongguo jindai fanyiwenxue gailun* [Translated Literature in Modern China: An Introduction]. Wuhan: Hubei Education Press.
- Guo, Yanli. 1998. *Zhongguo jindai fanyiwenxue gailun* [Translated literature in modern China: an introduction]. Wuhan: Hubei Education Press.
- Hadley, James. 2017. “Indirect Translation and Discursive Identity: Proposing the Concatenation Effect Hypothesis.” *Translation Studies* 10 (2): 183–197.
- Hanna, Sameh Fekry. 2006. *Towards a Sociology of Drama Translation: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Translations of Shakespeare’s Great Tragedies in Egypt*. PhD thesis. The University of Manchester.
- Hašek, Jaroslav. 1973. *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War*. Trans. by Cecil Parrott. William Heinemann in association with Penguin.
- Hašek, Jaroslav. 2001. *Haobing shuaike* [The Good Soldier Švejk]. Trans. by Xiao Qian. Nanjing: Yilin Publishing House.
- Hatim, Basil, and Ian Mason. 2005. *The Translator as Communicator*. New York: Routledge.
- He, Chengzhou. 2001. “Chinese translations of Henrik Ibsen.” *Perspectives* 9 (3): 197-214.
- He, Yingyu. 2008. “Tongsu duwu daxingqidao [The prevalence of popular books].” *Xinmin zhoukan* [Xinmin Weekly] Jun. 11.
- URL: <http://sh.eastday.com/qtmt/20080611/u1a437692.html> [retrieved on 2020-02-06]
- Heijns, Audrey. 2003. “Chinese literature in Dutch translation.” *Perspectives* 11(4): 247-253.
- Heilbron, Johan. 1999. “Towards a Sociology of Translation -- Book Translations as a Cultural World-System.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (4): 429-444.
- Heilbron, Johan. 2010. “Structure and Dynamics of the World System of Translation.” In International Symposium “Translation and Cultural Mediation”, 1-7. UNESCO.
- URL: https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/1611/1611_a2015n9/1611_a2015n9a4/Heilbron.pdf [retrieved on 2019-07-05]
- Hekkanen, Raila. 2014. “Direct Translation: Is It the Only Option? Indirect Translation of Finnish Prose Literature Into English.” In *True North: Literary Translation in the Nordic Countries*, ed. by Brett J. Epstein, 47–64. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Hermans, Theo. 1985. "Introduction: Translation studies and a new paradigm". In *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans, 7-15. London: Croom Helm.
- Hjort, Minna. 2015. "Vittu and Fuck – Tales from a Literary Coexistence." In *Miscommunication and verbal violence. Du malentendu à la violence verbale. Misskommunikation und verbale Gewalt*, ed. by Ulla Tuomarla, Juhani Härmä, Liisa Tiittula, Anni Sairio, Maria Paloheimo, and Johanna Isosävi, 319–330. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki XCIII. Helsinki: Société Néphilologique.
- Holman, Michael, and Jean Boase-Beier. 1999. "Introduction." In *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity*, ed. by Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman, 1-17. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.
- Holmes, James S. 1988. *Translated! Papers on literary translation and translation studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Hu, Daniel Tsung- Wen. 2018. "Revolutionary road: Ibsen, translation, modern Chinese history." In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei and Zhao- Ming Gao, 357-373. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hua, Lu. 1934. "Xian shijie de ruoxiaominzu jiqi gaikuang [An Overview of the Weaker and Smaller Peoples in Modern World]." *Wenxue* 2 (5): 789-792.
- Huang, Changzhu, et al, ed. 2005. *Ouzhou zhongguoxue: jieke pian* [Sinology in Europe: the Czech Lands]. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Hughes, Geoffrey. 2006. *An Encyclopedia of Swearing: The Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language and Ethnic Slurs in the English-speaking World*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Inggs, Judith A. 2011. "Censorship and translated children's literature in the Soviet Union -- The example of the Wizards Oz and Goodwin." *Target* 23(1): 77–91.
- Ivaska, Laura, and Outi Paloposki. 2018. "Attitudes towards indirect translation in Finland and translators' strategies: Compilative and collaborative translation." *Translation Studies* 11(1): 33-46.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1959. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In *On Translation*, ed. by Achilles Fang, and Reuben Arthur Brower, 232-239. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press. Reprinted in 2000, *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti, 113-118. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jansen, Hanne, and Anna Wegener. 2013. "Multiple Translatorship." In *Editorial Voices in Translation*, ed. by Hanne Jansen, and Anna Wegener, 1-42. Quebec: Editions québécoises de l'oeuvre.

URL:

<https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10315/26642/YS%20>

AEV1%20Jansen%20and%20Wegener.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [retrieved on 2019-07-04]

- Jay, Timothy. 1999. *Why We Curse: A Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory of Speech*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Jay, Timothy. 2005. "American Women: Their Cursing Habits and Religiosity." In *Gender and the Language of Religion*, ed. by Allyson Jule, 63-84. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jiang, Chenjun. 1987. "Jiekeshiluofake wenxue zai zhongguo [Czechoslovak literature in China]." *Guoji luntan* [International forum] 1: 37-39.
- Jiang, Qian. 2006. *Fantasy and Reality: A Cultural Study of Science-fiction Translation in Twentieth-century China*. PhD Thesis. Shanghai: Fudan University.
- Johnson, R. Burke, and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. 2004. "Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come." *Educational Researcher* 33(7): 14-26.
- Kirstina, Leena and Judit Lorincz. 1991. "Finns and Hungarians as Readers of Novels: A Study of the Reception of Meri and Balasz." In *Finns and Hungarians as Readers*, ed. by Yrjo Varpio, 23-35. Tampere: University of Tampere.
- Kittel, Harald, and Armin Paul Frank. 1991. "Introduction." In *Interculturality and the Historical Study of Literary Translations*, ed. by Harald Kittel, and Armin Paul Frank, 3-4. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Kittel, Harald, Armin Paul Frank, et al., ed. 2004, 2007, 2011. *Übersetzung, Translation, Traduction. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung / An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies / Encyclopédie internationale de la recherche sur la traduction*. Berlin, New York [2011: Boston]: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kittel, Harald. 1991. "Vicissitudes of Mediation: The Case of Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography." In *Interculturality and the Historical Study of Literary Translations*, ed. by Harald Kittel, and Armin Paul Frank, 25-38. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Klaus, Václav. 2004. "Před návštěvou Číny [Before the visit to China]", *Mladá fronta DNES*, 8 April.
- Knight, Sabina. 2016. "Scar Literature and the Memory of Trauma." In *The Columbia Companion to Modern Chinese Literature*, ed. by Kirk A. Denton, 293-298. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kong, Shuyu. 2005. *Consuming Literature: Best Sellers and the Commercialization of Literary Production in Contemporary China*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Koskinen, Kaisa and Outi Paloposki. 2010. "Retranslation." In *Handbook of*

- Translation Studies. Vol 1*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 294–298. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Koskinen, Kaisa, and Outi Paloposki. 2003. “Retranslations in the Age of Digital Reproduction.” *Cadernos de tradução* 1(11): 19-38.
- Kovala, Urpo. 1996. “Translations, paratextual mediation, and ideological closure.” *Target* 8(1): 119-147.
- Kroeber, Arthur R. 2016. *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kuai, Lehao. 2019. “Wenxue bushi tiantang de ruchangquan: duihua Han Shaogong [An interview with Han Shaogong].” *Nanfang renwu zhoukan* [Nanfang People] Nov. 14.
- URL: https://www.sohu.com/a/242270257_754344 [retrieved on 2020-02-06]
- Kuhiwczak, Piotr, Denise Merkle, and Ilan Stavans. 2011. “Translation Studies Forum: Translation and censorship.” *Translation Studies* 4(3): 358-373.
- Kujamäki, Pekka. 2001. “Finnish comet in German skies: Translation, retranslation and norms.” *Target* 13(1): 45-70.
- Kuznietsova, K. 2019. “Czech Republic foreign policy: conceptual frameworks.” *Actual Problems of International Relations* 139: 49-57.
- Lary, Diana. 2006. *China's Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. c2
- Lee, Tong King. 2018. “The identity and ideology of Chinese translators.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei and Zhao-Ming Gao, 244-256. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lee, Tong King. 2018. “The Identity and Ideology of Chinese Translators.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei, and Zhao-Ming Gao, 244-256. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lee, Zi-ying, and Min-Hsiu Liao. 2018. “The “Second” Bride: The retranslation of romance novels.” *Babel* 64(2): 186-204.
- Leerssen, Joep. 2007a. “Imagology: History and method.” In *Imagology: the cultural construction and literary representation of national characters: a critical survey*, ed. by Manfred Beller, and Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, 17-32. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Leerssen, Joep. 2007b. “Identity/Alterity/Hybridity. ” In *Imagology: the cultural construction and literary representation of national characters: a critical survey*, ed. by Manfred Beller, and Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, 335–342. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Leerssen, Joep. n.d. “A Summary of Imagological Theory. ”

- URL: <http://imagologica.eu/theoreticalsummary>. [retrieved on 2020-02-22]
- Lefevere, André. 1992a. "Preface." In *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere, xiii-xiv. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lefevere, André. 1992b. "Introduction." In *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere, 1-13. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lefevere, André. 2001. "Translation Practice(s) and the Circulation of Cultural Capital. Some Aeneids in English". In *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett, and André Lefevere, 41-56. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Lefevere, Andre. 2010. *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Lehtonen, Mikko. 2001. *Post scriptum. Kirja medioitumisen aikakaudesta*. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Leung, Matthew Wing-Kwong. 2006. "The ideological turn in Translation Studies." In *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines*, ed. by João Ferreira Duarte, Alexandra Assis Rosa, and Teresa Seruya, 129-144. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Levý, Jiří. 2011. *The Art of Translation*. Trans. Patrick Corness, ed. with a critical foreword by Zuzana Jettmarová. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Li, Oufan. 1985. "Shijie wenxue de liang ge jianzheng: nanmei he dongou wenxue dui zhongguoxiandaiwenxue de qifa [What Chinese modern literature can learn from South American and Eastern European literature]." *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* [Foreign Literature Studies] 4: 44-51.
- Li, Wenjie. 2017. "The Complexity of Indirect Translation: Reflections on the Chinese Translation and Reception of H. C. Andersen's Tales." *Orbis Litterarum* 72(3): 181-208.
- Liang, Shiqiu. 1929. "Lun Lu Xun xiansheng de 'yingyi' [On Lu Xun's "Hard Translation"]." *Xinyue* 2(6/7): 1-4.
- Lin, Kenan. 2002. "Translation as a catalyst for social change in China." In *Translation and Power*, ed. by Maria Tymoczko, and Edwin Gentzler, 160-183. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Linder, Daniel. 2014. "Reusing existing translations: mediated Chandler novels in French and Spanish." *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 22(2): 57-77.
- Lins, Ulrich. 2016. *Dangerous Language — Esperanto under Hitler and Stalin*. Trans. by Humphrey Tonkin. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Liu, Gao, and Feng Shi, ed. 1999. *Xinzhongguo chuban wushinian jishi* [Publication in the PRC: 1949-1999]. Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House.

- Liu, Youyang. 2010. “Kundela xinzuo xiangyu yinjin chuban yin reyi [Hot debates sparked by the publication of Kundera’s new work *Une rencontre*].” *Shengzhen Shangbao* [Shenzhen Economic Daily] Aug. 31.
- URL: <http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/news/2010/2010-08-31/89253.html> [retrieved on 2020-02-06]
- Lu Xun. 2005. “Nanqiangbeidiao ji·zhu zhong wenzi zhi jiao.” In *Lu Xun quanji* [The Complete Works of Lu Xun] (Vol. 4), by Lu Xun, 473-475. Beijing: People’s Literature Publishing House. (Original work published 1932)
- Lu, Xun. 1921. “Jindai jieke wenxue gaiguan: Yizhe fuji [Postscript to “An Overview of Modern Czech Literature].” *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 12 (10): 37.
- Lu, Xun. 1984. “Fei you fuyi buke [Multiple retranslations are necessary].” In *Fanyiyanjie lunwenji (1894–1948)* [A Collection of Articles on Translation Studies (1894–1948)], ed. by Fanyitongxun bianjibu (The Editorial Department of Fanyitongxun, 242-243. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. (Original work published 1935)
- Lu, Xun. 1984. “Lun chongyi [On retranslation].” In *Fanyiyanjie lunwenji (1894–1948)* [A Collection of Articles on Translation Studies (1894–1948)], ed. by Fanyitongxun bianjibu (The Editorial Department of Fanyitongxun, 238–239. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. (Original work published 1934)
- Lu, Xun. 2004. “A reply to Qu Qiubai (1931).” Trans. by Leo Tak-hung Chan. In *Twentieth-Century Chinese Translation Theory: Modes, Issues and Debates*, ed. by Leo Tak-hung Chan, 158-161. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lu, Xun. 2005. “Nanqiangbeidiao ji·zhu zhong wenzi zhi jiao.” In *Lu Xun quanji* [The Complete Works of Lu Xun] (Vol. 4), by Lu Xun, 473-475. Beijing: People’s Literature Publishing House. (Original work published 1932)
- Lygo, Emily. 2016. “Between ideology and literature: Translation in the USSR during the Brezhnev period.” *Perspectives* 24(1): 48-58.
- Lynch, Michael. 2010. *China: From Empire to People's Republic: 1900-1949* (Second Edition). London: Hodder Education. c1
- Macksey, Richard. 1997. “Foreword.” In *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, by Gérard Genette, xi-xxii. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahoney, William M. 2011. *The history of the Czech Republic and Slovakia*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood.
- Mainer Sergi. 2011. “Translation and censorship.” *Translation Studies* 4(1): 72-86.
- Malmkjær, Kirsten, and Kevin Windle, eds. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Mälzer, Nathalie. 2013. "Head or legs? Shifts in texts and paratexts brought about by agents of the publishing industry." In *Editorial Voices in Translation 2*, ed. by Hanne Jansen, and Anna Wegener, 153–176. Quebec: Editions québécoises de l'oeuvre.
- Mao, Dun. 1921. "Yinian lai de ganxiang yu mingnian de jihua [A Look back on the Past Year and Plans for the New Year]." *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 12 (12): 1.
- Mao, Dun. 1984a. "1954 nian 8 yue 19 ri zai quanguo wenxuefanyi zhongzuohuiyi shang de baogao [Speech at the National Conference on Literature Translation on August 19, 1954]." In *Fanyiyanjie lunwenji (1949–1983)* [A Collection of Articles on Translation Studies (1949–1983)], ed. by Fanyitongxun bianjibu (The Editorial Department of Fanyitongxun), 1-16. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Mao, Dun. 1984b. "Preface to Selected Translations of Mao Dun". In *Fanyiyanjie lunwenji (1894–1948)* [A Collection of Articles on Translation Studies (1894–1948)], ed. by Fanyitongxun bianjibu (The Editorial Department of Fanyitongxun), 17-19. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. (Original work published 1980)
- Mao, Dun. 2001. "Bei shunhai minzi de wenxue hao yinyan [Preface to the Special Issue for Literature of the Harmed Peoples]." In *Mao Dun quanji* [The Complete Works of Mao Dun] (Vol. 32), by Dun Mao, 401-402. Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House. (Original work published 1921)
- Marco, Josep. 2019. "The translation of food-related culture-specific items in the Valencian Corpus of Translated Literature (COVALT) corpus: a study of techniques and factors." *Perspectives* 27(1): 20-41.
- Marin-Lacarta, Maialen. 2012. "A brief history of translations of modern and contemporary Chinese literature in Spain (1949–2009)." *1611: Revista de historia de la traducción* 6: 1–7.
- URL: <http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/1611/art/marin2.htm> [retrived on 2019-09-14].
- Marin-Lacarta, Maialen. 2017. "Indirectness in literary translation: Methodological possibilities." *Translation Studies* 10(2): 133-149.
- McEnery, Tony. 2004. *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power from 1586 to the Present*. London/New York: Routledge.
- McLaughlin, Martin, and Javier Muñoz-Basols. 2016. "Ideology, censorship and translation across genres: past and present." *Perspectives* 24(1): 1-6.
- Meng, Zhaoyi, and Zaidao Li. 2005. *Zhongguo fanyiwenzue shi* [History of literary translation in China]. Beijing: Beijing University Press.
- Merino, Raquel, and Rosa Rabadán. 2002. "Censored Translations in Franco's Spain:

- The TRACE Project—Theatre and Fiction (English-Spanish).” *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 15(2): 125-152.
- Merkle, Denise, and Carol O’Sullivan, Luc Van Doorslaer, et al., ed. 2010. *The Power of the Pen: Translation & Censorship in Nineteenth-century Europe*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Merkle, Denise. 2002. “Presentation.” *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 15(2): 9-18.
- Merkle, Denise. 2010. “Censorship.” In *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 18-21. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mills, Harriet C. 1956. “Language Reform in China: Some Recent Developments.” *The Far East Quarterly* 15 (4): 517-540.
- Milton, John. 2001. “Translating classic fiction for mass markets: The Brazilian Clube do Livro.” *The translator* 7(1): 43-69.
- Milton, John. 2010. “Adaptation.” In *Handbook of Translation Studies. Vol 1*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 3-6. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mossop, Brian. 2006. “Has Computerization Changed Translation?” *Meta* 51(4): 767–793.
- Munday, Jeremy. 2007. “Translation and Ideology: A Textual Approach”. *The Translator* 13(2): 195-217.
- Munday, Jeremy. 2010. *Introducing Translation Studies*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Nedergaard-Larsen, Birgit. 1993. “Culture-bound problems in subtitling.” *Perspectives* 1(2): 207-240.
- Newmark, Peter. 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. New York: Tice Hall Press.
- Newmark, Peter. 2001. *Approaches to Translation*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Ni, Xiuhua. 2011. *Xiangxiang de zhongguo: zhongguowenxue yingyi yanjiu (1949-1966)* [Imagined China: A study of English translations of Chinese literature in the PRC (1949-1966)]. PhD thesis. Hong Kong Baptist University.
- Ochieng, Pamela A. 2009. “An analysis of the strengths and limitation of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms.” *Problems of Education in the 21st Century* 13: 13-18.
- of Portuguese translations of Polish literature (1855–2010).” *Target* 24(2): 310-337.
- Olk, Harald Martin. 2001. *The translation of cultural references: An empirical*

investigation into the translation of culture-specific lexis by degree-level language students. PhD thesis. Canterbury: University of Kent.

- Olk, Harald Martin. 2013. "Cultural references in translation: a framework for quantitative translation analysis." *Perspectives* 21(3): 344-357.
- Pablé, Adrian. 2003. "The Goodman and his Faith: Signals of local colour in Nathaniel Hawthorne's historical fiction with reference to cultural translation." *Babel* 49 (2): 97-130.
- Paloposki, Outi, and Kaisa Koskinen. 2010. "Reprocessing texts. The fine line between retranslating and revising." *Across Languages and Cultures* 11(1): 29-49.
- Pánek, Jaroslav, and Oldřich Tůma. 2018. *A History of the Czech Lands* (Second Edition). Prague: Karolinum Press of Charles University.
- Pellatt, Valerie. 2018. "Translation of Chinese paratext and paratext of Chinese translation." In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei and Zhao- Ming Gao, 164-186. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pellatt, Valerie. 2018. "Translation of Chinese Paratext and Paratext of Chinese Translation." In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei, and Zhao- Ming Gao, 164-186. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pięta, Hanna. 2010. "Portuguese translations of Polish literature published in book form: Some methodological issues." In *Translation Effects: Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2009*, ed. by Omid Azadibougar, 1-25. Leuven: CETRA (Centre for Translation Studies).
- Pięta, Hanna. 2012. "Patterns in (in)directness: An exploratory case study in the external history of Portuguese translations of Polish literature (1855 - 2010)." *Target* 24(2): 310-337.
- Pięta, Hanna. 2014. "What do (we think) we Know About Indirectness in Literary Translation? A Tentative Review of the State-of-the-Art and Possible Research Avenues." In *Traducció indirecta en la literatura catalana*, ed. by Ivan Garcia Sala, Diana Sanz Roig, and Bozena Zaboklicka, 15-34. Barcelona: Punctum.
- URL:
http://repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/27791/1/15_Pi%C4%99ta-2014-What%20Do%20%28We%20Think%29%20We%20Know%20about%20In.pdf
[retrieved on 2019-07-06]
- Pięta, Hanna. 2017. "Theoretical, methodological and terminological issues in researching indirect translation: A critical annotated bibliography." *Translation Studies* 10(2): 198-216.
- Pięta, Hanna. 2018. "Friend and foe: On the role of indirect literary translation in the construction of the conflicting images of communist Poland in para-fascist

- Portugal.” *Target* 30(3): 345-382.
- Pokorn, Nike K. 2013. “Experience through translation - The translated experience: The Turkish presence in Slovene literature and translation.” *Across Languages and Cultures* 14 (2): 167–181.
- Pollard, David E. 1998. “Introduction.” In *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*, ed. by David E. Pollard, 5-23. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pollard, David E., ed. 1998. *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Popovič, Anton. 1976. *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation*. Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- Punch, Keith F. 2014. *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Pym, Anthony, Miriam Shlesinger, and Zuzana Jettmarova, ed. 2006. *Sociocultural aspects of translating and interpreting*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pym, Anthony. 2011. “Translation research terms: A tentative glossary for moments of perplexity and dispute.” In *Translation Research Projects 3*, ed. by Anthony Pym, 75-110. Tarragona: Intercultural Studies Group.
- URL: http://isg.urv.es/publicity/isg/publications/trp_3_2011/index.htm [retrieved on 2019-07-05]
- Pym, Anthony. 2014. *Method in Translation History*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Qi, Shouhua. 2012. *Western Literature in China and the Translation of a Nation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Qu, Wensheng, and Run Li. 2015. “Translation of Personal and Place Names from and into Chinese in Modern China: A Lexicographical History Perspective.” *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law* (28): 525-557.
- Radó, György. 1975. “Indirect Translation.” *Babel* 21 (2): 51–59.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 2006. *On Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ringmar, Martin. 2007. “Roundabout routes: Some remarks on indirect translations.” In *Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies*, ed. by F. Mus, 1-17.
- URL: <http://www.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/papers.html> [retrived on 2017-07-22].
- Ringmar, Martin. 2010. “Relay Translation.” In *Handbook of Translation Studies. Vol 1*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 141-144. Amsterdam,

- Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rosa, Alexandra Assis, Hanna Pięta and Rita Bueno Maia. 2017. "Theoretical, methodological and terminological issues regarding indirect translation: An overview." *Translation Studies* 10(2): 113-132.
- Rundle, Christopher. 2000. "The Censorship of Translation in Fascist Italy." *The Translator* 6(1): 67-86.
- Şahin, Mehmet, Derya Duman, Sabri Gürses, Damla Kaleş, and David Woolls. 2019. "Toward an empirical methodology for identifying plagiarism in retranslation." In *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Paratexts, Methods*, ed. by Özlem Berk Albachten, and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, 166-191. London and New York: Routledge.
- Saldanha, Gabriela, and Sharon O'Brien. 2014. *Research methodologies in translation studies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Santaemilia, José. 2019. "A reflection on the translation of sex-related language in audio-visual texts: the Spanish version of JK Rowling's *The Casual Vacancy*." *Perspectives* 27 (2): 252-264.
- Schäffner, Christina. 2014. "Third Ways and New Centres Ideological Unity or Difference?" In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez, 23-42. New York: Routledge.
- Schultze, Brigitte. 2014. "Historical and systematical aspects of indirect translation in the de Gruyter Handbuch – HSK. 26.1–3: insight and impulse to further research." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 59(4): 507–518.
- Seleskovitch, Danica, and Marianne Lederer. 2002 [1989]. "The Problems of Relay." In *A Systematic Approach to Teaching Interpretation* (2nd edition), ed. by Danica Seleskovitch, and Marianne Lederer, 173–192. Luxembourg: Didier.
- Seruya, Teresa. 2009. "Introdução a uma bibliografia crítica da tradução de literatura em Portugal durante o Estado Novo". In *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo: V Colóquio de Estudos de Tradução em Portugal*, ed. by Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz, and Alexandra Assis Rosa, 69-86. Lisboa: Universidade Católica.
- Shei, Chris and Zhao- Ming Gao, ed. 2018. *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Shi Yuanhua, ed. 1996. *Zhonghuaminguo waijiaoshi chidian* [The Dictionary of Diplomatic History of the Republic of China]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House.
- Shuttleworth, Mark, and Moira Cowie. 1997. *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. Manchester: St. Jerome.

- Shuttleworth, Mark, and Moira Cowie. 2004. *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Shuttleworth, Mark, and Moira Cowie. 2014. *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sidiropoulou, Maria. 1998. "Offensive language in English-Greek translation." *Perspectives* 6(2): 183-199.
- Snell-Hornby, Mary. 2006. *The Turns of Translation Studies*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Song, Binghui, and Chao Ding. 2015. *Zhogwai wenxue jiaoliu shi: zhongguo zhongdonggou juan* [The History of Literary Communication: China and Central and Eastern Europe]. Jinan: Shandong Education Publishing House.
- Song, Binghui. 2003. *Ruoxiaominzuwenxue de yijie yu ershishijie zhongguowenxue de minzuyishi* [The Translation of Smaller Nations' Literature and the National Consciousness in 20th Century Chinese Literature]. PhD Thesis. Shanghai: Fudan University.
- Song, Lei. 2014. "Duihua Jing Kaixuan: dongou wenxue bushi zhiyou milan kundela [Eastern European literature is more than Milan Kundera]." *Changjiang ribao* [Changjiang Daily] Jun. 18.
- URL: <http://www.infzm.com/contents/163132> [retrieved on 2020-02-06]
- Song, Yuanfang, ed. 2001. *Zhongguo chuban shiliao (xiandai bufen) (xiace)* [Historical Documents of Publication in Modern China Vol. 2]. Jinan: Shandong Education Publishing House.
- Spears, Richard A. 2000. *NTC's Dictionary of American Slang and Colloquial Expressions*. Illinois: NTC.
- Špirk, Jaroslav. 2011. *Ideology, Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-Translation: Czech Literature in 20th-century Portugal*. PhD Thesis. Charles University.
- St. André, James. 2003. "Retranslation as Argument: Canon Formation, Professionalization, and International Rivalry in 19th Century Sinological Translation." *Cadernos de Tradução* 11 (1): 59–93.
- St. André, James. 2009. "Relay." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd. edition), ed. by Mona Baker, and Gabriela Saldanha, 230–232. London and New York: Routledge.
- St. André, James. 2010. "Lessons from Chinese History: Translation as a Collaborative and Multi-Stage Process." *TTR : traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 23(1): 71-94.
- Sturge, Kate. 2002. "Censorship of Translated Fiction in Nazi Germany." *TTR*:

traduction, terminologie, rédaction 15(2): 153-169.

- Sullivan, Lawrence R. 2007. *Historical Dictionary of the People's Republic of China* (2nd edition). Lanham, Maryland / Toronto / Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press.
- Sun, Yifeng. 2018. *Translating Foreign Otherness: Cross-Cultural Anxiety in Modern China*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sun, Zhili. 1996. *1949-1966: Woguo yingmeiwenxue fanyi gailun* [1949-1966: On Translations of British and American Literatures in the PRC]. Nanjing: Yilin Press.
- Susam-Sarajeva, Şebnem. 2003. "Multiple-entry Visa to Travelling Theory." *Target* 15(1): 1–36.
- Tahir Gürçağlar, Şehnaz. 2009. "Retranslation." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd. edition), ed. by Mona Baker, and Gabriela Saldanha, 233-236. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tahir Gürçağlar, Şehnaz.. 2002. "What Texts Don't Tell: The Uses of Paratexts in Translation Research". In *Crosscultural Transgressions. Research Models in Translation Studies 2: Historical and Ideological Issues*, ed. by Theo Hermans, 44–60. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.
- Tahir-Gurcaglar, Sehnaz. 2014. "The Translation Bureau Revisited Translation as Symbol". In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez, 113-130. New York: Routledge.
- Taivalkoski-Shilov, Kristiina. 2015. "Friday in Finnish: A character's and (re) translators' voices in six Finnish retranslations of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe." *Target* 27 (1): 58-74.
- Tan, Zaixi. 2014. "(Self-)censorship and the translator-author relationship: the case of full translation, partial translation, and non-translation in the Chinese Context." *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies* 1(3): 192-209.
- Tan, Zaixi. 2015. "Censorship in translation: the case of the People's Republic of China." *Neohelicon* 42(1): 313-339.
- Tan, Zaixi. 2017. "Censorship in Translation: The Dynamics of Non-, Partial and Full Translations in the Chinese Context." *Meta* 62(1): 45–68.
- Tarif, Julie. 2018. "Same-sex Couples in Children's Picture Books in French and in English: Censorship. Somewhere Over the Rainbow?" *Meta* 63 (2): 392–421.
- Thomson-Wohlgemuth, Gaby. 2006. "Translation from the point of view of the East German censorship files." In *Sociocultural aspects of translating and interpreting*, ed. by Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Zuzana Jettmarová, 53-64. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Thomson-Wohlgemuth, Gaby. 2009. *Translation under State Control. Books for Young People in the German Democratic Republic*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Toury, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Toury, Gideon. 2001. *Descriptive Translations Studies and Beyond*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Toury, Gideon. 2012. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2000. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. London: Penguin UK.
- Trupej, Janko. 2019. "Avoiding Offensive Language in Audio-visual Translation: A Case Study of Subtitling from English to Slovenian." *Across Languages and Cultures* 20(1): 57-77.
- Turcsanyi, Richard Q. 2015. "Is the Czech Republic China's New 'Bridge to Europe'?" *The Diplomat*.
- URL:
<http://thediplomat.com/2015/09/is-the-czech-republic-chinas-new-bridge-to-europe/> [retrieved on 2016-04-25]
- Tymoczko, Maria, and Edwin Gentzler, ed. 2002. *Translation and Power*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Tymoczko, Maria. 2014. "Ideology and the Position of the Translator - In What Sense is a Translator 'In Between'?" In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez, 181-201. New York: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1998. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2000. *Ideology and discourse. A Multidisciplinary Introduction*.
- URL:
<http://www.discourses.org/OldBooks/Teun%20A%20van%20Dijk%20-%20Ideology%20and%20Discourse.pdf> [retrieved on 2011-08-24]
- Van Doorslaer, Luc, Peter Flynn, and Joep Leerssen, ed. 2016. *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Vanderschelden, Isabelle. 2000. "Why retranslate the French classics? The impact of retranslation on quality." In *On Translating French Literature and Film*, ed. by Myriam Salama-Carr, 1-18. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*.

- London and New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1998. *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. Taylor & Francis US.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2003. "Re-translations: The creation of value." *Bucknell Review* 47(1): 25-39.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2013. "Retranslations. The Creation of Value." In *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*, 96–108. London and New York: Routledge.
- Vidal Claramonte, M. Carmen África. 2014. "(Mis)Translating Degree Zero Ideology and Conceptual Art". In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez, 71-88. New York: Routledge.
- Von Stackelberg, Jürgen. 1987. "Eklektisches Übersetzen I. Erläutert am Beispiel einer italienischen Übersetzung von Salomon Geßners Idyllen [Eclectic translation I: Illustrated by the example of the Italian translation of Idylls, by Salomon Gessner]." In *Die literarische Übersetzung. Fallstudien zu ihrer Kulturgeschichte* [Literary translation: Case studies for its cultural history], ed. by Brigitte Schultze, 53–62. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Wang, Jiankai. 2003. *Wusi yilai woguo yingmeiwenxue zuopin yijie shi: 1919-1949* [Translation History of British and American Literary Works in Post-May 4th China: 1919-1949]. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Wang, Yougui. 2015. *Ershi shiji xiabanye zhongguo fanyi wenxue shi: 1949-1977* [A History of Foreign Literatures in Chinese Language in the Second Half of the 20th Century: 1949-1977]. Beijing: People's Publishing House.
- Wang, Yougui. "Zhongguo fanyi chuantong yanjiu: cong zhuanyi dao cong yuanwen yi [Translation traditions in China: from indirect translation to direct translation]." *Chinese Translators Journal* 29 (1): 27-32.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1986. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Washbourne, Kelly. 2013. "Nonlinear narratives: Paths of indirect and relaytranslation." *Meta* 58(3): 607–625.
- Williams, Jenny, and Andrew Chesterman. 2002. *The Map: A Beginner's Guide to Doing Research in Translation Studies*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Witt, Susanna. 2013. "The Shorthand of Empire: Podstrochnik Practices and the Making of Soviet Literature." *Ab Imperio* 3: 155-190.
- Wolf, Michaela. 2002. "Censorship as cultural blockage: Banned literature in the late Habsburg monarchy." *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 15(2): 45-61.
- Wong, Mickey. 2018. "Censorship and translation in Mainland China: general practice

- and a case study.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, ed. by Chris Shei and Zhao- Ming Gao, 221-243. London and New York: Routledge.
- Woods, Michelle. 2006. *Translating Milan Kundera*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Xie, Tianzhen, and Mingjian Zha. 2004. *Zhongguo xiandai fanyiwenxue shi (1898-1949)* [History of translated literature in modern China (1898-1949)]. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Xiong, Yuezhi. 1998. “Degrees of Familiarity with the West in Late Qing Society.” Trans. by David E. Pollard. In *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*, ed. by David E. Pollard, 25-36. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Xu, Fang. 2018. “Kundela zai zhongguo de yijie licheng [Milan Kundera’s translation in China].” *Jiefangjun waiguoyu xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of PLA University of Foreign Languages] 41(5): 129-136.
- Xu, Jianzhong. 2003. “Retranslation: necessary or unnecessary.” *Babel* 49(3): 193-202.
- Xu, Mingwu and Chuanmao Tian. 2014. “Commercial Considerations: A Reason for Retranslating – An Exploration of the Retranslation Boom in the 1990s Mainland China.” *Across Languages and Cultures* 15(2): 243–259.
- Xu, Xiumei. 2006. “Style is the relationship: A relevance-theoretic approach to the translator’s style.” *Babel* 52 (4): 334-348.
- Xu, Yanhong. 1998. “The routes of translation: From Danish into Chinese - a case study of cultural dissemination.” *Perspectives* 6(1): 9-22.
- Yan Xiaohong. 2001. “Xinzhongguo tushu chuban wushinian gaishu [An Overview of Book Publication in the PRC: 1949-1999].” In *Zhongguo chuban shiliao (xiandai bufen) (xiace)* [Historical Documents of Publication in Modern China Vol. 2], ed. by Yuanfang Song, 1-16. Jinan: Shandong Education Publishing House.
- Yan, Lianke. 2016. “An Examination of China’s Censorship System.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Chinese Literatures*, ed. by Carlos Rojas and Andrea Bachner, 263-274. Oxford University Press.
- Yang, Jianwei. 2009. “Fuji dongou baoxiao zhuguo: ji ershishiji wuliushi niandai fu dongou liuxue de xuezhangmen [The Chinese Students Studying in Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 60s].” *Ouzhou yuyan wenhua yanjiu* [Chinese Journal of European Languages and Cultures] 5: 517-526.
- Yang, Min. 2013. “Milan kundela ruhe jinru zhongguo [How Milan Kundera entered China].” *Zhongguo xinwen zhoukan* [China Newsweek] 14: 82-85.
- Yau, Wai-Ping. 2007. “Norms, Polysystems and Ideology: A Case Study.” *The Translator* 13(2): 321-339.

- Ying, Li-hua. 2010. *Historical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Literature*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.
- Yuan, Liang, ed. 1996. *Zhonghuarenmingongheguo chuban shiliao (1951)* [Historical Documents of Publication in the PRC: 1951]. Beijing: China Book Press.
- Zanettin, Federico. 2018. "Translation, censorship and the development of European comics cultures." *Perspectives* 26(6): 868-884.
- Zha, Mingjian, and Tianzhen Xie. 2007. *Zhongguo ershi shiji waiguo wenxue fanyishi* [A history of the 20th century foreign literary translation in China]. Wuhan: Hubei Education Publishing House.
- Zhang, Na. 2010. "Kundera 'zhuangji' zongguo wentan 25 nian [Kundera's impact on Chinese literary circle over the past 25 years]." *Shijie xinwen bao* [World News Journal] Sep. 15.
- URL: http://news.cri.cn/gb/27824/2010/09/15/5187s2992200_1.htm [retrieved on 2020-02-05]
- Zhao, Wuping. 2003. "Kundera zuopin xinyiben wenshi [Publication of new translations of Kundera's works]." *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily] Jun. 1.
- URL: <http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/2003/2003-06-01/11326.html> [retrieved on 2020-02-05]
- Zhou, Xiaoyan, and Sanjun Sun. 2017. "Bibliography-based quantitative translation history." *Perspectives* 25(1): 98-119.
- Ziman, Han. 2008. "Sex taboo in literary translation in China: A study of the two Chinese versions of *The Color Purple*." *Babel* 54 (1): 69-85.
- Zojer, Heidi. 2011. "Cultural references in subtitles: A measuring device for interculturality?" *Babel* 57 (4): 394-413.