A Study of Chinese Translations and Interpretations of H.C. Andersen's Tales

History and Influence

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Contents

List of abbreviations

SC   source culture

TC   target culture

SL   source language

TL   target language

ST   source text

TT   target text

OT   original text

MT   mediating text

ITr   indirect translation

DTS   descriptive translation studies

List of Chinese periodicals

《新京报》   *Beijing News*

《创造周报》   *Creation Weekly*

《儿童故事》   *Children's Stories*

《儿童世界》   *Children's World*

《语文丛刊》   *Chinese Language Series*

《中国文学》   *Chinese Literature*

《中华小说界》   *Chinese Novel*

《新月》   *Crescent*

《东方杂志》   *Oriental Magazine*

《外国文艺》   *Foreign Literature and Arts*

《抗战文艺》   *Anti-Japanese Literature*

《文学旬刊》   *Literature Every Ten Days*

《文学周报》   *Literature Weekly*

《中学生》   *Middle School Students*

《新文学》   *New Literature*

《新民意报》   *New Public Opinion Daily*

《民意报》   *Public Opinion Daily*

《叒社丛刊》   *Serial Magazine of Ruo Society*

《绍兴公报》   *Shao Xing Bulletin*

《申报•自由谈》   *Shen Bao: Free Talk*

《苏联儿童文艺丛刊》　　*Soviet Children's Literature Series*

《时事新报•学灯》　　*The China Times: Academic Lamp*

《妇女杂志》　　*The Ladies' Magazine*

《人民日报》　　*The People's Daily*

《小说月报》　　*The Short Story Magazine*

《少年杂志》　　*Youth Magazine*

List of Chinese names and pen names

蔡漱六 Cai Shuliu
曹葆华 Cao Baohua
曹文轩 Cao Wenxuan
陈伯吹 Chen Bochui
陈大燈 Chen Dadeng
陈德中(笔名：林桦) Chen Dezhong
(pen name: Lin Hua)
陈家麟 Chen Jialin
陈敬容(原名：陈懿范) Chen Jingrong
(original name: Chen Yifan)
陈滢如 Chen Ying-ju
邓琴 Deng Qin
傅东华 Fu Donghua
高君箴 Gao Junzhen
顾均正 Gu Junzheng
郭沫若 Guo Moruo
过昆源 Guo Kunyuan
胡从经 Hu Congjing
胡适   Hu Shi
黄乔生 Huang Qiaosheng
姜椿芳 Jiang Chunfang
蒋方舟 Jiang Fangzhou
瞿秋白 Qu Qiubai
李葆初 Li Baochu
李大钊 Li Dazhao
李红叶 Li Yongye
李佳 Li Jia
李景端 Li Jingduan
李丽 Li Li
李小峰 Li Xiaofeng
李宥儒 Lee Yu-ju
李载道 Li Zaidao
梁实秋 Liang Shiqiu
梁志坚 Liang Zhijian
林煌天   Lin Huangtian
刘半农 Liu Bannong
刘心武 Liu Xinwu
柳敬亭 Liu Jingting

吕绫臻 Lv Lingzhen
毛泽东 Mao Zedong
孟昭毅 Meng Zhaoyi
彭婷 Peng Ting
彭应翙 Peng Yinghong
齐寿华   Qi Shouhua
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任仕群   Ren Shiqun
任智群 Ren Zhiqun
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沈志远 Shen Zhiyuan
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水静 Shui Jing
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(pen name: Si Wen)
王宁 Wang Ning
王泉根 Wang Quangen
王寿兰 Wang Shoulan
王勇 Wang Yong
魏秀萍 Wei Xiuping
伍丽洁 Wu Lijie
席涤尘 Xi Dichen
徐调孚（笔名：徐名骥） Xu Diaofu
(pen name: Xu Mingji)
徐培仁 Xu Peiren
许雷 Xu Lei
严庆澎（笔名唐人）Yan Qingpeng (pen
name: Tang Ren)

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杨少波 Yang Shaobo

叶君健 Ye Junjian

叶圣陶 Ye Shengtao

余祥森 Yu Xiangsen

袁青侠 Yuan Qingxia

张天翼 Zhang Tianyi

张中良（笔名：秦弓）Zhang Zhongliang (pen name: Qin Gong)

赵景深 Zhao Jingshen

赵元任 Zhao Yuanren

郑振铎（笔名：狄福）Zheng Zhenduo (pen name: Di Fu)

止庵 Zhi An

周恩来 Zhou Enlai

周树人(笔名：鲁迅) Zhou Shuren (pen name: Lu Xun)

周作人 Zhou Zuoren

邹韬奋 Zou Taofe

List of Chinese publishing houses

儿童书局	Children's Bookstore
中国少年儿童出版社	China Juvenile and Children's Publishing House
中华书局	Chinese Bookstore
希望出版社	Hope Publishing House
江苏少年儿童出版社	Jiangsu Juvenile and Children's Publishing House
开明书店	Kaiming Bookstore
漓江出版社	Lijiang Publishing House
新文化书社	New Culture Book Society
新文艺出版社	New Literary & Art Publishing House
人民文学出版社	People's Literature Publishing House
平明出版社	Pingming Press
群益书局	Qunyi Publishing House
三联书店	Sanlian Bookstore
上海锦绣文章出版社	Shanghai Brilliant Publishing House
上海少年儿童出版社	Shanghai Juveniles and Children's Publishing House
上海译文出版社	Shanghai Translation Publishing House
时代出版社	Shidai Publishing House
商务印书馆	The Commercial Press
世界书局	World Book Co. Ltd
译林出版社	Yinlin Press
浙江少儿出版社	Zhejiang Juvenile and Children's Publishing House

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Abstract

H. C. Andersen's tales are considered as classical fairy tales in China. How they have achieved this canonical status is one of the concerns of this study. Taking a historical point of view, this thesis intends to examine how the Chinese translations and interpretations of his tales, since they were first introduced and translated, have contributed to their canonization, and how they have shaped the various images of Andersen in different temporal periods.

Moreover, considering translation as a social practice taking place in a polysystem, this study will further examine how socio-political factors like economics and ideology, as well as human factors such as patrons, translators, and readers, have influenced the Chinese translations and interpretations of Andersen's tales. In addition, to reveal the social roles played by translators, patrons and readers in mediating between cultures and to humanize this translation history, the human factors themselves will be another focus of this study.

However, this thesis is not merely a history about facts like names and dates. It also involves observations on the translations which appeared in various periods. Out of my understanding of the nature of translation practice, the original Danish texts, the English mediating texts, and the Chinese target texts will all be referred to in textual analyses and comparisons, which will clarify the intertextual relations and influences operating among them. With this analysis as support, the precise roles that the aforementioned factors have played in the translation of Andersen's works can be determined. Based on the observations of translated texts and the history of translation, my own reflections on some of the phenomena applying to Andersen translation in China, like indirect translation and retranslation, will also be discussed.

Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Do you know Andersen, the writer of fairy tales? If you put this question to a Chinese, whether to an old man or to a teenager, you will most probably receive a positive answer and a smile. The images of the ugly duckling, the tiny Thumbelina and the beautiful mermaid will probably be in their minds at the same time. Andersen's tales are mostly categorized as classical fairy tales in China. Not only have the translations of Andersen's tales been collected into various "corpora" - "anthologies" of classic fairy tales - and published by almost every literary publishing house in China, most of the articles on Andersen and his tales, academic or non-academic, also praise Andersen as a classic writer of fairy tales. To a great extent Andersen and his fairy tales are treated as classics.

How can we confirm the canonized status that Andersen's tales have achieved in China? First of all, we need to define 'canonized literature'. For Even-Zohar, "by "canonized" one means those literary norms and works (i.e., both models and texts) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage" (Even-Zohar, 1990, p.15). Besides, Frank Kermode holds that the books we call classics "possess intrinsic qualities that endure and possess also openness to accommodation, which keeps them alive under endlessly varying dispositions" (Kermode, 1975, p.44). This "openness to accommodation", according to Venuti, indicates "a capability to support multiple interpretations over time" (Venuti 2008, p.28). Proceeding from Even Zohar and Fermode's definitions of canonized literature, there would be four criteria for a canonized work in a literary system. First, it must be accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture. Second, it must become part of the heritage of a culture. Third, it must be time-enduring. And last, it must be capable of inspiring multiple interpretations.

Andersen's tales obviously meet all the criteria of canonized literature in the Chinese literary system. First, they have been considered as archetypes for creating children's literature in China since they were introduced to the country. Many Chinese writers have acknowledged that they have been inspired by Andersen's tales in one way or another.[1] Moreover, some stylistic features in Andersen's tales, like the colloquial writing style, have been used extensively in children's literature in China.

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[1] These Chinese writers range from writers who started to create children's literature in the 1920s to those who are active at present and include Ye Shengtao, Zheng Zhenduo, Chen Bochui, Jiang Fangzhou, Yang Hongying, Cao Wenxuan. A complete list would be very long.

Hence, Andersen's tales meet the criterion of having been accepted by the dominant Chinese literary circles as authorized works.

Second, many themes in Andersen's tales have become popular themes in Chinese children's literature, and have been absorbed as idiomatic expressions in Chinese. For instance, a Chinese person would effortlessly understand the implication in a saying like "我不过是一只丑小鸭" (I'm just an ugly duckling) as an expression of diffidence. Moreover, Andersen's tales have been consistently retranslated in China for nearly a century. I am in agreement with scholars like Gadamer (1975, in 1991, p.384), Axel Bühler (2002, p.56) and Venuti (2008, p.28), who consider translation as a certain type of interpretative activity. Therefore, the consistent retranslation of a source text (ST) during a period in the receiving culture implies the ST's capability of inspiring multiple interpretations, which helps to confirm the canonical status of the ST. At the same time, the retranslations as reinterpretations also support the canonical status of the translated literature in the target literary system. Hence, as Venuti has argued,

> translation functions as one cultural practice through which a foreign text attains the status of a classic: the very fact of translation not only implies that the text has been judged valuable enough to bring into another culture, but also increases this value by generating such promotional devices as jacket copy, endorsements, and advertisements and by enabling such diverse modes of reception as reviews, course adoptions, and scholarly research (Venuti, 2008, p.28).

The course of translations of Andersen's tales in China is compatible with this formula. Therefore, it is safe to declare that Andersen and his tales have achieved canonized status in China's literary system.

In fact, this research was inspired by this primary observation of the status of Andersen's tales in the Chinese literary system: from the time that Sun Yuxiu[2] first introduced Hans Christian Andersen (HCA) to Chinese readers (although he misspelled Andersen's name as "Anderson") in a 1909 article on notable European and US writers, through persistent (re)translations and interpretations, Andersen has gradually become a household name in China as a classic writer of fairy tales. Andersen himself and his compatriots would probably contest this simplistic label. For them, his talent goes far beyond that of a good story teller. However, no matter how reluctant they might be, not only in China but also in many other countries,

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2 For ease of reading, only Pinyin of Chinese names will be offered in the main text of this dissertation. There will be a cross-reference list, including the Chinese characters of the names and their respective Pinyin, attached to this dissertation for readers' reference.

2

Andersen has gained his reputation as a writer of fairy tales. This "misinterpretation" of Andersen and his tales stimulated my original interest in the translation history of Andersen's tales in China. I wondered what factors, over the whole course of translating and interpreting Andersen's tales in China, have contributed to the canonization of his tales. This basic question then evoked a series of subsidiary questions, such as why were Andersen and his tales introduced to China in the first place; who translated what; who was involved in the translation and interpretation of Andersen's tales; how have Andersen's tales been interpreted in different time periods; why were they thus interpreted; what is the correlation between the interpretations and translations. I am also curious about how the Chinese translations differ from each other and what factors have imposed their influence on those translations.

Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek has stated that the canonization of a literary work is a cumulative process involving the text, its reading, readership, literary history, criticism, and publication mechanisms (Tötösy de Zepetnek, 1998, p.44). Taking this historical review on the course of Andersen translations in China would probably lead to the answers to the questions stimulated by my primary observation. Moreover, this view echoes with my perception on translation: the practice of translation is not over when a ST has been rendered into the TT. The circulation, reading (interpretation, criticism, etc.), and reception[3] of this TT in the target culture will eventually complete the translational process. The meaning of a translation is generated from a communicative process that involves the author of the ST, the readers of the ST in the source culture, the translator/rewriter of the TT, and the readers of the TT. The translator as a social being is the point of convergence which relates with all other participants in the process.

In his book *Method of Translation History*, Anthony Pym lists four principles of compiling translation history: First, translation history should explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and place. Second, the central object of translation history should be the translator, because "only through translators and their social entourage (client, patrons, readers) can we try to understand why translations were produced in a particular historical time and place. To understand why translations happened, we have to look at the people involved." Third, translation history should structure itself around the social contexts where translators live and work, and pay special attention to the fact that translators can also have multi-cultural identities. Fourth, translation history should shed light on the present. (Pym, 1998, p.ix-xi)

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3 As in most academic writings, the word 'reception' used in this dissertation indicates readers' responses to and interpretations of a literary work. The readership includes both professional readers like critics and scholars and average readers who read for entertainment or information.

Among the four principles, the one stressing that translation history should focus on the human factor, especially the translator, is an ongoing theme of his entire book. Sympathizing with Pym's principles, my historical research on translations of Andersen's tales in China will focus on translators and the human factors in the course of translation. By relating to "the social contexts where translators live and work" and bearing always in mind that "translators can also have multi-cultural identities", I will explain in this dissertation why and how the translations were produced in a particular social time and place and how that could shed light on the present, in the sense that the explanation will further reveal how Andersen's tales have achieved their canonized status in the Chinese literary system, although they have appeared with distinct images in different stages of the cumulative process of canon formation. I believe this is one of the "important questions" (Pym, 1998) of this historical research.

Although I do not intend to offer a comprehensive translation history in my dissertation, some methods of doing translation history will be utilized in this research since the research adopts the historical perspective. Therefore, the three categories of works which Pym believes that translation history should deal with, namely translation archaeology, historical criticism, and explanation (Pym, 1998, p.5-6), will feature in my research. There will be investigative work: "who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?", criticism: "assessing the way translations help or hinder progress" if we consider the process that Andersen's tales have experienced in China as a progressive course towards canonization, and also explanations: "why archaeological artefacts occurred, when and where they did, and how they were related to change" (Pym, 1998, p.5-6).

Therefore, my dissertation is constructed as follows: In Chapter One, after a short introduction to the objectives of this research and the structure of this dissertation, I will offer a chronological overview of the whole course of translations and interpretations to give my readers a rough panorama of the translation history of Andersen's tales in China. At the end of this overview, I will classify the history of translations and interpretations of Andersen's tales in China into four periods from 1909, when his tales were first introduced into China, to 2005, when the bi-centenary of his birth elicited fresh publishing and academic interest in China, and explain the

logic of this periodisation.[4] The third part of this chapter will review the scholarly literature on Chinese translation of and reception of Andersen's tales, with the intention that it will help locate my research.

In Chapter Two, I will clarify the theories that have been invoked and the methodological approaches that have been adopted in this study. In order to contextualize the perspectives on translation studies that the current research has taken, a critical review of the shifts/turns in translation studies will be offered. Critical stances are taken to explain the latent risks deriving from the approaches taken in the previous studies, which will serve to adjust perspectives taken in this study. Based on this, a working definition of translation will be proposed, leading to criteria for selection of translations, which will constitute the corpus of this research. The final part of this chapter will introduce the methods that have been applied in this research and their applicability. A mechanism of canonization of translated literature will be suggested to help elucidate the course of translating Andersen's tales in China and to be applied to the analysis of the Chinese translations. The mechanism will also be used to interpret the correlations between translation and canonization.

The next four chapters will be devoted to historical narratives of translations of Andersen's tales. The four periods I have identified will be observed and accounted in relation to the mechanism of canonization of translated literature proposed in Chapter Two. Biographical information of influential translators in each temporal period will be offered when it is relevant to their translation practices. Their translations will be analysed and described with respect to those factors operational in the mechanism of canonization so that the translators' roles in the process of canonization will become observable. Chapter Three will focus on the introductory period in the course of translations of Andersen's tales in China. This period starts from 1909 when Andersen and his tales were first introduced to China by Sun Yuxiu, and ends in 1925 after three

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4 Clara Foz has pointed out in her article that periodisation could be problematic and inaccurate and lead to a teleological, linear and essential view on translation. (Foz, 2006, pp.136-142) However, as she herself admits in this article, for historical research on translation, periodisation could still allow us "to focus on the actual facts of translation or on the reflections surrounding them and thus become better able to define them, explain them, and even analyze them within their own context, as well as in relation to other tendencies rather than in isolation." (Foz, 2006, p.138). Since my research will have to sort out the "actual facts of translations and the reflections on them" and "explain and analyse" these translations to reveal their relations with other factors involved in the translation process, I think temporal classification still has its merit with regard to my research. Moreover, as my research is trying to determine how Andersen's tales have entered into the range of classic literature, while not compiling an exhaustive translation history for Andersen's tales in China, I shall not risk taking the whole history of translation as an evolutionary and linear movement. In fact, I do not even take the course of canonization of a foreign literary work in the target culture as an evolutionary or progressive process.

special issues on Andersen and his tales were published by two influential literary journals. Chapter Four will deal with the period between 1926 and 1937, the year when full-scale war broke out between China and Japan. During this stage, more translations aiming at children appeared. Andersen's tales became familiar to the average reader and the average child. The next chapter will focus on two important translations which appeared in the 1950s. Ye Junjian, who made the first direct translations, together with Chen Jingrong, the first female translator who produced translations on a large scale, will be introduced and discussed in this chapter. The 1950s was a momentous period for Andersen translations in China. Andersen's tales finally achieved classical status in the Chinese literary system. Chapter six will narrate the period which started with the opening-up of China in 1978. There was a dramatic increase in the publication of translations of Andersen's tales, including the re-publishing of old translations and the first publications of new translations. Evidently, the new socio-political and economic environment acted as a catalyst in this boom. Three complete translations which appeared during this period will be discussed in this chapter with respect to their role in the canonization of Andersen's tales. Hence, the four chapters following the Chapter two will compose a "romance"[5] (Venuti, 2005) on the canonization of Andersen's tales in China.

The final chapter will function as a conclusion. It will first review the perspectives that this research has taken, then touch on several translation phenomena that have featured in the study and assort the intervening factors in the translations of Andersen's tales. Finally, it will discuss the limitations of the study and suggest possibilities for further studies.

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5 In his article "Translation, History, Narrative", Venuti adopts Hayden White's classification application of different kinds of "emplotment" in compiling history (White, 1978, pp.91-95) to the "narrative forms" of translation history. These narrative forms, which are defined by White, are romance, tragedy, comedy, and satire. Accordingly, Venuti classifies Goethe's historical account of German translation methods as a romance, because Goethe "inserted them in an evolutionary or progressive narrative which, as is typical of the romantic genre, culminated in a sort of transcendence specific to translation."(Venuti, 2005, pp.812-813) Since my way of recounting approach to the translation history of HCA's tales in China is similar to the basic narrative form that Goethe took, I also define my narrative as a romance.

1.2 Chronological overview of the translation into Chinese of H. C. Andersen's tales, and their reception

It has been more than a century since the first translation of an Andersen tale appeared in China in 1911, rendered by Zhou Zuoren[6]. By 2005, 165[7] of his fairy tales had been translated into Chinese; many of them several times, from original Danish texts or from English, German[8] or Japanese translations. H. C. Andersen was one of the first Western writers to be introduced to China, and at the same time one of the best-known.[9] Along with the approach to translating Andersen's tales, criticism and research on Andersen's tales and their Chinese translations have been developing and improving. There have to date been a number of studies which have touched upon

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6 From Hu Congjing (1982) to Li Hongye (2005) and Wang Lei (2009), most of the scholars consider Liu Bannong's 《洋迷小影》(A Sketch of A Fetishist of Western World), an adaptive translation rendered from a Japanese adaptive translation of H. C. Andersen's tale "Keiserens nye Klæder" and published in the 7th issue of a literary magazine named 《中华小说界》(Chinese Novel), to be the first Chinese translation of Andersen's tales. However, according to Huang Qiaosheng (2008) and Zhi An(2009), in 1911, Zhou Zuoren translated〈皇帝之新衣〉(The Emperor's New Clothes) and published it in 《绍兴公报》(Shao Xing Bulletin). There is no way to check this newspaper now, but if their information is correct Zhou Zuoren must be the first translator of Andersen's tale in China.

7 According to the website of the Hans Christian Andersen Centre, the total number of Andersen tales amounts to 212. Andersen himself published 156 tales. On top of that, the 33 tales from Billedbog uden Billeder together with "The First Evening" found in Andersen's original manuscript and 22 additional tales found from other sources were also collected into the tales of Andersen. The total number of Andersen's tales thus amounts to 212. In China, 《安徒生童话全集》(The Complete Andersen's Fairy Tales) published by Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House in 1995 (first edition) contains the largest number of tales (165 tales). This Chinese version was translated by Ye Junjian directly from Danish texts.

8 As far as I know, there are at least three translators who used or referred to German versions when they translated Andersen's tales. One is Zhou Zuoren, who mentioned that Mannhardt's German translations are among the most faithful translations. The other is Yu Xiangsen. From the German title offered along with the Chinese title 〈无画的画帖〉(Bilderbuch ohne Bilder), we could deduce that this translation published in《文学周报》(Literature Weekly) in 1923 was translated from a German version. Taiwanese scholar Lee Yuju has also noticed this and mentioned it in his thesis. (2011, p.77) In addition, according to Li Baochu (1999), it is probable that Ye Junjian also referred to German translations.

9 In 1923,〈皇帝之新衣〉(The Emperor's New Clothes) translated by Zhou Zuoren from a English translation of "Keiserens nye Klæder" was selected into "The List of Books for Extensive Reading for Middle School Students", which confirms the popularity of Andersen's tales in China during this period.

the historical context of the translation and reception of Andersen's tales. However, they are either focused on a specific temporal period or on one particular aspect, for example on the course of reception.[10] Therefore, to give my readers a broader view of the history of Chinese Andersen translation, before the phase-by-phase study I plan to offer a brief but comprehensive historical account of the translation into Chinese and the reception of Andersen's tales.

Most scholars would agree that the period from the 1910s to the 1920s, which covers the years from the collapse of the last feudal dynasty, the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911), to the establishment of the first republic, the Republic of China (1912-1949), was a transformational period for China. The old orders, values and institutions of the traditional monarchy system had been overthrown, whereas the new ones of the modern republic had not yet been fully established. Shortly after the abdication of Pu Yi, the last Qing emperor, China found itself embroiled in wars launched by warlords who were variously supported by different foreign powers. This was an age of change in China's history which is often termed the 'semi-feudal and semi-colonial period'. China was confronted with a painful choice between thorough social reform or disintegration and colonisation. During this period the New Culture Movement [11] represented China's literature revolution, and the May Fourth Movement [12] represented the ideological revolution. The two bore far-reaching influences on almost all aspects of Chinese society.

When looking into the history of translation during this period, we have to bear in mind that the Chinese tradition of literary translation, established in the early 20th century, was characterised by intense utilitarianism. Translated texts were considered instructive tools for social improvement, and translators were seen as transmitters of new knowledge (frequently equated with knowledge of the West). Intellectuals like Hu Shi, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun, and Zhou Zuoren, to name a few of the social reformists with experience of overseas education, believed that following the Japanese example of learning from Western countries, and launching an overall westernisation

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10 There is going to be a review of the studies on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales in the next part of this chapter.

11 The New Culture Movement of the mid 1910s and 1920s sprang from the disillusionment with traditional Chinese culture following the failure of the Chinese Republic, founded in 1912 to address China's problems. Scholars like Chen Duxiu, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun, and Hu Shi, had classical educations but began to lead a revolt against Confucian culture. They called for the creation of a new Chinese culture based on global and western standards, especially democracy and science.

12 On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing demonstrated against the Paris Peace Conference and its grant of German rights over Shandong to Imperial Japan, turning this cultural movement into a political one in what became known as the May Fourth Movement. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Culture _Movement, last consulted in November, 2013)

movement, were the most efficient ways to save China from colonisation, and to protect the Chinese people from starvation and enslavement. Thus, when they sought to enlighten Chinese people with Western notions and ideas, literature was a convenient and effective tool. The literary revolution was therefore launched by intellectuals with Western ideas. Traditional high literature was criticised as being full of clichés and lacking in originality. Fiction, a genre that had long been considered as peripheral, along with folk literature, was rediscovered and promoted as an instrument for social and ideological reform, and translations of Western literature, especially fiction, became part of a conscious effort to enlighten the masses. This period was therefore a crucial turning point for Chinese literature, when the "literary vacuum" (Even-Zohar, 1978, pp.193-194) appeared in the Chinese literary polysystem. As a result, Andersen's tales, together with other foreign literary works, were translated into Chinese and penetrated to the core of the Chinese literary polysystem.

When first translated into Chinese, Andersen's tales were classified and introduced as '童话' (fairy tale)[13], indicating a fiction genre for children. As a genre new to Chinese intellectuals, Andersen's fairy tales were considered to be full of "poetic beauty" and "fantastic thoughts" and were warmly welcomed immediately on their arrival in China. In the decade after Andersen was introduced into China and translated into Chinese, many prestigious Chinese litterateurs, such as Sun Yuxiu, Zhou Zuoren, Gu Junzheng, Zhao Jingshen, Zheng Zhenduo, dedicated their time and passion to the translation and interpretation of these "wondrous" fairy tales.

As an important translator of Andersen's tales, fairy tales had always been one of Zhou Zuoren's research interests.[14] He sincerely believed that fairy tales could help

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13 The term '童话' comes originally from Japanese. Zhou Zuoren first used it as a Chinese term for fairy tale in the comment following his translation of Oscar Wilde's "The Happy Prince" in 《域外小说集》 (A Collection of Foreign Fictions), which was published in Japan in 1909. Later in 1912, Zhou expressed his ideas and theory on fairy tales in an articles like 〈童话研究〉 (A Study on Fairy Tales). Also in 1909, Sun Yuxiu started a journal exclusively for fairy tales named "童话", which established the word as the formal name for this new genre in China.

14 From 1912 to 1932, Zhou Zuoren authored more than ten articles or books dedicated exclusively to fairy tales.〈童话研究〉 (Research on Fairy Tales) in 1912, 〈童话略论〉 (A Brief Discussion on Fairy Tale) in 1913, 〈古童话释义〉 (Interpretation of Ancient Fairy Tales) in 1914, and 《儿童文学小论》 (A Breif Discussion on Children's Literature) in 1932 are some of the important ones. The issues discussed in those articles and books range from the history and traditions of fairy tales in western countries to the ideal writing style and themes of fairy tales. From his own experience of translating fairy tales and other children's literature, he generated his own theories on fairy tales and children's literature. The discussions during the 1920s between Zhou and Zhao Jingshen, another famous Andersen translator of the period, exerted a far-reaching influence on H. C. Andersen translations as well as on the development of Children's literature in China.

cultivate mentally healthy and lively children - the future Chinese citizens - and would ultimately change society. On the other hand, he severely opposed the utilitarian idea of delivering moral sermons through fairy tales. The concept behind this utilitarianism, he believed, was treating children as mini adults. According to him, fairy tales should not be used as tools for indoctrinating children with norms and rules of the adult world.[15] He believed the best fairy tales are those written solely to amuse and inspire children, and that these were what Chinese Children's literature needed at the time. He praised Andersen's fairy tales as "works of nonsense"[16] which created an imaginative world for children. This view was quite pioneering in Zhou's time, considering there were very few theories on children's literature in China in the 1910s. His interpretation of Andersen's fairy tales and his thoughts on creating children's literature were influenced by Western criticism of Andersen's fairy tales, and at the same time integrated his own opinions drawn from his research into Western theories of anthropology. In Zhou's articles, we see that he referred to critical works on Andersen by Georg Brandes (Denmark), Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (Norway), and Edmund Gosse (UK). He believed that Andersen's fairy tales would help to introduce a fresh and healthy way of creating children's literature, offer young Chinese readers good quality fairy tales from Western countries, and introduce new ways of understanding children and their inner world.

When 《域外小说集》 (A Collection of Foreign Short Stories) was reprinted by Qunyi Publishing House in 1921, Zhou Zuoren added 《皇帝之新衣》 (The Emperor's New Clothes), his translation of "Keiserens nye Klæder". Although this translation was published later than 《卖火柴的女儿》 (The Match-selling Girl), another translation rendered by Zhou (1919), because 《皇帝之新衣》 was translated before 1917, it was actually translated before 《卖火柴的女儿》 was translated in classical Chinese, manifesting the translation strategy that Zhou tended to adopt in the early stage of his translation work. At the same time, this decision also reflects the fact that classical Chinese was still a common choice for Chinese translators of the time. The 6 tales included in 《十之九》 (Nine out of Ten), the first collection of translations of Andersen's tales translated by Chen Jialin and Chen Dadeng (1918) and published by Shanghai Publishing House, are also rendered in classical Chinese.

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15 For Zhou Zuoren's thoughts and theory on fairy tales and children's literature please refer to 〈童话略论〉 (A Brief Discussion on Fairy Tales; Zhou, 1912/1998, pp.663-669) and 〈儿童的书〉(On Books for Children; 1923/1998, pp.708-711). In the second article, he recommends nonsense literature for children, which aims at rectifying the tendency to sermonise in children's literature.

16 After Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland was translated into Chinese in 1922 by Zhao Yuanren, "nonsense literature" evoked great interest among Chinese authors. They were fascinated by this new genre in children's literature and believed that it was an ideal model for Children's literature. Zhou Zuoren held that Alice in Wonderland was a masterpiece, carrying sense through nonsensical narration.

As the New Culture Movement started to impact upon Chinese literature from the end of the 1910s, vernacular Chinese gradually replaced classical Chinese and became the sole written language for literary creation as well as translation. Zhou Zuoren, the pioneer of vernacular Chinese reform, had already discarded classical Chinese in his writing and translation, advocating that vernacular Chinese should be the proper language to translate Andersen's tales for they are famous for their colloquial and lively style. In Sept. 1918, shortly after the publication of 《十之九》 (Nine out of Ten), Zhou critiqued the Chen brothers for their decision to translate into classical Chinese and their manipulation of translations in accordance with traditional Chinese doctrines and values. In fact, all the Chinese translations which followed the publication of 《卖火柴的女儿》 were translated in vernacular Chinese.

Thanks to Zhou Zuoren's effortless promotion of Andersen's tales, more and more intellectuals were attracted by them and started to translate them, especially those active in the New Culture Movement. Zhao Jingshen was one of those Andersen admirers. He had dual roles as both translator and writer. Like Zhou Zuoren, he devoted enormous time and passion to the translation and interpretation of H. C. Andersen's tales. Moreover, he produced the first collection of translations of Andersen's tales in vernacular Chinese.[17] He had four collections of translations of Andersen's tales published in the 1920s.

Another figure who played a dominant role in translating and popularising Andersen's fairy tales in the 1920s was Zheng Zhenduo. He spared himself no effort in publishing and presenting Andersen's tales. His contributions include the launch of a specialised journal, 《儿童世界》 (Children's World)[18], for both translations and original works of children's literature, editing two continuous special issues of 《小说月报》 (The Short Story Magazine) for research articles and translations of Andersen's tales on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of his birthday, and conducting a comprehensive review of research into and translations of Andersen's fairy tales in Chinese and English, which was published in 1925. His work provided a solid base for research into Andersen's tales and Andersen translations in the 1930s.

Along with the popularization of Andersen's fairy tales among intellectuals, the first surge of translating his works started in 1925, resulting in the publication of several special issues of literature journals for Andersen studies and translations in 1925, on the occasion of the anniversary of his 120th birthday. These special issues

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17 In 1923, New Culture Book Society published the first collection of Chinese translations of Andersen's fairy tales 《无画的画帖》 (A Picture Book without Pictures), which was the first collection of translations in vernacular Chinese.

18 Considering that this dissertation is composed in English, the Chinese names of the literary journals and the literary societies appearing in this dissertation will only be offered the first time they are mentioned. Only English translations or Pinyin of these names will be used after that.

include issues 8 and 9, Vol. 16 of *The Short Story Magazine* and issue 186 of《文学周报》 (Literature Weekly). Many weighty intellectuals became involved in the promotion and translation of Andersen's tales. Those who agreed with Zhou Zuoren considered themselves members of the "Andersen Party".[19] Under the keen advocacy of these intellectuals and through the initial translations of Andersen tales, Andersen earned a reputation among Chinese intellectuals as a master of fairy tale and a poet with a childlike imagination and innocence.

According to the table presented by Wolfgang Bauer in *Western Literature and Translation Work in Communist China*, H. C. Andersen remained the second most translated Western author in China from 1910 to 1935. (Bauer and Institut für Asienkunde, 1964, pp.40-41). At the end of his article 《安徒生评传》 (A Critical Biography of Andersen), Zhao Jingshen mentioned that by 1922, 28 of Andersen's tales had already been translated into Chinese (Zhao, 1924 in Wang 2005, pp.20-22). Integrating the list that Zhao offered in his article with the list offered by Zheng Zhenduo (1925) in his article《安徒生的作品及关于安徒生的参考书籍》(Andersen's Works and The Reference Books on Andersen), we can see that up to the publication of the two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine*, at least 54 of Andersen's tales had been rendered into Chinese. If we add this number to the number of tales that had been translated in 1925, then by the end of 1925, around 65 of Andersen's tales had already been translated into Chinese. Some of them had been translated more than once. In addition to several collections of translations which usually consisted of a small number of tales (none of them has more than 12 tales), most of these Chinese translations appeared sporadically in various journals like *The Literature Weekly*, 《妇女杂志》(The Ladies' Journal), *The World of Children*, 《晨报副镌》 (Supplement to The Morning Daily), etc. According to Zhang Zhongliang (Qing Gong is his pen name), the most translated Andersen tales from 1918 to 1925 were《豌豆上的公主》 (The Princess on the Pea - 6 versions), 《雏菊》(The Daisy - 4 versions),《荷马墓里的一朵玫瑰花》(A Rose from Homer's Grave - 3 versions),《火绒匣》(The Tinder Box - 3 versions), 《女人鱼》(The Little Mermaid - 3 versions), 《快乐家庭》(The Happy Family - 3 versions),《牧豕人》(The swineherd - 3 versions),《缝针》(The Darning Needle - 3 versions),《拇指林娜》(Thumbelina - 2 versions),《皇帝的新衣》(The Emperor's New Clothes - 2 versions),《大克劳斯和小克劳斯》(Little Claus and Big Claus - 2 versions),《玫瑰花妖》(The Rose Elf - 2 versions),《飞箱》(The Flying Trunk - 2 versions), and 《牧羊女郎和打扫烟囱者》(The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweep - 2 versions).

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19 Ever since Zhou, Zuoren called himself "a member of the Andersen Party" in a review of a collection of translations of Andersen's fairy tales in 1918, the May Fourth intellectuals who admired Andersen's fairy tales and were devoted to translating and promoting them were considered members of the "Andersen Party".

Zhang believes that this list defines the value orientation of the reception of Andersen's tales before and after the May Fourth Movement. He holds that this list demonstrates that intellectuals, including translators, were at the time more attracted by the unique children's characteristics that were captured in Andersen's tales (Zhang, 2005, p.231).

As a literary genre that had newly been introduced to China through translation, Andersen's tales brought cultural surprises as well as new ideas and values like "children should be treated as spiritually independent individuals with a totally different inner world from adults" and "all human beings are equal" to China. In an era when a whole generation of intellectuals was welcoming Western ideas and seeking to reform Chinese literature, Andersen's tales received a warm welcome and soon became key texts that were considered to represent Danish, Scandinavian, and even Western culture.

As one of the focuses of the New Culture Movement, children's literature received ever more attention from the 1920s. Hence the translation and creation of children's literature went on to enjoy a boom in the early 1930s. Many prestigious literati continued to promote children's literature and to be involved in translating foreign children's literature into Chinese, while the major publishing houses released their own collections of children's literature which comprised both translations and original creations. The themes of these collections covered popular science, fairy tales, juvenile fiction, etc. For example, from 1922 to 1937 Chinese Bookstore published 4 collections of books aimed at young readers, which amounted in total to ca. 690 volumes. From 1933 to 1937, The Commercial Publishing House also published 2 series of books for children, which consisted of 700 volumes. Other large scale series of Children's literature included "世界少年文库" (World Juvenile Literature Library) and "世界少年文学丛刊" (World Juvenile Literature Collection). The first collection was published by World Book Co. Ltd from 1931 to 1937, consisting of 47 volumes; the second was published by Kaiming Bookstore from 1929 to 1946, consisting of around 60 volumes. They remained as the two largest collections of translated children's literature until the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. Prior to the blossoming of children's literature in China in the 1930s, Andersen's fame and popularity had reached an unprecedented peak after a series of memorial activities carried out in the Chinese literary world in 1925. According to 《民国时期总书目 (1911-1949):外国文学》 (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Minguo Period (1911-1949): Foreign Literature), up to 1937, the year when Japan launched its full-scale invasion of China, 25 collections of Andersen translations, including first editions and reprints, had been published in China. There were obviously more collections of Andersen translations published from 1926 to 1937 than the four which were published from 1918 to 1925.

Zhao Jingshen remained as the most active translator of Andersen's tales during this period. He had 5 collections of translations published during this period, containing 74 tales. Four of these collections had been reprinted by 1937. Following Zhao, Xu Peiren had his 《安徒生童话全集》 (Complete Andersen's Fairy Tales) published between 1930 and 1931. It was planned to consist of 24 volumes. However, only 3 volumes with a total of 21 tales were published. Other active translators of Andersen's tales included Gu Junzheng (3 collections, 15 tales), and Guo Kunyuan (2 collections, 21 tales).

One characteristic of the translations during this period is that all those which appeared from 1926 to 1937 were still indirect translations. As far as I can establish, an overwhelming majority of them were all translated via English translations of Andersen's tales. Another feature that is worth noticing is that most of these translations belong to two momentous book series entitled "世界少年文库" (World Juvenile Literature Library) and "世界少年文学丛刊" (World Juvenile Literature Collection). From the titles of these two collections, one can easily tell that they were published deliberately for younger readers, which means that Andersen's tales were gaining popularity among average readers and children. Moreover, translations of Andersen's tales were introduced into the recommended reading list for primary school and middle school students.

However, although Andersen continued to be one of the most popular authors of Children's literature in China, the interpretations and reviews of Andersen's tales turned in a different direction from those of the 1920s. These changes were closely related to the socio-political situation of the time.

The Japanese invasion, which started on Sept. 18, 1931, gradually dragged most of China into the conflagration of war.[20] The threat of being conquered and enslaved hung over the Chinese people. Thus, fighting for freedom and territorial integrity was the first priority for most Chinese people. Against this socio-political background, intellectuals directed their attention towards opposition to the invasion and national regeneration. In addition, those Left-wing intellectuals who were admirers of Russian socialism became increasingly influential in the 1930s. Therefore, translating works of foreign literature on fighting against invasion and opposing fascism was considered an obligation and a responsibility for translators, and these translations became the main component of translated literature. Consequently, literature from Allies like the Soviet Union and the United States attracted more translators than before, and realistic literary works gained ground over the romantic literary works which had been popular

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20 The wholesale aggressive war against China was launched by Japan from 1937 after the "Lu Gou Qiao Incident" on 7th of July. However, aggression against China had begun as early as 1931. In that year, Japanese troops occupied the three north-eastern provinces of China after the "918 Incident".

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in the early 1920s. The Left-wing writer[21] and translator Mao Dun's words in an article published on 《抗战文艺》 (Anti-Japanese Literature), a major journal of resistance literature during this period, expressed the translators' commitment: "…It is ever more necessary to translate works depicting the struggles taking place in the Soviet Union and Spain …" (Mao Dun, 1938, as cited in Li, 2005)[22].

Many intellectuals believed that children should also be offered books that could inspire their patriotism and arouse their determination to fight against invasion. When reality was so dangerous and cruel, fairy tales became very malapropos. Hence, the interpretation of Andersen's tales turned in a different direction during this period. Although his writing style was still commended and praised by Chinese intellectuals, the ideological content of his tales and the messages they might pass to young readers were a target of criticism. Chinese intellectuals found Andersen's fairy tales remote from reality and full of unhealthy fantasy. Xu Diaofu a leading writer and translator of the period commented on Andersen's tales thus:

> Escaping from reality and hiding in a fairyland of "mermaids" and "swans" is one of the characteristics of Andersen's fairy tales. To be frank, our children no longer need such self-deceiving and comforting therapy. Qualitative analysis will reveal that they contain poisonous elements.
>
> …
>
> The only thing we are not satisfied with is the messages his fairy tales pass to children. He feeds children with vacuous fantasies, disregards reality, and never anatomizes social reality for them. Thus, he cannot be an ideal fairy-tale writer for this era. However, we should not blame Andersen for being outdated because Andersen lived in a period when Romanticism was popular in Denmark, and his works are masterpieces of Romanticism (Xu Diaofu, 1935, pp.240, 242).

Nonetheless, intellectuals agreed that Andersen's style of writing and the language used in his tales were still worthy of appreciation. In the same article written in 1935, Xu Diaofu also stated that:

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21 The phrase 'Left-wing writer' refers to the members of The League of the Left-Wing Writers, which was an organization of writers formed in Shanghai, China, in 1930. It was initiated by Lu Xun, a leading member of the literati of the time and established under the influence and with the support of the Chinese Communist Party.

22 All English quotations of Chinese writers and critics in this dissertation are my translations unless other stated.

Does this mean that Andersen's fairy tales are no longer worthy of our admiration? No! Andersen has earned his fame in the history of literature. Therefore, we will commemorate the 70th anniversary of his death and the 130th anniversary of his birth.

…

Not only is his language simple and friendly for children to read, the feelings he expresses are also familiar and intelligible to them. Every child enjoys his fairy tales (Xu Diaofu, 1935, p.243).

From the 1910s when Andersen was first translated into Chinese, to the 1940s, the most-translated tales were "The Emperor's New Clothes", "The Tinder Box", "Thumbelina", "The Princess on the Pea", "Little Ida's Flowers", "Little Claus and Big Claus", "The Flying Trunk", "The Little Mermaid", "The Nightingale" and "The Ugly Duckling".[23]

Compared with the previous decade, the period from 1937, when all-out war broke out between Japan and China, to 1949, when the PRC was established, was not a prolific period for translation. The unstable socio-political environment caused first by the war against Japanese aggression and then the Civil war was the major reason for this drop in publication and translation of Western literature. According to《民国时期总书目 (1911-1949):外国文学》 (A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Minguo Period (1911-1949): Foreign Literature), only 2 translations of Andersen's tales were published during the Anti-aggression period (1937-1945), and only 3 translations were published during the Civil War period (1946-1949), far fewer than the numbers in the previous decade.

In the early years after the establishment of PRC (1949-1966), the old bourgeois literature of the Kuomintang (KMT) period was cast aside, but new proletarian literature remained immature and scarce. This was another period of vacuum in China's literary history. Thus, translated literature occupied a central position in the literary system for almost a decade following the establishment of the PRC in 1949. Unlike the early years of the century when translated works of Western literature occupied the central position of translated literature, this era belonged to literary works from the Soviet Union. The political reasons behind this trend are obvious. Although Soviet literature and literary theories, including theories on children's

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23 The list of most translated fairy tales here is based on the statistics drawn from《民国时期总书目 (1911-1949):外国文学》 (A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Minguo Period (1911-1949): Foreign Literature), which may be inexact but are still meaningful and likely to be a reliable indicator of frequency and tendency.

literature had begun to exert their influences on Chinese literary theory from as early as the 1930s, only after the establishment of the PRC, when China became a member of the socialist camp and adopted the 'leaning to one side' policy from the 1950s, the Soviet Union, as the "older brother" and the leader of all communist countries, became the idol of the Chinese people. Every achievement of the Soviet Union, whether cultural or economic, was welcomed and admired in China. Intellectuals advocated passionately that "it is especially necessary for translation activities to "lean to one side"- the socialist side, the side of the Soviet Union and other newly born democratic countries, and learn from them" (Sun, 1949, Foreword). Against this socio-political backdrop, translated literature in China was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union. Not only was a major part of translated literature in China during this time composed of translations from Soviet literature, but selection of non-Russian items to be translated, and interpretation and criticism of translated literature, also followed the Soviet Union's tastes and criteria. According to statistics offered in Wolfgang Bauer's book (Bauer and Institut für Asienkunde, 1964, p.67), from October 1949 to July 1960, 83.8% of all translated books were originally written in Russian, and only 16.2% in other languages, while from 1910 to 1935 only 361 out of 3888 translated books (9%) had been Russian. Although China became hostile to the Soviet Union at the end of the 1960s, Russian's predilection for "progressive works of critical realism" continued to influence

However, it is interesting to see from Bauer's statistics that although the number of books translated from Western languages fell sharply after 1949, in terms of overall readership H. C. Andersen remained the most popular foreign writer in China during this period. Closely following Balzac (33 items), 32 of Andersen's works were translated from October 1949 to August 1960. The number of editions of Andersen's translations during this period (64 editions) headed the list of most popular authors in communist China from 1949 to 1960; and it was also the case for the total number of printed copies (more than 1,173,500). (Bauer and Institut für Asienkunde, 1964) This means that H. C. Andersen's tales were even more popular than Shakespeare's works in China. The fact that Andersen took the fourth place on the list of the most popular Western authors in Soviet Russia (from 1918 to 1957) perhaps gives us a clue to the reason for Andersen's popularity in China. As represented by the comment from Nikolai Nikolai Dobrolyubov, Soviet revolutionary critics often considered Andersen's works as "an example of the fusion of realism and fantasy, and in an extremely poetic manner" (Rossel, 1996, p.279). In fact, this interpretation was also an overwhelming and mainstream one among both Chinese translators and readers of this period.

Besides, as the son of a shoe maker Andersen was categorised as a 'writer of the people', who sympathized with the poor and wrote for them. This is also why it was still permitted to translate and read Andersen's fairy tales when most western literary

works had lost their popularity and legitimacy in China. Eventually, Andersen's image was revised from a romantic writer into a realistic writer who was born in a proletarian family and wrote for the proletariat. His fairy tales were also translated as realistic works full of poetic beauty, empathy with poor people, and satire on the ruling class.

Ye Junjian, the first translator who translated Andersen's fairy tales directly from Danish texts, was probably the most important Andersen translator of this time.[24] From 1949 to 1979, 119 versions of translations of Andersen's fairy tales were published in China, 110 of which were translated by Ye Junjian. Thus, in terms of Chinese translation of Andersen's fairy tales, it is reasonable to call the three decades from 1949 to 1979 the "Ye Junjian Period". As was the case with other contemporary translators, the dominant political ideology influenced Ye's translation. Indications of the politicisation of his translation and interpretation work can be found in the prefaces of several collections of Ye's translations of Andersen's fairy tales and in some of his papers and articles on Andersen's fairy tales and translations published before 1978. For instance, in the preface of his collection of translations of Andersen's fairy tales published in 1958, he stated that "Andersen has raised some questions in his fairy tales and they (the fairy tales) have encouraged people from different social classes to concern themselves with the real world" (Ye, 1958, Preface). Thus, "Andersen was a great realistic writer in Denmark in the 19th century" (Ye, 1955, p.16). In Ye's translations, "the emperor is a representative of a corrupted ruling class. He never concerns himself about his people and wastes the fortune made by the people on satisfying his luxurious desires". Additionally, "the poor working class represented by the little match girl are starving to death while the rich are celebrating the New Year". The little mermaid and Elisa are considered as "rebellious nobility". "They want to abandon their corrupt, shallow aristocratic circles and seek a virtuous way of life" (Ye, 1978, p.68, 72). As a result, in Chinese translations, the religious elements in Andersen's original texts were deliberately weakened and concealed while the descriptions of a stupid, indifferent ruling class and the miserable life of the poor working class were highlighted.

In 1958, *Complete Collection of Andersen's Fairy Tales,* the first large scale translation taken by Ye Junjian directly from Andersen's original works, was published by New Literature & Art Press in Shanghai. All later editions of Ye's

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24 Ye Junjian's translations are considered the most faithful by Nordic critics like Søren Egerod from Denmark and Christoph Harbsmeir from Norway. Their comments on Ye's translations can be found in Søren's review of Ye's translation work in Vol. 14, Issue 1&2 of Le Monde Oriental in 1961 and the Postscript of Christoph's paper "Hans Christian in China" in Anderseniana in 1980. In 1988, Ye was awarded the Order of the Dannebrog by the Danish Queen, making him the only translator in the world who shared the honour with the author for the same masterpieces.

translations of Andersen's fairy tales published before 1990 are based on this collection. Since then this edition has been canonized as a classic translation of Andersen's works in China and has also become a classic Chinese literary work. Some translations like 《皇帝的新装》(The Emperor's New Clothes) and 《卖火柴的小女孩》(The Little Match-selling Girl) have even been incorporated into Chinese text books for primary and secondary school students. As the net enrolment ratio of school-age children in primary schools kept growing in China after 1949, Andersen's tales gradually became known to almost every Chinese child.

Another translator that is worth mentioning is Chen Jingrong. She was the first female translator to produce large scale translations of Andersen's tales. As an avant garde poet, she was obviously possessed by the poetic beauty and colourful imagination of Andersen's tales. Although all her translations were rendered from English translations, the language in her translations is simple, vivid, natural and salted with some melancholy, which echoes with the Andersenian beauty in Andersen tales.

From 1966, the Cultural Revolution began to take control of every aspect of Chinese life, including cultural and literary activities. The high pressure and suffocating political atmosphere this political storm brought to Chinese society devastated development and freedom of literary creation and rendered the whole decade a barren period in the history of Chinese literature and culture. There was not a single translation of Andersen's fairy tales published from 1966 to 1976.[25]

The years after the Cultural Revolution, especially after the opening-up of China, are classified by Teng Mei as a "Cultural Transition Period", like the period between 1919 and 1949 (Teng, 2009, p.60).[26] According to the polysystem theory, during these transitional periods translated literature often takes a central position in the literary system. I would hesitate to declare that translated literature has persistently occupied a central position in Chinese literary system from 1980s to the present, but the flourishing of translated literature after 1978 was surely stimulated by the transitional socio-political situation.

Concurrently with the opening up to the outside, especially to the western countries, Chinese readers - intellectuals as well as general readers - became more and more interested in Western cultures and literature. At the same time, the correcting of "leftist mistakes" by the CPC (The Communist Party of China) encouraged the

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25 This statistic is drawn from《1949-1979 翻译出版外国古典文学著作目录》(A Catalogue of Translated Foreign Classical Literary Works: 1949-1979), edited by the Archival Library of Chinese Publications.

26 In A Study on Translation Policies in China Since 1919, Teng Mei uses a footnote to explain that the terms of cultural transition period and stabilized period were firstly put forward by Lü Jun (2006) in his book 《翻译学:一个建构主义的视角》(Translatology: A Constructivist Perspective).

introduction and translation of Western literature. This revision triggered the de-politicization of Chinese literature. Although literature was still not fully free from political constraints, limits on the creation and translation of literature became looser and eventually resulted in an upsurge of creation and translation. By the end of the 1980s, the number of presses that specialized in publishing foreign literature had soared from 3 before the 1970s to 40 (Meng and Li, 2005, p.418). The market economy system which started in the early 1980s in China also wrought tremendous change in the Chinese publishing industry. Between the 1990s and the present, most printing companies were reformed from public institutions to private enterprises. Profit has thus become one of the major elements that will be taken into consideration when publishers plan to release a translated work. They give much more consideration to which translated works are likely to be welcomed by the market and will therefore turn a better profit. Against this economic and political background, the translation and publication of Andersen's tales in China has also entered a new phase.

First of all, the number of translations of Andersen's fairy tales has soared. The search results from the bibliography of the National Library of China reveal that 621 translations of Andersen's works (digital and paper, in Chinese and other ethnic languages in China) were published from 1980 to 2010, compared with only 99 from 1920 to 1979. These statistics are of course not a fully accurate figure for all the published translations of Andersen's works in various periods in China, but will certainly be representative of the overall tendency. Almost all major publishing houses in China have published Andersen translations at least once since 1978. Some are direct translations but most of them are indirect translations rendered from mediating texts (MTs) in English, French, etc.[27] Although the quality of these translations varies and many of them are editorial versions based on Ye Junjian's translations, new high-quality translations have appeared on the Chinese book market. Two new complete translations of Andersen's tales that have been translated directly from Danish texts and one indirect complete translation rendered from English translations are the best among them. The two direct translations were translated by Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e and first published in 1995 and 2005. The indirect translation was translated by Ren Rongrong and first published in 1996. Lin and Ren's translations were republished in 2005 on the occasion of the bi-centennial of Andersen's birth. These translations offered new interpretations of Andersen's tales and at the same time consolidated the canonized status that Andersen had assumed since the 1950s.

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27 English mediating texts remained as the major source texts (STs) for the indirect translations appeared after 1978. However, some indirect translations like〈小杉树〉(The Little Fir Tree) by Huang Yushan and Wang Jun (1983) are rendered from French mediating texts.

Second, non-traditional translations like pinyin illustrated versions, digital editions and audio books emerged during this period. At the same time, Andersen's tales were adapted into movies, puppet shows, ballets, and cartoons. There is even a Chinese traditional Beijing Opera adapted from Andersen's "De vilde Svaner" (The Wild Swans) (Li, 2005, pp.178-179).

Third, Andersen's other works, including poems, novels, dramas, essays and even pencil sketches and paper-cut works were introduced and translated into China during this period. In 2005, 《安徒生文集》 (Anthology of Andersen's Works) translated by Lin Hua was published by People's Literature Publishing House. This anthology showed Chinese readers that Andersen was not only a great writer of fairy tales but also a passionate poet, a good novelist and a talented artist. Although his tales remain the root of his popularity and fame in China, Andersen's image is being changed to one that is closer to reality.

The fourth and the most important characteristic of Andersen translations in this period is de-politicization, which was caused by and at the same time led to multiple interpretations of his works. A comparison of the two prefaces Ye Junjian composed for 《安徒生童话全集》 (Complete Works of Andersen's Fairy Tales) published in 1958 and 1978 serves best to explain this change. In the preface to the 1958 edition, Ye states that "Andersen was not interested in the Romanticism prevailing in Denmark at his time" and explains how different Andersen was from other contemporary Danish romantic writers. This is obviously a view reconciled with the ideological and literary trends of the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, Ye classified Andersen's tales into two categories: one of them represents poor people's miserable lives and their dreams of happiness, while the other reveals the corrupt lives and indifference of rich people and satirizes the stupidity of the ruling class (Ye 1955, Preface). This over-simplified categorization embodies the politicization of literary works before the 1980s. Then in 《安徒生童话全集》 (Complete Works of Andersen's Fairy Tales) republished in 1978, the year when the Cultural Revolution finally ended, Ye put forward some totally different interpretations of Andersen's fairy tales. In this preface, Andersen's fairy tales were introduced as a paean of praise for the human being, and the simple, childlike but poetic language applied in his fairy tales was highly praised. Ye also mentioned his personal experience in Denmark and how it became a motivation for translating Andersen's fairy tales. It would have been very improper to refer to these matters before 1978. Moreover, at the end of this preface Ye provides a little more information on his translation strategies. Whereas Ye did not mention a word about his translation experience in his 1958 edition, all the new content in the 1978 edition represents a new, non-political attitude towards Andersen's fairy tales and the work of translation.

Reviewing the course of Andersen translations in China from the 1910s to 2005, one finds that the interpretations and translations of Andersen's tales have undergone

several phases. His tales first brought Chinese intellectuals a pleasant surprise, and offered models for reforming Chinese literature and society. Andersen was praised as a genius of fairy tales who could enter the inner world of the child, and a Romanticist who loves life. He was crowned king of fairy tales by Chinese intellectuals. After passionate promotion of his tales, widespread interest flourished among the general readership. Although his tales were suspected of containing too many illusions and being unhealthy for Chinese children in the 1930s, more and more children and school students gained access to Andersen's tales. After the establishment of the PRC, against a background of the prevailing political environment, Andersen's tales were interpreted as works of realism that drew back a veil on the cruelty and superficiality of the rich and the misery of the poor. After Ye Junjian published his complete translation of Andersen's tales in 1958, they began to reach the widest range of readers, namely every school child. Andersen's mastery of fairy tales was hailed by the education institutions, and Ye's translations as the best ever presented in Chinese. Once China had opened its door to the outside world after 1978, interpretations of Andersen's tales began to diversify. As dozens of new translations appeared, Andersen's image became fuller and rounder. Hence, diverse interpretations and translations have contributed to different images of Andersen in various temporal periods. Moreover, through (re)translation and interpretation, Andersen's tales have achieved canonized status as classic Children's literature.

I therefore propose to periodise the history of Andersen translations in China according to the different roles that the interpretations and translations played in the process of the canonization of Andersen's tales. The first period functions as the introductory stage, which covers the years from 1909, when Andersen's work was first introduced to China, to 1925, when the whole Chinese literary world celebrated Andersen's 130th birthday. The second stage lasts from 1926 to 1937, when full-scale war between Japan and China broke out and led to a reduction in the publication of Andersen's tales. During this period, Andersen became familiar to average Chinese readers. Translation and publication of Andersen's tales stagnated during the period of conflict, which did not end until 1949. Therefore, the third stage started from 1949, the year in which the PRC was established. Andersen's tales continued to be considered as appropriate literature for the future of communist China. In this period, Ye Junjian's direct translations became the classic translations of Andersen's tales and at the same time raised Andersen to the throne of the king of fairy tales. The years of the Cultural Revolution were "the barren period" (Jiang, 1988, p.22) for Chinese children's literature. Without exception, no Andersen tales could be published during this period, which lasted from 1966 to 1976. Therefore, the fourth stage of Andersen translation in China only started in 1978, when the Chinese government decided to open China to the outside world and de-politicise literary and artistic creation. In this stage, along with an enormous number of new translations of Andersen's tales and of

his other works, interpretations of Andersen also multiplied. These new translations and new interpretations have consolidated Andersen's status as a classic fairy tale writer in China. The end, and also the summit of this stage were marked by a series of translation and publication events on the occasion of the bi-century of Hans Christian Andersen's birthday in 2005.

1.3 Previous studies on H. C. Andersen's tales and their Chinese translations in China

After Andersen's tales were introduced to China, they became an essential topic when talking about children's literature. Andersen's life and his works, mainly his fairy tales, began to arouse scholarly interest shortly after they were introduced to a Chinese readership. Thus, studies on Andersen's tales in China, including interpretations, criticism, introductions, etc., started from the beginning of the last century and have continued all the way to the present.

These studies mainly fall into three categories. The first category consists of literary criticism that interests itself in the interpretation, style, and biographical background of Andersen's tales. Most research on Andersen and his tales belongs to this category. It includes articles like 《丹麦诗人安兑而然传》 (A Biology of Andersen, a Danish Poet) by Zhou Zuoren (1913),《安徒生童话里的思想》(Themes of Andersen's Tales) by Zhao Jingshen (1925),《丹麦童话家安徒生》(Andersen - A Danish Writer of Fairy Tales) by Di Fu (1935), 《论安徒生童话创作的悲剧心理》 (On The Tragic Psychology in Andersen's Fairy Tale Creation) by Wang Ning (2003), 《被人忽略的一面：安徒生的基督教情结》 (Andersen's Religious Complex: An Overlooked Aspect) by Liang Zhijian (2006), 《安徒生故事的幽默》 (The Humour in Andersen's Fairy Tales) by Taiwanese scholar Lü Lingzhen (M. A. Thesis, 2008), and "Andersen's Fairy Tales: Stylistic Features and Generic Structure" by Qian Xi (M.A. Thesis, 2009), 《安徒生童话里的东方形象》 (A Study of the Image of the East in the Fairy Tales of Hans Christian Andersen) by Peng Yinghong (PhD dissertation, 2011). These articles have influenced the understanding and interpretation of Andersen and his tales and have further influenced the translations of Andersen's tales, which will be discussed and analysed later in this dissertation.

The second category includes research that focuses on the public response to Andersen's tales and their influence on Chinese society and its literary system. Research in this category often appeals to comparative literary theories and refers to the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales when they touch upon the history of the response they generated. In 2005, the bicentennial of H. C. Andersen's birth, two notable books appeared on the history of the study of and the response to Andersen's tales in China. One is《安徒生的中国阐释》 (The Chinese Interpretations of Andersen) composed by Li Hongye and the other is《中国安徒生研究一百年》

(One-Hundred-Year's of Andersen Studies in China) edited by Wang Quangen. Each of these two books has addressed the topic in its own ways. They have evoked academic interest in the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales and have exerted profound influence on subsequent research.

Li Hongye is a scholar of comparative literature. Her book mainly focuses on studies of Andersen's tales in China and their reception from their first introduction to China. This diachronic study reviews different interpretations of Andersen's tales in China in different temporal periods as well as Andersen's influence on Chinese children's literature in each period. In her study, Li has viewed the history of Andersen's reception in China in the light of the socio-political background and stressed the significant influences that ideology could shed on the reception of foreign literature. Her book offers abundant historical and bibliographical data as well as literature about Andersen studies and responses in China and is the first of its kind. Li has chosen to observe this history from a macro-historical perspective. She has tried to seek out significant, long-term trends and ultimate patterns and has sketched Andersen's images in different periods in China. However, this viewpoint has inevitably prevented her from addressing the micro history of the subject in China, namely those alternative and non-mainstream interpretations of Andersen's tales in each era. Moreover, her book has not touched much upon the translations of Andersen's tales, especially the translations themselves. Therefore, her book is more a comparative literary study than a translation study.

《中国安徒生研究一百年》(Andersen Research in China for One Hundred Years) edited by Wang Quangen is a collection of articles covering a century of research into and interpretation of Andersen's tales in China. The book is composed of four parts. The first part includes 33 articles on Andersen's tales. The second part consists of interpretations of 3 classic Andersen tales in China. The third part comprises 3 articles on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. The last part deals with Andersen's biographical background. This book offers ample scholarly literature on Andersen studies. By arranging articles in chronological sequence, it helps to bring order to the tradition of Andersen studies in China. Nonetheless, this book does not focus on specific topics, such as the studies on Andersen translations in China.

Wang Lei's book 《安徒生童话与中国现代儿童文学》(Andersen's Fairy Tales and Modern Chinese Children's Literature), which was published in 2009, is another book that focuses on the history of the reception of Andersen's tales in China and their influence on modern Chinese children's literature. Some paragraphs in this book refer to the translation of Andersen's tales in China, including important translators and their translations. In addition, Appendix I at the end of the book offers a list of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales from the late Qing Dynasty to the 1920s.

However, although the translation of Andersen's tales had already started in the 1910s, there have been only a very limited number of studies on these Chinese translations up to now. One of the reasons for this dearth of scholarship on Chinese translations of Andersen's tales is probably that very few people in China could read Danish, the original language of the stories. If we search in the China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database (CNKI)[28] with two key terms: "H. C. Andersen" and "Translation", we find 122 entries, among which only around 50 of them concern Chinese translations or translators of Andersen's tales, and a large proportion are M. A. theses which appeared after 2005. Up to 2012, there has been no monograph on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Research on Andersen translations and translators can be divided into four categories: one category consists of diachronic research that focuses on the whole historical course of translations of Andersen's tales in China. Another category focuses on a certain temporal period in the history of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. The third category includes research that discusses a particular translator and his/her translations. The fourth category comprises research that addresses a particular perspective on the studies of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales.

Wang Yong's M.A. thesis (2006) is a historical study on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. This thesis first of all offers a brief history of Chinese translation of Andersen's tales from the years before the May-fourth Movement and then proceeds to analyse the manipulation and rewriting of Andersen's tales by Chinese translators and the "extra-textual factors" at play - namely patrons, poetics, and ideology - that have prompted the manipulation of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. In his study, Wang Yong has appealed to André Lefevere's theories on translation studies, particularly the "manipulation theory" and has considered "translation as rewriting". The ambition of this thesis is, as Wang declares in the summary, to "advance theoretically translation studies in China and to give practical guidance to translators' selection of translation strategies" (Wang, 2006, summary). Wang's contribution to scholarship in the field rests on having produced a panoramic view of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, and on having clarified some of the factors that have influenced the translation of Andersen's tales. However, a lack of knowledge of the Danish language and culture has constrained Wang from systematically determining the corresponding STs for the Chinese translations discussed in his study, not to say conducting in-depth comparisons between Chinese translations and their STs (English and Danish texts), although he has listed two excerpts of Danish text when it comes to textual comparison between Chinese

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28 CNKI is the world's largest Chinese database of research content, containing Chinese-language journal articles, theses, statistical yearbooks and reference works. It was established in 1999 and the content continues to grow.

translations and Danish texts. Most of his analysis and comparisons are focused on TTs, namely the Chinese translations, and this does not provide a solid enough base to support his conclusions.

In addition to Wang Yong's study, Deng Qin's M. A. thesis "Translation of Andersen's Fairy Tales in China during its 100-year-Course - From Polysystem Perspective" submitted in 2010, Peng Ting's M.A. thesis "Travelling and Translation of Andersen's Fairy Tales in China – An Ideological Perspective" submitted in 2012, and Wei Xiuping's article 《描写性翻译与安徒生童话汉译的阶段性特征》 (Descriptive Translation Studies and the Periodical Characteristics of the Chinese Translations of Andersen's Fairy Tales) published in 2007 are also historical studies. Like Wang Hong's thesis, they are works of diachronic research focusing on the historical course of the translation of Andersen's tales in China and trying to identify the main streams or tendencies of the different eras. One can see clearly Li Hongye's influence on the opinions they hold in their theses. Theo Hermans' theory about the relationship between translation and ideology, André Lefevere's "manipulation theory", as well as Itamar Even-Zohar's "polysystem theory" are the most popular theories adopted by these works. They offer a perspective looking at the whole history of the translation of Andersen's tales in China and point out that ideology and patronage have had their impact on Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Their studies have all sought to support conclusions similar to those of Li Hongye, but fail to offer sufficient or convincing evidence to support these conclusions. Methodologically, it seems that they have all chosen arbitrary sections of English translations as STs for textual comparisons, while most of the samples they discuss were not translated from the quoted STs, or even from English.

Some other studies concentrate on the Chinese translations of a defined temporal period. Lee Yuju's M.A. thesis "Chinese Translations of H. C. Andersen's Stories in the Early Twentieth Century" focuses on Chinese translations published in the early twentieth century, which are mainly translations published in *The Short Story Magazine*, *The Ladies' Magazine*, and *The Literature Weekly*, the three main publications edited by 文学研究会 (The Society for Literary Research). The author has classified these Chinese translations into four categories: "tales involving the latest scientific development", "tales reflecting Andersen's imaginations about China", "Zhao Jingshen's translations", and "Titles translated repeatedly". Among all the major translators of this period, Zhao Jingshen is undoubtedly the translator who interests Lee most, as his translations have been studied as a separate category. Lee's thesis offers complete lists of Chinese translations from the three above-mentioned journals and contemporary Chinese research on Andersen's tales, which provides an elaborate literature review for future research. However, all the findings and views are based on textual analyses of Chinese translations. The author uses direct translations

by Ye Junjian and Lin Hua as the parameters to criticize other indirect Chinese translations.

The research of Qin Gong (Zhang Zhongliang's pen name) also focuses on a certain temporal period. His research covers Chinese translations of foreign children's literature, including Andersen's tales, around the May-fourth Movement period, which covers the years from 1919 to the end of the 1920s. In his article 《五四时期的安徒生童话翻译》 (The Translations of Andersen's Fairy Tales Around the "May-fourth" Period) published in 2004, he lists the translators and translations of Andersen's tales, as well as the major literary journals which published Chinese translations of Andersen's tales during this period. From this perspective, his article is both informative and referential. However, the absence of analysis and criticism of the translations themselves prevents the article from being more helpful and informative for the purpose of translation studies.

Researchers in the third category are usually interested in a particular translator or specific versions of Chinese translations. 《读安徒生的十之九》 (On Andersen's *Nine out of Ten*) by Zhou Zuoren (1918) is the first criticism of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. It is a critique of the Chen Jialing & Chen Dadeng collection of translations of Andersen's tales, which were translated into classical Chinese. The article is of monumental importance in respect of the fact that it established some norms for translating Andersen's tales in China. Concepts such as translating into vernacular and colloquial Chinese children could understand, and never adding moral lectures into translations, would become norms that were followed in later Chinese translations.

Taiwanese scholar Chen Ying-ju's M. A. thesis 《背叛安徒生-安徒生童话故事新版中文译文之比较》 (Betray Andersen – Comparisons between the New Versions of Chinese Translations of Hans Christian Andersen's Fairy Tales and Stories) completed in 2007 also belongs to this category. In this thesis, Chen compares five versions of Chinese Translations of Andersen's tales published in 2000 and 2005, including those published in the mainland (2005) and one version published in Taiwan (2000). Jean Hersholt's translation *The Complete Andersen* has been selected as the referential text for textual comparison. Chen has expended considerable effort in textual comparison and offers a wealth of examples in the thesis. Through textual comparisons in three areas, namely "accuracy, literature and culture", Chen attempts to point out the various translation strategies applied in each Chinese translation and their impact on the style of these translations.

Li Jia's M.A. thesis "A Contrastive Study of Two Translational Versions of *Andersen's Fairy Tales* from the Perspective of Skopos Theory" submitted in 2011 is another work on different versions of Chinese translations. Li's objective is to explore how translators choose different translation strategies in order to have their translations meet the "purposes" of translation and perform further social or aesthetic

functions. Li has selected 28 examples to support the findings of this research. At the end of his thesis, Li stresses that the question whether a translated text has fulfilled the purposes of the translation practice should be the principal parameter for translation evaluation. H. L. Braekstad's English translations are used as STs for textual comparisons in this thesis but no explanation is provided for this choice.

Ye Junjian, who rendered the first direct and complete translation of Andersen's tales, has attracted the most scholarly interests. In addition to research that covers parts of Ye Junjian's translations from the 1980s to the present, there have been at least three articles dedicated to Ye Junjian and his translations of Andersen's tales. These were authored by Li Baochu (1997), Li Jingduan (2003) and Liu Xinwu (1984). They all praise Ye's translations as the best and the most faithful among all Andersen translations into Chinese. They also agree that Ye has translated the most numerous tales among Chinese translators. However, on most occasions they try to verify their view from the perspective of TTs themselves by analysing the style and language in Ye's translations, but fail to offer sufficient examples drawing from comparisons between STs and TTs, which would be more convincing evidence. Other articles on Chinese translators of Andersen's tales include Yang Shaobo's memorial article on Lin Hua (2005), Li Hongye's research on Zhao Jingshen and his translations (2005), and Wu Lijie's M.A. thesis on Zhao Jingshen's translations and their influences on modern Chinese children's literature (2012).

In 2007, Xu Lei completed his M. A. thesis "An Analysis of Fairy Tale Translation through the Optimal Register of Relevance – Andersen's Fairy Tales Collection as a Case in Point", which represents the fourth category of research into Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Xu has adopted Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson's thoughts and views on relevance theory in his thesis and proposes that seeking "Optimal Register of Relevance" is essential for a successful translation. Xu's thesis offers a new perspective on studying the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. The author stresses that it is rarely possible for a translator to always achieve a complete conversion of Original Difference into Acceptable Difference. Thus, trying to achieve optimal register of relevance in his/ her work becomes a feasible aim for a successful translator. Given that Chinese culture and language are quite different from Danish culture and language, Xu's proposal seems original and inspiring. However, Xu fails to explain fully how to apply his formula into translation criticism. Moreover, although the Chinese translations he invokes in his thesis are translated from different STs, he maintains the use of W. A. & J. K. Craigie's English version as benchmark when discussing whether one translator has preserved the style of the ST better than another. In fact, only a few of the samples he examines are actually rendered from Craigie's English version, which means that his conclusions and findings are not always reliable.

From the review above, it is readily apparent that previous research on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales often focuses on TTs. The conclusions and findings of such research are regularly drawn from comparisons between TTs. Not infrequently, English translations are randomly designated as STs for those analyses and comparisons. One of the reasons for this "tradition" in the studies of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales is certainly that very few Chinese scholars could read Danish texts. Since the opening up of China in the 1980s the number of people who can read Danish has grown, but very few of them have ever conducted any serious research into the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Nearly all the research on this topic has been done by M.A. students or scholars who have studied English language and literature.

However, another important reason might be that the ST has lost its authority in translation studies. When STs no longer function as the parameter in textual comparisons in translation studies, scholars feel safe to criticize or evaluate translated texts solely through comparisons and analyses of the translated texts or by comparing them with a "designated ST". Although none of this research has tried to defend such a methodology (it seems to have become a default choice), this tradition could be related to a trend in translation studies that appeared after the "target-oriented turn". After Gideon Toury boldly declared that "... any research into translation ... should start from the hypothesis that translations are facts of one system only: the target system" (Toury, 1985, p.19), scholars seem to have treated this as a license to discard ST and source culture when conducting translation studies. This approach would separate the source culture from the target culture and sever the "tangible relationships" between ST and TT, which "tie [the assumed translation] to its assumed original" (Toury, 1995, p.30).

In the following chapter, examples of misleading conclusions in Chinese studies on Andersen translation will be discussed. To counterbalance the deficiencies of the ST-neglecting approach, proper attention will be paid to STs/MTs identification and textual comparisons and analyses referring to the STs in my research. As a matter of logic, we will have to clarify various sources of textual influences (some are from the MTs while others are from the original Danish texts) on the Chinese translations before we can talk about how they have become what they are.

Chapter Two
Theoretical Background and Methodology

2.1 A Review of Translation Studies

To compile a history of translation studies starting from the very first reflection on translation by Cicero in first-century B.C. would make for a long story. Moreover, it is not my objective here to take a didactic approach and instruct my readers about this lengthy history of translation studies, since the main purpose of this study is to offer a perspective on the history of translation of H. C. Andersen's tales in China. However, to better situate the theories and methodology that have been adopted throughout this study, I will first of all offer a critical review of the three significant shifts that have taken place in the development of translation studies.

2.1.1 From source text (ST) orientation to target text (TT) orientation

Early translation practices were mostly related to the translation of sacred texts. Hence, a faithful reproduction of the original was the sublime end that translation practices should pursue. Omission, variation, and addition were blasphemous conduct when translating religious texts like the Bible, the Buddhist scriptures, the Qur'an, etc. Therefore, ST held supreme status in the early studies of scared translations. For example, St. Jerome stated that Bible translations must respect the exact form of the ST because God's word must not be tampered with (as cited in Stenzl, 1983, p.6). Moreover, this view also exerted great influence on studies of secular translation. Scholars before Toury emphasised the importance of the ST in their studies on translation, a quite natural choice when the sole aim of a translation study was to compare TT with ST so that the quality of the TT could be assessed according to how "faithful" it was to the ST. ST was considered as the authorized, hegemonic element in translation practices.

In his seminal article "The Essay on the Principles of Translation," Alexander F. Tytler (1791/1978) proposes three principles of translation, which stress that a translation should convey the content of the original in full, match the style of the original and the manner of the original, and be as elegant as the original. It is easy to tell that "the original", in Tytler's mind, is always the yardstick for evaluating translation. To translate is to mimic the original as fully and faithfully as possible.

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1813) suggested two methods for translation: "either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer

toward him" (Venuti, 2004, p.49)[29]. Schleiermacher prefers the method of taking the reader to the author, namely foreignization, and believes that the reader in the target culture would then be given access to the same reading experience as the readership in the source culture. Obviously, he still treats ST as yardstick when he talks about whether a translator should take foreignization or domestication as the appropriate method of translation. Lawrence Venuti (1995), who first coined "foreignization" and "domestication" as two terms used in translation studies in English, allies himself with Schleiermacher. He advocates resistance to the "ethnocentric violence of translation" and maintains that the foreignization of a translation is "highly desirable" (p.21). For Venuti, adopting foreignization as the method means close adherence to the ST structures and syntax when translating (Munday, 2001, p.147). Venuti's intention is to undermine the superiority of Anglo-Saxo culture and language in translation practices. However, his preference for foreignization still reveals an ST oriented perspective.

"Equivalence" became a hot topic in translation studies after Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) defined this term. Eugene Nida's 'theory of equivalences' is probably the one that carries the most extensive influence among "equivalence theories". He proposed that there are two types of equivalence that could be established between an ST and a translation: one is 'dynamic equivalence' (also known as functional equivalence), which defines the quality of a translation in which "the message of the original text has been so transposed into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors" (Nida & Taber, 1969, p.200); the other is 'formal equivalence', which signifies the "quality of a translation in which the features of the form of the ST have been mechanically reproduced in the receptor language" (Nida & Taber, 1969, p.201). For Nida, translation activity is more like a matching game that aims at establishing equivalences between target language and culture and source language and culture. The ST thus determines what method a translator should choose to produce equivalences, whether to choose between 'semantic' and 'communicative' translation (Newmark, 1981), or 'covert' and 'overt' translation (House, 1977/1981), or 'instrumental' and 'documentary' translation (Nord, 1997) or 'indirect' and 'direct' translation (Gutt, 1991), etc.

Therefore, Toury is right to criticise ST oriented approaches on the basis that: "whether concerned with teaching or quality assessment, their preoccupation was mainly with the source text and with the proclaimed protection of its "legitimate rights"…" (1995, p.24).

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29 The original text is "entweder der Uebersezer läßt den Schriftsteller möglichst in Ruhe, und bewegt den Leser ihm entgegen; oder er läßt den Leser möglichst in Ruhe und bewegt den Schriftsteller ihm entgegen." (Schleiermacher, 1963, p.47) The citation here is a translation made by Susan Bernofsky.

Since ST oriented theories usually use ST as the normative reference for assessment and criticism of a translation, TT would generally be treated as the secondary and dependent text to the ST. This perspective ignores the creativity and vitality involved in the TT. Thus, translation studies would be confined within the scope of linguistic studies and remain a sub-discipline of linguistics. Moreover, ST oriented theories tend to underestimate the influences that have been imposed on translations by the target culture, which could become a blind spot when it comes to analysis of the factors that could intervene in translation practices. Toury pointed out this flaw of ST oriented approaches in 1980:

> Thus, it appears not only as naive, but also as misleading and infertile for translation studies to start from the assumption that translation is nothing but an attempt to reconstruct the original, or certain parts or aspect thereof, or the preservation of certain predetermined features of the original, which are (or are to be) unconditionally considered the invariant under transformation, in another sign-system, as it is usually defined from the source's point of view. (p.17)

Given that the ST oriented approaches are inadequate for the purposes and incapable of offering a sound framework for descriptive study of actual translations, scholars like Gideon Toury, Theo Hermans, André Lefevere, and Susan Bassnett have decided to evoke other scholars' attention to TC and TT. The Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) initiated by Toury as a representative TT oriented approach has gained more weight and attracted more attention over the last three decades. When Toury decisively claimed that "a translation will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds" (1980, p.37, 43-45), he actually introduced a brand-new perspective on translation and translation studies. TT is henceforward treated as the start point in translation studies, and more importance is granted to the impact of target culture restraints (norms in Toury's theory) on translation activities. Theo Hermans is right when he points out that:

> Toury […] elevates the target-oriented approach from an issue of pragmatic convenience into a principled position. What matters, he argues, is not so much the actual existence of an identifiable source text but the mere assumption that there is one. This means that texts which are presented and regarded as translations constitute "legitimate objects of translation studies" (Toury, 1984, p.84) even if it subsequently proves impossible to trace the relevant source text. (1999, p.50)

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In fact, all descriptive approaches to translation criticism and studies focus on the description of TT. The TT is considered as an independent text once the ST has been rendered into the target language. Edwin Gentzler believes that the shift from ST orientated theories to TT orientated theories is one of the two most important shifts in translation studies over the past three decades (2001, p.70). Although Toury could be self-contradictory and some of his opinions appear incongruous[30], the new perspective on translation studies he advocated has proved very prosperous - not only in that a translation has become an independent text on its own, but in that translation studies have also been released from the shackles of linguistics. Growing numbers of theories from other disciplines have been adopted in translation studies.

However, even Toury himself is unlikely to have foreseen that his call to define as a translation "any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds" (1980, p.37, 43-45) carries the latent danger of ignoring ST in translation studies, which would lead the discipline into an opposite polarity. Since a translation is always endowed with elements inherited from its ST, discarding the ST will sever the kinship between the translation and the ST. A translation will become a text without a source that is no different from any other text. Then the study of this translation will be no different from studies of any other types of texts. Translation studies as a discipline or as a science would face the crisis of being absorbed into other disciplines, such as literary criticism, cross-cultural studies, etc., and lose any independent status. Moreover, if one focuses only on TT and ignores ST, or relies on a randomly designated "assumed ST" in one's study, any findings and conclusions could become very unreliable or even misleading. In fact this is the case with a number of studies on the Chinese translations of H. C. Andersen's tales. For instance, in an M.A. thesis submitted in 2011, the author Li Jia offered two examples selected respectively from Zhao Jingshen (1924 version)[31] and

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30 Several scholars have pointed out the inconsistencies contained in Toury's theory. Please refer to Edward Gentzler (2001), Theo Hermans (1991), Chang (2004).

31. The translation Li uses in his thesis is a version selected from 《安徒生童话集》(A Collection of Andersen's Fairy Tales), published in 1924 by New Culture Press in Shanghai. As Zhao stated later in a article, he retranslated some of the tales from the version published by the Oxford University Press, which is the Craigie version, later. 《豌豆上的公主》(The Princess on the Pea) published in the first Andersenian issue of The Short Story Magazine in 1925 is a translation retranslated from the Craigie version by Zhao.

Ye Junjian's Chinese translations of "Prindsessen paa Ærten" (The Princess on the Pea):

Now, that's what I call a really good story!（H.L.Brækstad, 2008）

Version 1: 这样的公主，是不是感觉很敏锐呢？(Zhao, 1924)

Gloss: Is not a Princess like this of delicacy?

Version 2: 请注意，这是一个真的故事。（Ye, 2007）

Gloss: Please notice, this is a real story.

See, det var en rigtig Historie! (Andersen, 1963)

Gloss: See, it was a true story!

The author intends to use these two examples to prove that Zhao Jingshen, a major Andersen translator from the 1920s to the 1930s, has adopted free translation according to his own interpretation while Ye Junjian, a well-known Andersen translator writing after the establishment of the PRC, has chosen to translate in a language "as easily as possible so that all children could understand it" (Li, 2011, p.37). H. L. Braekstad's English translation is employed as parameter to help verify Li's conclusion. However, if Li had known that Zhao's translation is actually rendered from Caroline Peachy's English translation "The Real Princess" whereas Ye's translation is rendered from Andersen's Danish text, she would not jump to this conclusion, as the differences in Zhao and Ye's translations are simply the result of the two different STs that Zhao and Ye have translated from. Therefore, a randomly-chosen "assumed ST" is more often than not unreliable when it comes to textual comparisons between translated texts.

The same type of misleading conclusion also appears in Taiwanese scholar Chen Yingju's M.A. thesis. Chen lists three excerpts drawn from Ye Junjian, Ren Rongrong and a Taiwanese translator's Chinese translations of "Fyrtøiet" (The Tinder Box). Jean Hersholt's English translation functions as source text when it comes to textual comparisons but as in the case of the previous mainland scholar, Chen never mentions the reason for designating this ST. The three selected examples are:

"I won't," the witch screamed at him.
So he cut her head off. There she lay! (Hersholt)

"我可不能告诉你！"巫婆说。

士兵一下子就把她的头砍掉了。她倒了下来！ (Ye, 2005)

Gloss: "I can't tell you!" said the witch.

The soldier cut her head all of a sudden. She fell down!   (The gloss is mine.)

"我不告诉你。"巫婆说。

巫婆一定不肯说，可她错了，大兵马上砍下了她的脑袋，她就这样躺在地上死了。（Ren, 2005）

Gloss: "I won't tell you." said the witch.

The witch was firm about not telling, but she was wrong, the soldier cut off her head immediately, she lay dead on the ground.

"我不说。"巫婆固执地回答。阿兵哥真的砍下巫婆的脑袋。对于巫婆的死，阿兵哥不当一回事。(Yuan Liu Press, 2005)

Gloss: "I won't tell." the witch answered stubbornly. The soldier really cut off the witch's head. For the witch's death, the soldier didn't care in the slightest.

»Nei,« sagde Hexen.

Saa huggede Soldaten Hovedet af hende. (Andersen, 1963)

Gloss: "No," said the witch.

So the soldier chopped off her head. (The gloss is mine.)

On Ren's translation, Chen comments that "巫婆一定不肯说，可她错了。" (The witch was firm about not telling, but she was wrong) and "她就这样躺在地上死了。" (she lay dead on the ground) are supplementary translations rendered according to Ren's own interpretation of the ST. Moreover, this strategy, though it makes the translation fluent and smooth, has at the same time deprived the readers of the pleasure of filling in the information gap themselves. (Chen, 2007, p.44) However, if we refer to Erik Christian Haugaard's translation we will find it goes like this: "'No!' replied the witch firmly; but that was a mistake, for the soldier chopped her head off. She lay there dead." (1974, p.3) Evidently, Haugaard's translation is the source of Ren's translation. Therefore, it is Haugaard and not Ren who is responsible for this supplementary strategy. There are other studies on the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales that have chosen STs randomly for text analysis and comparisons. Some conclusions drawn from these comparisons, as have been revealed here, are not reliable. The cause of this carelessness is probably the depreciation of the value of ST in translation studies.

2.1.2 From prescriptive approach to descriptive approach

Additionally, Toury argues that ST oriented theories on translation studies can often be prescriptive:

> Such a theory will inevitably be directive, normative in nature, because it will recognize only "correct" instances (and types) of performance as belonging to the domain it covers; in other words, it will identify "translation" with (or reduce it to) "correct" translation, according to its a priori, ST-based conditions. (Toury 1980, p.39-40)

Indeed, these theories often direct their efforts towards theorising translation, namely setting out principles for translation practices, listing criteria for a 'proper' translation, differentiating "ideal translation" from "bad translation" and regulating methods/procedures[32] of translation. For example, the French scholar Étienne Dolet (1540) advanced five principles of translation (as cited in Bassnett 1985, p.54). In these principles, words like "il faut que" (should), "requise" (required), and "jamais" (never), are used to regulate translation practice.[33] The Scottish scholar Alexander Fraser Tytler, whose principles of translation have been mentioned above, and his predecessor John Dryden, are in accord with Dolet. They are all very keen on prescribing dos and don'ts for translation activity. Some scholars have engaged in a search for a standard operating procedure for translation or a set of standards in the light of ST for the assessment of translation quality. For instance, in 1964 Eugene Nida proposed two sets of procedures - technical procedures and organizational

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32 According to Newmark, translation "method" and "procedure" are different. He states that, "[w]hile translation methods relate to whole texts, translation procedures are used for sentences and the smaller units of language". (Newmark, 1988, p.81)

33 The five principles listed in the original text "La maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre" are: "En premier lieu, il fault que le traducteur entende parfaictement le sens et matiere de l'autheur qu'il traduict…"; "La seconde chose qui est requise en traduction, c'est que le traducteur ait parfaicte congnoissance de la langue de l'autheur qu'il traduict…"; "Le tiers poinct est qu'en traduisant il ne se faut pas asservir jusques à la que l'on rende mot pour mot."; "La quatriesme reigle que je veulx bailler en cest endroict, est plus à observer en langues non reduictes en art, qu'en autres."; "Venons maintenant à la cinquiesme reigle que doibt observer un bon traducteur. La quelle est de si grand' vertu, que sans elle toute composition est lourde et mal plaisante. Mais qu'est ce qu'elle contient? rien autre chose que l'observation des nombres oratoires: c'est asscavoir une liaison et assemblement des dictions avec telle doulceur, que non seulement l'ame s'en contente, mais aussi les oreilles en sont toutes ravies, et ne se faschent jamais d'une telle harmonie de langage…" (Dolet, 1540, p.13)

procedures - to standardize the process of translation (1964, p.241-247). In 1958, Canadian scholars Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet advanced seven methods (loan, calque. literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence, adaptation) for translation, aiming at normalizing translation practice. In 1988 Peter Newmark also proposed eight different translation procedures and fifteen methods of translation, which are intended to guide translation by offering strategies and methods.

Therefore, prescriptive theories consider the study of translation as "an ancillary discipline, a part of linguistics, which serves the practical purpose of producing better translations and better translators…" (Baker, 2008, p.77). This understanding of translation confines the studies of translation within the realm of linguistics and fails to appreciate that translation is a dynamic phenomenon related to both SC and TC. Research taking as its starting point an imagined ideal translation will more often than not end with negative and unconstructive conclusions which are not beneficial for the development of translation studies.

As distinct from the prescriptive tradition, DTS seek to reveal the empirical and historical nature of translation studies. The objectives of DTS are to observe, describe and explain the process and the products of translation rather than to regulate translation practices. This new trend of translation studies was initiated by Toury in the late 1970s. He was inspired by Even-Zohar's "polysystem theory" and considered translated literature as a sub-system in the target literary polysystem. Based on this, he contributed the term "norm" to translation studies. A "Norm" is defined as a socio-cultural factor that constrains the translational behaviour (Toury, 1978). According to the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, the core of the theories of DTS consists of:

> An explicit refusal to make a priori statements about what translation is, what it should be, or what kinds of relationship a translated text should have with its original; an insistence on examining all translation related issues historically, in terms of the conditions which operate in the receiving culture at any point in time; and an interest in extending the context of research beyond the examination of translated texts, in particular to include examining the paratextual and evaluative writing on translation, for example prefaces, reviews, reflective essays, and so on. (Baker, 2008, p.190)

Therefore, the DTS has triggered a revolutionary view on translation activity and product. Translations are then considered as observable facts with a cultural existence that needs to be described and explained, rather than being prescribed and normalized. A translation should be studied as what it is rather than what it should be. Moreover, this new trend has also brought about a methodological breakthrough in translation studies. Empirical and historical methods have been applied to enable a more

comprehensive and diachronic understanding of translation. Last but not least, thanks to this empirical shift in translation studies, TT, TC, and translator have moved from the periphery towards the centre of translation studies. The influences on translation deriving from the recipient culture, including ideology, patronage, translator, and other contextual factors, have subsequently attracted scholarly attention. The scholars of the momentous "Manipulation School"[34], including Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett, André Lefevere, and José Lambert, are in accord with Toury and have chosen descriptive approaches in their studies, although they have adopted different perspectives.

However, this does not mean that prescriptive approaches have lost all their value for translation studies. They still have their place in the training of translators and interpreters, for whom the issue of 'what is expected from a translation' retains its importance. They also remain applicable when one needs to establish the corpus of one's studies, in terms of the choice between the texts which will be incorporated in the corpus and those which will be excluded from the scope of the research. A refusal to define 'what translation is' will be of no help in this case, and some prescriptive criteria are necessary. On the other hand, DTS has also been criticized for its tendency to be linear and essential, and to over-simplify. It inclines to presuppose that a researcher will take an objective stance in his or her research, which is not realistic as the researcher will always have his or her own subjectivities and will inevitably be influenced by these subjectivities (Chesterman and Arrojo, 2000). As Pym puts it, "the models all concern texts and systems, not people" (2010, p.84).

2.1.3 From focus on text to focus on context[35]

Linguistic approaches to translation studies before the 1970s tended to focus on text. After formulating the criteria for an ideal translation, scholars would compare the TT with the ST on various levels, from the micro level, which contains the morphemes, words, phrases, etc., to the macro level, which refers to the syntax, paragraph, and text structure. The 'shifts' (Catford, 1965) in different levels of TT with respect to ST, are one of the main concerns of these approaches. Textual comparisons form the foundation for judging whether a translation is 'good' or 'bad'. The early linguistic approaches often worked on the basis that there is nothing outside

34 Sussan Bassnett has recalled how the "Manipulation School" came about and explicated the assumptions that the scholars of the "Manipulation School" shared in her book The Turns of Translation Studies from the p.47 to p.50.

35 The term "context" used here refers to the totality of all the environmental and extra-textual elements related to a given translation.

the text. Accordingly, translation studies were usually language-bound and translated texts were considered in isolation from the cultural and temporal environment in which they were produced. This parochial view of translation confined translation studies to the sphere of linguistics studies and failed to produce a comprehensive understanding of the nature of translation.

Nida was one of the pioneers who introduced cultural factors into translation studies. He considers language as an integral part of culture. Since SC is different from TC, it is only possible to reproduce "the closest natural equivalence of the source language message" in translation (Nida and Taber, 1966, p.12). The complete equivalence between ST and TT is *ipse facto* not achievable. However, although Nida is acute enough to note that extra-textual factors might create invincible obstacles to translation, he has nonetheless failed to perceive the full significance of context to translation practice. After Toury advocated that translation studies should shift their attention to TC and TT, and especially after Lefevere (1992) produced a detailed analysis of the sociological and cultural factors (ideology, patronage, and poetics) that constrain translation practice, ever greater attention was paid to the context of translation. As Alexandra Assis Rosa puts it:

> Toury's proposals for DTS amount to a shift of paradigm from the a-historical prescription of what translation should be to a description of what translation is in a particular historical context. As a consequence, attention is shifted from the comparison of source and target text to the study of the relations between target texts and between target texts and their context, the target culture. (2010, p.98)

However, because of the emphasis on TT, the DTS represented by Toury believe that the context framing a translation is that of the target culture and therefore often focus more on the constraints and influences from the target context, whereas the influences from the source context, such as the criticism of a certain ST in the SC, observations on how to translate a certain ST offered by the critics in the SC, and the author's influence on translation, tend to be ignored.

2.1.4 New attempts and thoughts

Some scholars have realized that when conducting translation studies, over-emphasizing the influential factors coming from either SC or TC could lead to bias in comprehension and in conclusions. Therefore, they have tried to establish neutral and balanced models of translation criticism. Antoine Berman is one of the pioneers working on a new method of translation criticism. In his book *Pour une critique des traductions: John Donne* (1995) (Toward a Translation Criticism: John

Donne, 2009), Berman points out that traditional translation criticism usually "refers only to the negative evaluation of translations" (Berman, 2009, p.25). Thus, he wants to suggest a new positive translation criticism which would be capable of revealing the creative nature of translation. According to Berman, the critique of a translation involves five stages. The first stage consists of three steps. A critic needs to read the translation (or translations) first, then do some preliminary analyses of the stylistic features of the original. The critic must also read and study the paratexts that support the translation(s) and the original. Once this interpretation stage is completed, the critic can move on to the second stage - establishing the translator's position, studying the translation project, and determining the horizon of translation. The actual analysis of the translation takes place in the third stage, which involves the grounded comparison of the original with its translation on the basis of the reading and pre-analyses conducted during the first two stages. If possible and if necessary, the public or critical response to the translation can also be referred to in the fourth stage. The last and the most decisive stage of translation criticism requires the critic to compile a productive criticism which is positive and aims at highlighting the creativity of the translation. From this explanation, it is obvious that Berman has endowed translated texts and translators with a central position in his studies. At the same time, when he advocates this new model of translation criticism he has also brought ST and SC into his sphere of analysis.

Armin Paul Frank has also tried to define a contextual dimension that combines SC and TC in his research. He states that:

> one might describe a literary translation as the result of a compromise which a translator has found between "demands" originating in four norm areas: the source text as understood by the translator; the source literature, language, and culture as implicated in the text; the state of translation culture (which includes concepts of translation, previous translations of the same and of other texts, etc.); and the target side (for instance, in the form of publisher's policies, local theater conventions, censorship, etc.). (1990, p.12)

Although Armin Paul Frank and other scholars who hold similar views on translation studies have not established an extensive applicable methodology, his effort to balance source-oriented criticism and target-oriented criticism is constructive. His proposal is also of value in the sense that it concerns the communicative relationship between ST and TT. The transfer-oriented approach considers a version of translation as an interpretation of its source text, which would enrich the source text.

Like Berman, Viggo Hjønager Pedersen is more interested in criticizing translation than describing translation. In his book on the English tradition of translation of Andersen's tales, he claims: "I refuse in general - and certainly in the present study - to confine myself to describing the layout of Andersen translations and producing linguistic and bibliographical statistics…" (2004. p.33). Besides, Pedersen holds a critical view on the tendency to dismiss the whole idea of equivalence between the ST and the TT in DTS, although he can agree with "the general tendency in the works of descriptive school" (2004, p.34). For him, "the fact remains that a very important criterion in assessing a translation is to ascertain how well it reflects the original; and it is a mistake to think that ignoring the problem will make it go away…" (2004, p.30). In his study he therefore insists on relating the ST, namely the Danish texts of Andersen's tales, to the TTs, the English translations of Andersen's tales, and at the same time on bringing both SC and TC within the remit of his criticism.

Inspired by Antoine Berman, Lance Hewson is another scholar who has tried to balance the weight of SC and TC in translation studies. In *An Approach to Translation Criticism,* Hewson (2011) suggests six areas of preliminary data that need to be collected before one starts to criticize a translation. They are basic information about the source text, target text parameters, information about the translators, paratextual and peritextual elements of the source texts and translations, critical apparatus of translations, and an overview of the macro-structure of the texts. The fundamental information about the source text and the paratextual and peritextual elements of the source texts as well as translations refer to both SC and TC.

These new thoughts and attempts have reawakened scholars' attention to the nature of translation and to the essentials of translation studies: although a translated text is an autonomous text, it always has kinship with a previously existing text in another language and culture. Therefore, translation studies should, first of all, be a cross-cultural exercise and must encompass both SC and TC. If a translation criticism aims at explicating the norms and factors that could influence a translation's pre-existence, course of birth, and after-life, so as to make fair comment and evaluation, a referential frame that integrates factors and norms from both SC/ST and TC/TT should be established. The present research is inspired by these new thoughts and attempts. In the following section, after reviewing the previous definitions of translation, a working definition that represents my understanding of the nature of translation will be suggested to guide the perspectives and methods that have been taken in this research.

2.2 Define translation

2.2.1 Definitions of translation in previous studies

The question of what translation is can be answered in various ways from different perspectives. The answer to the question derives from one's comprehension of the nature of translation. Translation as a practice has a long history in both western and eastern civilizations; observations and reflections on translation both as a practice and the product of this practice can be traced back to works by Cicero (46 BC) in the west and by Zhi Qian (之谦) in China (3rd. c. AD). However, academic studies on translation as a discipline only began in the second half of the 20th century in the west, and were rooted in the study of linguistics. Additionally, perspectives and understandings of the nature of translation have undergone striking changes during the last 60 years.

The early understanding of *what* is translation was quite rigorous and often put stress on "fidelity" and "precision", isolating the language used from the context of translation. For example, in "Problems of Translation: *Onegin* in English", Nabokov declares that reproducing "with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text" is the one and only duty that a translator should perform when translating a literary work. Anything but 'literal translation' is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or a parody," he adds (Nabokov in Venuti, 2000, p.121). This opinion is in line with the traditional understanding of translation as a practice of rendering word for word the same ideas and forms from one language to another. In his seminal work "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation", Roman Jakobson (1959) has divided translation into intralingual translation, interlingual translation, and intersemiotic translation, and defined interlingual translation - the traditional translation we generally discuss - as an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. Obviously, he still addresses himself to translation in terms of word transformation and aligns himself with "word for word" translation, which is actually what Vinay and Darbelnet defined as "literal translation" (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958, p.48/ trans. Sager & Hamel, 1995, p.33).[36] His opinion on translation is

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36 Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) declares that "la traduction littérale ou mot a mot désigne le passage de LD à LA aboutissant à un texte à la fois correct et idiomatique sans que le traducteur ait eu à se soucier d'autre chose que des servitudes linguistiques"(p.48), which means "literal, or word for word, translation is the direct transfer of a SL text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate TL text in which the translators' task is limited to observing the adherence to the linguistic servitudes of the TL."(Sager & Hamel,1995, p.33) Apparently, for Vinay and Darbelnet, literal or direct translation equates to "word for word" translation.

representative of the scholars who mostly focused on word substitution and studied translation as a linguistic phenomenon.

Later developments in translation studies introduced "sense for sense" translation and shifted their focus to "equivalence" and "equivalent". For instance, Catford has defined translation as "the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)" (1965, p.20). In 1969, Nida defined the practice of translation thus: "translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style" (Nida & Taber, 1969, p.12). Some scholars have even claimed that equivalence represents translation's constitutive relation (Koller, 1995). Thus, establishing all types of equivalence between the original text and the translated text became considered as the nature of translation practice, and only those target texts that provided the required types of equivalence could be classified as translation. The important theories during this phase, whether they focus on the conflict between "dynamic" and "functional" translation (Nida &Taber, 1964), "covert" and "overt" translation (House, 1977), or "communicative" and "semantic" translation (Newmark, 1977), all applied a binary logic in observing translation practice. Hence, picking out qualified translations and measuring the equivalences achieved between these translations and their source texts became one of the major drivers and objectives of translation studies.

This approach to defining translation has been criticized by later scholars as "prescriptive" and "ahistorical" because it prescribes what translators should do and what requirements their texts must fulfil to be accepted as translations (Hermans, 1999, p.48). It overlooks the historical nature of translation and would limit the extension of the term "translation" and ultimately constrain the scope of translation studies and reduce them to a dependency of linguistic studies.

Trying to break through the limitations imposed by the previous understanding of the nature of translation, Toury put forward a revolutionary perspective. He boldly stated that:

> When one's purpose is the descriptive study of literary translations in their environment, the initial question is not whether a certain text is a translation (according to some preconceived criteria which are extrinsic to the system under study), but whether it is regarded as a translation from the intrinsic point of view of the target literary polysystem. (1980, p.43)

By considering translation from a brand-new perspective, Toury tried to shift the start point in translation studies from ST, a practice which had applied ever since Cicero, to TT, hoping to pave new ways for translation studies. This view, according to Hermans, has liberated translation studies from "the anxiety of first having to

distinguish translation from non-translation in theoretical terms, and getting hopelessly bogged down in the process" (Hermans, 1999, p.49). However, Toury's circular method of defining a term by reference to itself is logically problematic. Moreover, Toury himself seems somewhat ambivalent on this issue because in a later book he suggests three postulates concerning the assumed translation, and the "source postulate" is one of them. Toury explains that the "source postulate" is related to an assumption that there exists a text that both chronologically and logically preceded the text that is taken as a translation. This text "is also presumed to have served as departure point and basis for the latter" (Toury, 1995, p.33). If we relate this postulate to his suggestion of "establishing the source text's identity" in the later part of this book, which relates to the method of comparative study, the appeal of "equivalence" to Toury will be revealed.

However, later scholars in accord with Toury's comprehension of translation have developed his view and have shown a more determined intention to break with the old prescriptive consensus on translation. Bassnett and Lefevere are among those scholars who have gone furthest on this issue. They believe that "translation is a rewriting of an original text" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1992, p.vii). Their definition of 'translation' includes any version (verbal as well as nonverbal) that was based on an original text, and liberates translators from the original texts. Their new perspective on the nature of translation has broken through the traditional strict definition of translation, and by including various narrative versions into the corpus of studies they have broadened the scope of translation study and changed its status as a sub-disciplinary study of linguistics. Another influence this new definition has brought to translation studies is a tendency to abandon the practice of measuring the closeness between a translation and the ST, as the measurement of closeness becomes pointless when the translator as rewriter has the right to render his or her translation into a very different work from the ST text. Thus, a new perspective has developed on the relation between the part represented by the author and ST, and the other part by the translator and translation. Observing translation practice from this perspective, the translator will no longer "dance in fetters", and has every right to his or her creation. Translators are increasingly considered as writers. When translation becomes another type of literary creation, the authority of ST and author will be dismantled.

However, when the definition of translation is extended to include all rewritings and even narratives that are claimed to be translations, the borders between the disciplines of translation studies, literature studies, and culture studies will vanish, which will ultimately undermine the independence of translation study as a discipline. If every rewriting that is claimed to be a translation is treated as a translation, then what about those translations that claim to be creative writing? Should they be classified as translations? Or those creative writings claiming to be translations (pseudo-translations)? Should they be studied with the same methodologies and

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theories as translation studies? Or could we consider Shakespeare's works as unrecognized translations? To answer these questions one first has to answer another question: 'What is not a translation?' The answer to this question concerns the exclusive definition of translation. However, to date, very few theories of translation studies have answered this question explicitly.

I agree with Anthony Pym that one needs to apply inclusive definitions first and exclusive definitions only afterwards, permitting the materials that one has acquired to reveal their usefulness when placed next to each other (Pym, 1998, p.58). Following this logic, I will take a radical approach and try to explain my opinions on the nature and definition of translation in the following part.

2.2.2 The working definition of translation in this research

My understanding of the nature of translation is rooted in narrative theories. Seymour Chatman considers narrative as "a communication; hence, it presupposes two parties, a sender and a receiver" (Chatman, 1979, p.28). In translation studies, since Roman Jakobson suggested the addresser-addressee (sender-receiver) model of translation (Jakobson, 1960, p.353), there have been various attempts to observe and explain translation as a communicative practice or the product of this practice (Nord, 1997; Dollerup, 2001; Trosborg, 2002; Schjoldager et al., 2008). Many scholars of translation studies regard translation as a communication between the author in the source culture and the audience in the target culture through the translator as mediator. Echoing their perception of the nature of translation, I believe translation is a communicative and narrative practice, and the translated text is a type of narrative. Starting from this premise, I will try to express my understanding of the nature of translation with further reference to narrative theory.

Structuralist narrative theory holds that each narrative consists of two parts: story (content) and discourse. Story is the content or chain of events (actions, happenings), plus what may be called the existents (characters, items of setting); and discourse is the expression, the means by which the content is communicated. Hence, the story is *what* a narrative depicts whereas the discourse deals with *how* it is depicted (Chatman, 1980, p.19, emphasis added). If translation is a type of narrative, it should also be constructed with story and discourse. Although one can seldom separate story physically from the discourse of a narrative, for the content and discourse can be indistinguishable in some genres of writing (e.g. poetry is a genre of narrative where content is always interdependent with discourse), and Chatman's theory has been criticized by scholars like Barbara H. Smith (1980) and Andrew Gibson (1996) as dualistic and over-simplified, this dichotomous division of the structure of narrative is helpful in understanding the construction of translation. To date, in fact, most theories and definitions on translation, be they linguistic, functional, or descriptive, share a

tacit agreement that there is something that has been or should be transferred from ST to TT (translations). As we know, the way in which a translation is compiled always varies in different (re)translations, but there are always similarities shared by (re)translations, which are inherited from the same original text.

Rimmon-Kenan has claimed that "it is the story that could be transferable from medium to medium, from language to language and within the same language" (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983, p.8). I share this view and would like to suggest further that it is usually the story but not the discourse that is successfully and completely transposed from a source text to target text(s) (translations in one language or various languages). To differentiate from the term "story" which is sometimes used to indicate a literary genre, I prefer to use "content" as an alternative in this dissertation. And I believe that it is the similar content shared by the ST and its translations that makes it possible for readers of the source text and the translations to share and exchange their reading experience. Thus, a modern Chinese reader of *The Merchant of Venice* might find echoes in a review of *The Merchant of Venice* written by a 19th-century French critic, although both of them read the translations in their own language.[37]

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[37] I am indebted to Dr. Viggo H. Pedersen for this inspiring example. Actually, Pedersen also expressed a similar view on the nature of translation in 1990, in stating that "a translated text remains a translation as long as it is faithful to the overall message of the original." (1990, as cited in 2004, p.28), although he has not gone further in explaining some details such as what the overall message of the original means, and when a translation will cease to be a translation.

Family of Translation

Original Text — Translator 1 — Translator 2 — Translator 3

Translation 1 in language a — Translator 4 — Translator 5 — Translation 1 in language b — Translation 1 in language c — Translator 6 — Translator 7

Translation 2 in language b — Translation 3 in language b — Translation 4 in language b — Translation 5 in language b
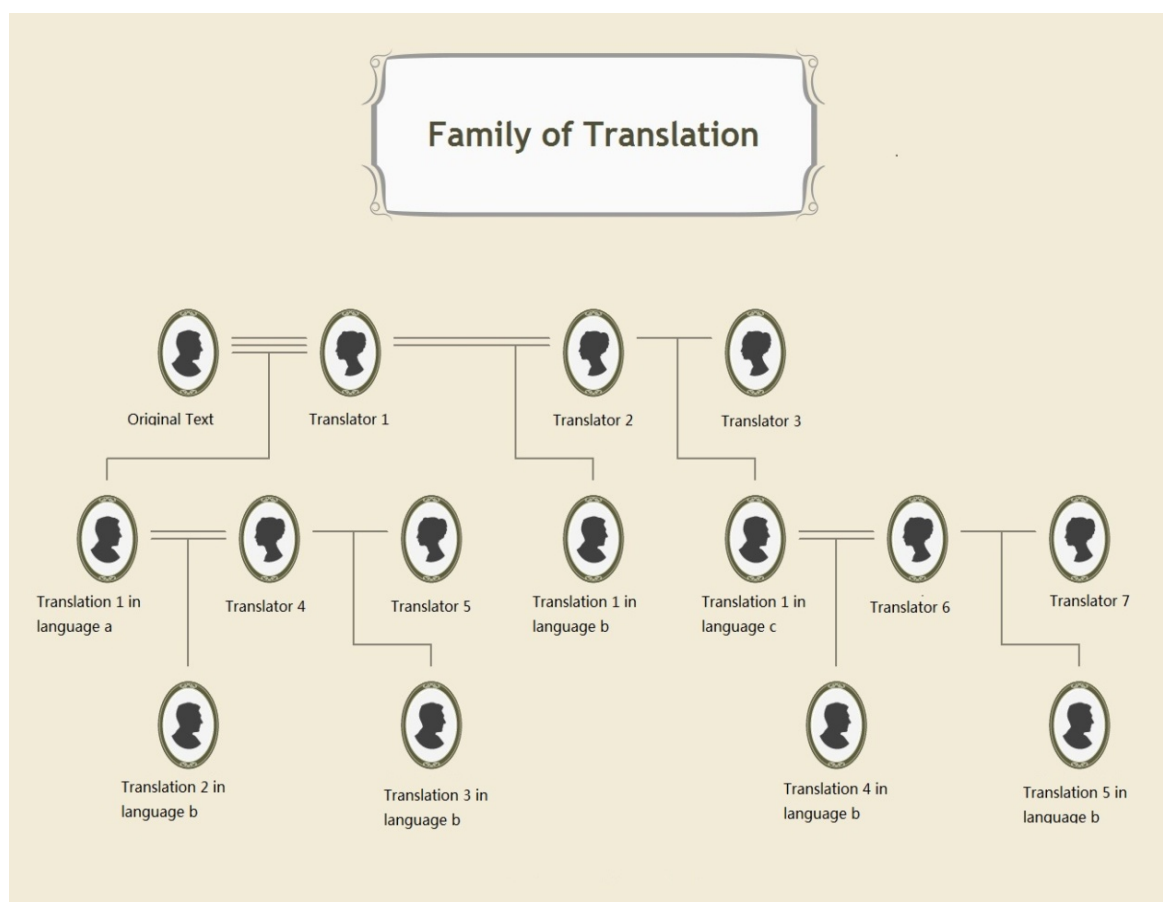
If content is what has been transferred from an ST and preserved in all translations, then what makes one translation different from others? The answer is that different discourses bestow individualities to translations. For example, a 1937 Chinese translation, a 1958 Chinese translation, and a 2010 Chinese translation of "The Little Match Girl" are different because of the diverse discourses in these translations, which are, in another expression, different ways of expressing and depicting these three narratives. Hence, both author and translator give life to a translation. If we use a metaphor to clarify this relationship, original text (OT) and translation are just like father, mother and child. The content from the author as father and the discourse given by the translator as mother are integrated to give birth to their child, the translation. Although the author is analogized as father while the translator is compared to mother, this metaphor has nothing to do with any social or gender implications. Suppose a narrative has been rendered directly into translations in language b, while it has also been rendered indirectly via an intermediate translation in language a to translations in language b. Then we could draw a family tree of translations of this narrative thus.

From this family tree, we can see that what maintains the relationship between all the translations in the two languages is the author, who endows, partially or fully, all the translations with the content involved in the original narrative. Translators, on

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the other hand, combine the content generated by the author with new discourses - and sometimes also with some proportions of new content - to create new versions of the original narrative, the (re)translations. This family metaphor of translation can also express the relationship between author and translator. As has been explained above, the translator has the responsibility of rendering the content of the original narrative into his or her translation if he or she declares that his or her work is a **translation** based on someone's work. The translation ought to bear the gene (the content) inherited from the author of the original narrative who is one of the "bio-parents" of this translation. The inherited content included in translation also makes translation different from any form of creative writing. Thus, a scholar of translation studies should not abandon the practice of tracing back to the ST in translation studies, because the ST represents the translation's pre-existence. Additionally, this diagram also shows that retranslations too are important objects in translation studies, because they too are new forms of the life of a translation.

Based on this analysis of the nature of translation practice, we could claim that a translation as a narrative always has an inherited relationship with the content but not necessarily with the discourse of the original narrative. Moreover, different translations may contain different proportions of inherited content from the original text. A narrative that has no relation with another narrative with regard to its content is therefore not a translation of this narrative.

Then people may ask how to differentiate translation from other forms of rewriting like adaptation[38], editorial version, revision or paraphrase? The answer concerns another inherent feature of translation. Translation is a product or practice of rendering text from one encoding/decoding system[39] to another one. For example, a Chinese text translated from an English narrative is a translation because it is a product of a cross-encoding/decoding system practice. A modern Chinese poem rendered from a poem in classical Chinese is also a translation for the same reason, whereas a revision of a former Chinese translation is not a translation because its process of creation does not involve any process of cross-encoding/decoding.

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38 The term "adaptation" used here is different from "adaptive translation" and indicates a type of literary work which involves adapting a literary source (e.g., a novel, short story, poem) to another genre or medium or to the same genre or medium for different purposes, but often does not involve transformation between different languages. The definition of "adaptive translation" in this translation study will follow the definition offered in chapter one.

39 According to Jakobson (1959), there are three categories of translation: they are interlingual translation, intralingual translation and intersemiotic translation. To cover all the three categories of translations with my definition of translation, I have borrowed the term "encoding/decoding system" from information theory as a substitute for "language" here.

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Now, based on my comprehension of the nature of translation, I shall advance an inclusive definition of translation: a translation is a narrative which has been transferred from an original narrative composed with a different encoding/decoding system, and always has an inherited relationship with the content, but not necessarily with the discourse, of the original narrative.

To adjust this inclusive definition to my case study, I would also like to give an exclusive definition of translation which I will use in this paper: translations that will be taken under observation in this study will be Chinese texts which have been transferred directly or indirectly from the original Danish texts and contain inherited content from the original texts.

The methodology that will be applied and the perspectives that will be taken in this study are shaped by my understanding of the nature of translation. After investigating the factors that have affected the *what* (the content) and the *how* (the discourse) of the Andersen translations into Chinese which have been produced over the last one hundred years, I have classified these factors into six categories so as to define them more explicitly. The categories are the reading experience, the socio-political environment, the situation of literary polysystems, patronage[40], poetics, and translation theories.

2.2.3 The corpus of this research

There are several criteria for the translations that have been selected for the corpus of this study. The first criterion stems from the working definition of translation I suggested in the previous section. According to this definition, translations that will be considered in this study will be Chinese texts which have been transferred directly or indirectly from the original Danish texts and contain inherited content from these original texts.

The second criterion relates to my knowledge and perspective on the history of translation of Andersen's tales in China. Taking this history as a process of canonization, I have divided it into several phases. To explicate this cumulative process, the Chinese translators (and their translations) who have contributed to the canonization of Andersen's tales in China in different phases are those whom I have selected for my corpus. That is to say, the selected translations have to be "good translations" in the sense that the translators are those who have all followed STs closely for the purpose of representing the real Andersen in Chinese, and their translations are those which have best succeeded in transferring the content and the

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40 According to Lefevere, patronage is "something like powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature". (1992, p.15) The connotation of the term "patronage" used in this dissertation follows Lefevere's definition.

style of STs. Adaptive translations, abridged translations and editorial translations have not been selected, not because they have not played a role in promoting Andersen's fame in China, but because these translations often modified the style and even the content of Andersen's tales for various purposes. The result of this adaptation, abridgement, and edition is that these translations are too innovative to represent the literary features of the original tales. Therefore Zhou Zuoren and Zhao Jingshen's translations in the first phase, Gu JunZheng's translations in the second phase, Ye Junjian and Chen Jingrong's translations in the third phase, and Ren Rongrong, Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e's translations in the fourth phase comprise the corpus of this study.

The third criterion derives from Antoine Berman's mode of criticism. He stresses that:

> Before any concrete analysis of the translated text can be done, the critic must carry out: 1) a textual pre-analysis that selects a certain number of fundamental stylistic characteristics of the original; 2) an interpretation of the work that allows these significant passages to be selected. (2009, p.56)

Berman believes that when the text under observation is long and it is not possible to analyse the whole work, the criticism of a translation must "depend on examples". The selection of these examples is "a delicate and essential moment" which aims at "selecting stylistic examples (broadly speaking) that are pertinent and meaningful." He has offered a method of selecting stylistic examples which starts from analyzing the original text. He suggests that based on an interpretation of the original text, one has to select passages from the original taken from spots where the work is most condensed, representative, meaningful, or symbolic (2009, p.54). These passages are the stylistic examples that merit comparison with their counterparts in the translation.

From 1914, when the first Chinese adaptive translation of one of Andersen's tales was published in a literary journal, more than one thousand translations of single tales or of collections of tales have appeared on the Chinese book market. Some of these translations are direct translations, while rather more of them are indirect translations based on mediated translations in other languages. It would be a very challenging project to try to build a comparative multi-lingual corpus with Danish original texts and translations in various languages in order to complete an exhaustive analysis of every possible aspect of the Chinese translations, and such a corpus of Andersen's tales and translations does not yet exist. Hence, I find Berman's method more appropriate to my research, which aims at reviewing the historical development of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales and offering first impressions and hypotheses on some of the representative translations. Therefore, the third criterion of

selection is that the most condensed, representative, meaningful, or symbolic tales – those that best represent Andersen's style - will be included in the corpus of my research.

Based on the opinions of Elias Bredsdorff (1975) and Erik Dal (1999), two prestigious Andersen scholars, thirty most-read and most representative tales have been selected for my corpus of research.[41] Integrating this list of tales with essays on the style and literary merits of Andersen's tales, written by scholars like Georg Brandes, Hans Brix, Jørgen de Mylius, Finn Hauberg Mortensen, Kirsten Malmkjær, and Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen, some representative passages in these tales have been selected for micro-analysis when discussing a specific translator and their translations.

The Chinese translations that have been included in my corpus are those rendered from the following tales: "Nattergalen", "Tommelise", "Den lille Havfrue", "Sneedronningen", "Den grimme Ælling", "Fyrtøiet", "Grantræet", "Hyrdinden og Skorsteensfeieren", "Venskabs-Pagten", "Rosen-Alfen", "Keiserens nye Klæder", "Lykkens Kalosker", "De vilde Svaner", "Ole Lukøie", "Den standhaftige Tinsoldat", "Reisekammeraten", "Svinedrengen", "Lille Claus og store Claus", "Engelen", "Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkerne", "Paradisets Have", "Den lille Idas Blomster", "Prindsessen paa Ærten", "Klokken", "Den flyvende Koffert", "Flipperne", "Skyggen", "Loppen og Professoren" and "Sneemanden".

2.3 Methods applied to this research

2.3.1 Diachronic method

Traditionally, the diachronic method is often adopted for research on the history of translation. This time-sequence model helps to offer an explicit thread of the whole course of development and give readers a chronological view of the translation history. This paper will follow this research tradition and trace the history of translating and interpreting H. C. Andersen's fairy tales in China according to time sequence. Moreover, from the perspective of canonization of Andersen's tales in China, this translation history has been divided into four phases of canonization. In the first phase,

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41 Elias Bredsdorff has offered a list of the 30 most popular tales in the English speaking world in his book *Hans Christian Andersen: The Story of His Life and Work 1805-75* (1975, p.308). He also considers them as "the most characteristic and representative tales."(p.308). In the chapter contributed to *Hans Christian Andersen. A Poet in Time. Papers from the Second International Hans Christian Andersen Conference 29 July to 2 August 1996*, Erik Dal has offered a list of 35 most popular tales as chosen by 26 Conference Members and a list of 35 most translated tales in France, Holland, Germany and Russia. The 29 tales selected into my corpus are tales that have appeared more than once on these three lists. I believe they must be among the most representative and popular Andersen tales around the world.

Andersen and his tales were introduced to China; in the second phase, Andersen's tales became popular among general readers; in the third phase, Andersen's tales achieved classic status; in the fourth phase, the classic status of Andersen's tales was consolidated. Conversely, this paper will also refer to a horizontal socio-historical dimension while assembling this translation history. Thus, both dates and the socio-historical background of different eras will form the reference frame. By assigning people (translators, critics, and readers), institutions (presses and translation groups) and events to this reference frame, we can produce an explicit thread of the historical development of the translation of H. C. Andersen's tales in China.

2.3.2 A mechanism of canonization

Friedrich Nietzsche expressed it thus: "in so far as the word 'knowledge' has any meaning, the world is knowable; but it is interpretable otherwise, it has no meaning behind it, but countless meanings – Perspectivism." (Nietzsche, 1968, p.267).[42] Therefore, people always adopt perspectives by default when they try to understand the world. For instance, no written history is free of subjectivity. A historian will usually have to choose a specific perspective when compiling a history. This also applies to the subject of translation history. To interpret the translation history of Andersen's tales in China, I will take canonization as the perspective. For the purpose of explicating the course of canonization of Andersen's tales, I will suggest a mechanism of canonization at the end of this section.

In his book *Method in Translation History* Anthony Pym postulates four principles of research on translation history, these being "attention to causation", "a focus on human translators", "a hypothesis projecting intercultural belonging", and "the priority of the present". To be more specific, translation history "should explain why translations were produced in a particular time and place, focus on human translators and their social entourage (clients, patrons, readers), organize around the social contexts where translators live and work, and should prioritize the present, which is the initial point of departure" (1998, Preface). Pym is one of the pioneers who underline the importance of focusing on human translators and reviving the social context when undertaking research on translation history. I agree with Pym in that I believe that the translator plays a key role in translation practice. All factors bearing an influence on translation impose their impact through the translator. I also hold that Pym's principles are rooted in his understanding of the factors that can

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42 The original text (1901, p.3) is in German: "Soweit überhaupt das Wort »Erkenntniß« Sinn hat, ist die Welt erkennbar: aber sie ist anders deutbar, sie hat keinen Sinn hinter sich, sondern unzählige Sinne. – »Perspektivismus«". The English quotation here is translated by Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale.

intervene in translational activity. Therefore, before I move on to suggest a mechanism of canonicity for analyzing the development of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales that will meet the objectives that Pym has advanced I will list the factors that bear an influence on translation practice.

2.3.2.1 The influential factors on translation practice

Translation is undeniably an activity based on language. However, translations have never been produced in a vacuum. Therefore translation is not only a trans-linguistic but above all, a trans-cultural phenomenon. During the process of translation, many factors other than linguistic elements will dictate the translation strategy and manipulate the language of translation. They will finally be textualised and linguistically realized in the product of translation through the translator as the mediator. In his book *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, Lefevere (1992) has analysed the socio-political and cultural factors that govern the translation process. According to him, there are three main factors that determine the translation process, namely, ideology, patronage, and poetics. Although he has also listed the 'universal of discourse' and the linguistic factors at the bottom of his list of constraints, he never considers them as decisively influential factors on translation activities. Integrating Lefevere's theory with my own understanding of translation, I have displayed the influential factors on translation practice in the following figure.
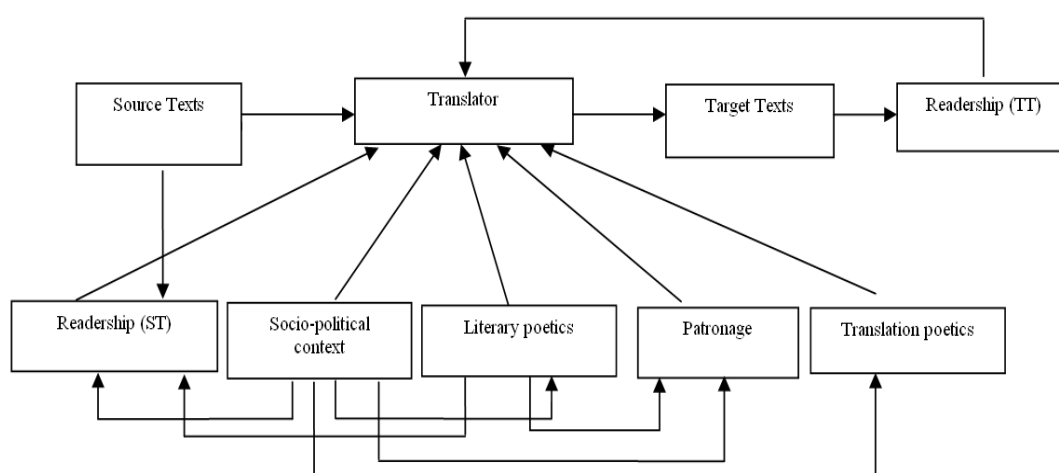

Figure 1

Figure 1 shows the complexity of translation practice. The directions of the arrows signify the directions of influences, moving from effectors to receptors. The

factors influencing translation practice fall into five categories: readership, socio-political context, literary poetics, patronage,[43] and translation poetics.[44] In an act of translation, these five categories together with the constraints from the source text will impose their influences on TT, the product of translation, through the translator as the mediator. I also want to display the correlations among the five categories of influential factors with figure 1. For example, I believe that the readership of the ST, especially the professional readership, is affected by ST, literary poetics and socio-political factors.

Figure 1 displays a static analysis of the factors that could intervene in translation practice. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that the historical process of the translation of a certain literary work in a target culture is a dynamic process. Therefore, the extent of influences from these factors on translation practice is not always the same, but will change in accordance with particular historical, ideological and political environments. It is the joint impact of those influential factors that will eventually determine the (re)translations of a certain foreign literary work in different phases of its translation history and further determine the track of this literary work's entry into the target literary polysystem.

2.3.2.2 A mechanism of canonization

I agree with Tötösy de Zepetnek when he claims that "canonization occurs with a model of cumulative formation involving the text, its reading, readership, literary history, criticism, publication mechanisms, (ie. the sale of books, library use etc.) politics etc…" (Tötösy de Zepetnek, 1998, p.44). Tötösy de Zepetnek's theory is inspired by Even-Zohar's polysystem theory in that it takes canonization as a cumulative and dynamic process, which is in line with Zohar's postulation that there exists a dynamic canonicity in the literary polysystem.

On the other hand, Lefevere, another scholar who holds a Formalist view as does Itamar Even-Zohar, believes that the literary system is dominated by a double control mechanism. Hermans has summarized Lefevere's theory thus:

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43 According to Lefevere, 'patronage' indicates "something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (Lefevere & Bassnett, 1992, p.15). In this dissertation, the denotation of the term patronage will follow Lefevere's definition.

44 In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (3rd), 'poetics' is defined as the general principles of poetry or of literature, or the theoretical study of these principles. As a body of theory, poetics is concerned with the distinctive features of poetry (or literature as a whole), with its languages, forms, genres, and modes of composition. In accordance with this definition, in this dissertation translation poetics indicates a body of theory on the general principles of translation, which are defined by the norms of the literary genre that the translated text belongs to as well as the norms of translation.

Lefevere concentrates on the literary subsystem. The literary system possesses a double control mechanism. One mechanism governs it largely from the outside… where the key words are patronage and ideology. The other mechanism keeps order within the literary system, and the key terms are poetics and a somewhat less well defined group referred to variously as 'experts', 'specialists', 'professionals' and also rewriters. Patrons and literary experts, ideology and poetics control the literary system, and therefore the production and distribution of literature. (Hermans, 1999, p.126).

Therefore, Tötösy de Zepetnek and Lefevere's theories are compatible given the fact that both have adopted the perspective of polysystem. Although their theories are built on their observations and understandings of the literary polysystem, they must also be applicable to the canonization of translated literature in the target culture as literary translation is a type of "importation to the literary polysystem of target culture" (Lambert, 1986 as cited in Baker, 1998, p.133). I will thereby combine Tötösy de Zepetnek's view on the process of canonization with Lefevere's double control mechanism in literary polysystems, and suggest a mechanism with five working factors. They operate in conjunction to canonize a translated literary work in the target culture, which in my case is Andersen's tales in China.

These factors are the socio-political factor, patronage, translation poetics, translators (rewriters) and readership. The socio-political factor includes the socio-political environment, mainstream ideology, and any major competitive ideology of the era during which each (re)translation was produced. This factor has its effect on the canonization of translated literature in that it often determines whether a literary work will be welcomed or even translated at all. The patronage factor is closely related with the socio-political factor, given that patronage could be offered by those who follow the mainstream ideology as well as those who try to challenge it. Therefore, the educational system, governmental institutions, the publishing houses, and prestigious editors could be components of the functional patronage mechanism. Translation poetics consist of the norms of the literary genre that the translated literary work belongs to as well as the norms for translation. These norms could prescribe how the ST could be translated classically and thus help to produce a classical image of the ST in the target culture. Translators also play a role in the canonization process in the sense that translators often offer different interpretations of the ST through their (re)translations, which according to Kermode (1975) could endow canonicity to the ST as well as the translated literary work. The translator's interpretation often reflects their own understandings and opinions on the form and content, style and theme, merits and imperfections of the ST, which might further be represented in their (re)translations and can usually be detected via describing and analyzing their

(re)translations. Last but not least, readership as the receiving and reflecting party of translated literature also plays a role in canon formation. The readership can be further divided into two categories: professional readership, which includes critics and academic readers who cast their influence on canonization via criticism and reviews of a translated literary work, and non-professional readership, which indicates those who do not read literary translations for academic purposes. The latter group are often led and influenced by the professional readership, although there are occasions when they will have their own views, which are not necessarily in accord with the professional readership.

Therefore, the mechanism of the canonization of a translated literary work is that a translated literary canon is formed by a force resulting from the influences of the five previous mentioned factors at work. One thing we have to bear in mind is that the factors in this mechanism are not always equally (between them) or consistently (in themselves) overt and influential in each stage of the process of canonization.

2.3.3 Descriptive approach adopted in this study

Descriptive Translation Studies occupies itself with explicating "the ideological and poetological constraints under which translations are produced" and describing "the strategy devised by the translator to deal with those constraints" (Lefevere, 1984, p.98-99). In accordance with Lefevere's theory, Toury (1985, p.21-22) suggests a two-step model of descriptive translation studies: The first main step is called "discovery procedure", which involves four sub-steps. The first is identifying "assumed translations" and inspecting them as independent texts. In the second step, the counterparts of assumed translations, namely the STs, will be identified by preliminary comparisons and analyses. The third sub-step involves explicating the translational relationships between the "assumed translations" and the STs in the target culture. By referring to these ST-TT relationships, one can finally determine the nature of a translation in the fourth sub-step. The second main step is called "justification procedure", which, according to Toury, is a complete mirror image of the discovery procedure. In contrast to the "discovery steps", which are deconstructive and attempt to examine the constitutive elements of translation, the "justification procedure" is a constructive procedure which aims at reconstructing the "possible process of CONSIDERATION and DECISION-MAKING which was involved in the act of translating in question, as well as the CONSTRAINTS which were actually accepted by the translator". (Toury, 1985, p.21-22)

Hence, the model proposed by Toury starts from the target text. By observing the translational relationships between STs and TTs via textual comparisons and analyses, it seeks to explicate the set of constraints on translation practice and identify the choices that a translator has made, namely, the "solutions" to the "translational

problems" operating at the linguistic level of the TTs. In the present research, when it comes to the investigation of specific translations of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, some empirical-descriptive methods suggested by Toury will be adopted: the investigation will start by identifying the counterparts, namely the source texts of the Chinese translations through preliminary textual comparison and reference to relevant paratexts. Subsequently, after examining the translational relations between assumed source texts and their Chinese translations, the factors influencing translation activity and the impact of these factors on the translators' decisions will be clarified.

Therefore, guided by the understanding of translation and translation studies, and including both ST and TT and both "top-down" characteristics and "bottom-up" features (Steiner, 2003) of the translations into the horizon of research, the present study will integrate the empirical and descriptive approaches with the linguistic approaches. Moreover, observing the history of Andersen's tales in China from the perspective of canonization, this study will investigate the intervening factors on the translation and reception of Andersen's tales in China and illustrate the translated images of Andersen's tales in different stages of canonization. Meanwhile the human factors, especially the translators involved in Andersen translation in China and their influence on Andersen translation are also a focus throughout this study. In addition, since the author of this dissertation does not believe that value judgment is constructive to translation studies, deciding which translation is good and which one is bad is not the objective of this study. Hence this work will provide non-judgmental critical analysis of the translations, and a historical account of the translation, of Andersen's tales into Chinese.

Chapter Three
Phase one: first introduction to China (1909 - 1925)

Following the brief historical overview of Andersen translations in this period in Chapter One, this section will focus on the factors that significantly affected the translation of Andersen's tales during this period and their contribution to the canonization of Andersen's tales in China. These factors include the socio-political environment, the poetics of translation, the patrons who encouraged translation and facilitated introduction, the professional readership and their criticism of Andersen's tales and Andersen translations, and the major translators. Zhou Zuoren's first vernacular Chinese translation of Andersen's tales, two special issues dedicated to Andersen and his tales published by *The Short Story Magazine* in 1925, and Zhao Jingshen and his translations will be observed and analysed to help us systematise the influential factors on translation.

3.1 The factors bearing a key influence on Andersen translation

3.1.1 The Socio-political factor

In Chapter One, I provided an introduction to the socio-political environment in the period from the 1910s to the 1920s. Therefore, in this part, I will specify its influence on the translation and introduction of Andersen's tales.

As has already been established, this was a transitional and unstable period in the history of China. Against a background of extraordinary social upheaval, Chinese literature also inevitably experienced radical change. While intellectuals sought to utilize literary reform as catalyst for ideological revolution, which was intended to lead to a renaissance in Chinese literature and wider society, "turning points, crises, or literary vacuums" (Even-Zohar, 1990, p.47) appeared in China's literary polysystem. According to Evan-Zohar, this is one of the situations under which translated literature may assume a central position within a literature system. Hence there arose the first wave of literary translation in 20th century China.

During this upsurge, Andersen and his tales were introduced to China with the aim of enlightening Chinese children as well as adults. After the New Cultural Movement started in the 1910s, traditional Confucian views on children and education were challenged by progressive intellectuals. They needed new media to fight against theories of educating children into dutiful members of society as well as overturn the traditional view which considered children as "mini adults". Western children's literary works, including Andersen's tales, were considered an effective medium for advocating humanism and new concepts of childhood. It was believed that western works of children's literature could help Chinese children readers grow up into

mentally modern and healthy adults, who would be the mainstays and creators of a modern China. At the same time adult readers too could be enlightened by western children's literary works, which embrace modern concepts of childhood and new perspectives on the spiritual world of the child. Andersen's tales were thus welcomed and introduced as a model form of children's literature. Therefore, although this was definitely a difficult and challenging period Chinese history, it was just the right time for Andersen and his tales to come into China.

3.1.2 The Patrons of Andersen translation

As well as auspicious timing, Andersen's works were fortunate in acquiring authorised Chinese patrons who were closely connected with the socio-political environment. As mentioned earlier, many leading Chinese intellectuals of the time, especially those who had experienced an overseas education or had received a western-style education in China, were dedicated to introducing western Children's literature into China because they believed that it could bring new ways of understanding the world – that it could "save our children" (Lu Xun). Many intellectuals were absorbed by the imaginative fantasy, the beautiful language, and the poetic appeal of Andersen's tales, although they were actually attracted by the charm of his English translations, given that most of them could read English but none of them could read Danish. Somehow a consensus formed that Andersen's tales, and the humane and poetic beauty they expressed, were good for Chinese readers, and there was a growing desire to introduce them to China. The intellectuals involved were among the most influential and prestigious in China. They included the Zhou Brothers (Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren), Sun Yuxiu, Zheng Zhenduo, and Zhao Jingshen, to name just a few. Some, like the Zhou Brothers, Sun Yuxiu, and Zheng Zhenduo, were already established scholars and literati in Chinese literary circles. They became patrons promoting the translation of Andersen's tales by contributing introductory articles about Andersen's life and his tales to mainstream literary journals, planning translation projects, and arranging the publication of translations of Andersen's tales. Andersen and his tales were introduced to China before any translations had been done. Sun Yuxiu (1871-1923), who was a senior editor of The Commercial Press, which was and still is a publishing house of repute in the fields of academic publications and literature in China, first introduced Andersen and his tales in 1909. In Sun's article entitled 《读欧美名家小说札记》(A Short Note on Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers), there is a section on Andersen's life and his tales. Sun compares Andersen with a famous Chinese story teller Liu Jingting (1587-1676?) of the late Ming and early Qing dynasty and points out that the reason Andersen's tales are so popular in Denmark is that he is adept at telling a story through spoken language. The vivid language of his tales make his readers feel like they are "listening to him telling stories face to face". Sun further observes that

Andersen likes to use "humorous expressions" and mimic "the manner of speech of children" in his stories, which means that his tales strike a chord, and makes them more effective than the teachings of pedagogues[45] (1909, p.175-176). Knowing that the only foreign language Sun could read was English, and that he introduced Andersen's tales as "Fairy Tales" in this article, it can be inferred that Sun's views on Andersen's style must have been drawn from his reading experience of English translations of Andersen's tales, and must have been influenced by critical analysis in English. Besides, he translates 'Andersen' into '安徒生', which is the name we continue to use for Andersen in China, although Sun miss-spelled Andersen in western script as 'Anderson'.

Zheng Zhenduo (1898-1958), was born in Zhejiang, a coastal province which was at the time comparatively more open than inland China to new ideas and phenomena from the outside world, and was therefore ahead of the curve. He worked in a variety of roles as writer, editor, literature critic, translator, archaeologist, etc. As one of the leading figures in the New Literature Movement and the founder of the Society for Literary Research and Society for Children's Literature Studies, as well as the editor-in-chief of several new literature periodicals, Zheng Zhenduo also contributed to the translation and introduction of Andersen's tales as a patron and advocate.

He made great efforts to promote the translation of literature for children and the introduction of theories on western children's literature. His enthusiasm for promoting children's literature was closely related to his literary and socio-political values. He believed that traditional Confucian views on children were out of date and that only new values consistent with humanism, with its roots in western ideology, could liberate children.

As the editor-in-chief of *The Short Story Magazine* and *Literature Weekly*, Zheng planned and edited three special issues featuring H. C. Andersen and his works in 1925. They include two successive issues of *The Short Story Magazine* and one issue of *Literature Weekly*. He wrote two prefaces for the two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine*, expressing his admiration for Andersen by stating that "Andersen is the greatest writer of fairy tales in the world. His grandeur lies in the fact that with his childlike innocence and poetic talent he opened up a new world for fairy tales and brought a new genre, a new jewel to literature…" (1925, 16(8), 16(9)).[46] He also

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45 The article was published in 《东方杂志》 (Oriental Magazine). The original text is mainly in classical Chinese, except that Andersen's name is spelled in alphabetical letters "Anderson" and the English term "Fairy Tales" is kept in English.

46 In journals and newspapers like Short Stories Magazine, Literature Weekly, etc., articles are paged individually but not continuously. Therefore, it is meaningless to give the page number in the citation information. The number of the volume and/or the issue will be given as part of the citation instead.

wrote an article on Andersen research and translation for *The Short Story Magazine'*s first special issue on Andersen which summed up Andersen's works, the English translations and reviews of his works, the titles of Andersen's tales that already had been translated into Chinese, and the existing body of research on Andersen's works in China. This is the earliest piece of Andersen-related scholarship and is of significant value for later research on Andersen's translation and reception in China. In addition to his articles on Andersen's works and a few translations of Andersen's tales, he published many tales translated by other writers in the literary periodicals he edited, and often wrote postscripts for these translations introducing background information to the tales. Zhao Jingshen recalled his contact with Zheng when he was still a young translator thus:

> From 1920 to 1922, when I studied in the Tianjin School of Cotton Textile Technology, I continued to translate his (Andersen's) tales after class and to contribute to The Ladies' Journal… Zheng Zhenduo was the editor-in-chief of Children's World at the time. Having noticed my interest in translating fairy tales, he wrote me a letter and invited me to contribute to Children's World and to take part in the Society for Children's Literature Studies. Of course I accepted his invitation… In 1925, when I left Changsha for Shanghai, Zheng introduced me to Xu Diaofu and Gu JunZheng, as both of them were interested in Andersen's fairy tales. After that, we compiled a series of books for children for Kaiming Bookstore, which is called Children's Literature Series. As to the translations of Andersen's tales, the three of us translated eight tales for this series. (Zhao, 1961, p.142)

With his influence and reputation among China's literati, Zheng was able to mobilise many intellectuals to take part in the translation of Andersen's tales and to add to the existing body of children's literature. In January 1922, at Zheng's instigation, the journal *Children's World* published its first issue. It was the first magazine dedicated to children in China, and it published many original literary creations as well as translations for children. Some translations of Andersen tales such as 《一个母亲的故事》 (The Story of a Mother) published in volume 1 issue 4 in 1922, 《蜗牛与玫瑰》 (The Snail and the Rose Tree) published in volume 23 issue 21 in 1929, were also published in Children's World. Therefore, Zheng was not only a patron of Andersen's tales in China but also a patron of Chinese children's literature in general.

Like Zheng Zhenduo, Zhou Zuoren was also one of the first advocates of western children's literature in China and at the same time another admirer of Andersen's tales. According to Zheng Zhenduo, he was the one who "helped Chinese readers know clearly about Andersen and his tales" (1925, 16(8)). His seminal article 《儿童的文学》 (On Children's Literature), which was published in 《新青年》 (New Youth) in

1920, was probably the first systematic research on the theory of children's literature in China. He wrote several books on children's literature expressing his thoughts on establishing a "child-centred" theory of children's literature and of pedagogy. He despised the traditional utilitarian attitude towards children's literature and advocated "nonsense" literature for children. For him, children's literature should consider fulfilling their need for beautiful and imaginative stories as the highest and the only objective, and be uncontaminated by moralising. Zhou considered Andersen's tales as examples that could support and attest his thoughts and theories on children's literature (Li, 2005, p.38) and composed around a dozen articles to introduce and analyse Andersen's tales and their Chinese translations. Some of these articles were published in the leading journals in the New Cultural Movement and the May Fourth Movement and have had a profound impact on translation and interpretation of Andersen's tales in China. Given Zhou's status as a standard-bearer among the new intellectuals, his promotion of Andersen's tales represented persuasive support for their introduction and translation during this period. As Zheng Zhenduo puts it, after the publication of Zhou's translation, 《卖火柴的女儿》(The Match-selling Girl), and his review of a Chinese translation 《十之九》 (Nine out of Ten) in *New Youth*, Chinese intellectuals "started to become aware of and direct their attention to Andersen, and translation work began on some of his stories" (Zheng, 1925, 16(8)). His interpretation and critiques of Andersen's tales and their Chinese translations will be explained in detail in the next part.

3.1.3 The readers of Andersen's tales and their influence

Endowed with such important aims and objectives, the translation of H. C. Andersen's tales was considered as serious work in China. As with almost all translation activities during this period, the motivation was utilitarian. Therefore the translations of Andersen's tales during this period did not aim directly at children as readers, but at writers and other intellectuals as adult readers. In addition, most of the articles on Andersen and his tales, as well as more than 80 percent of the translations of his tales, were published in literary periodicals with large circulations which served to enlighten Chinese intellectuals. Children were not the potential readers of these literary journals either. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the tales translated during this period in China were actually not directed at children but at adults. Their readers were unique in the following ways.

Firstly, the readers were mostly intellectuals - categorized as "professional readers" in this dissertation - signifying that they read not only for entertainment but also to access literary or translation criticism which was related to their profession. Some of the professional readers, like Zhou Zuoren and Zheng Zhenduo, were at the same time sponsors of the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales.

Secondly, as aforementioned, most readers got to know Andersen's tales through English translations. Therefore, the English translations must have had considerable impact on their impressions of Anderson's tales and furthermore on their expectations of how Andersen's tales should be presented in Chinese.

Third, their interpretation and critique of Andersen's tales was influenced by foreign criticism, mainly western criticism, in English. The quotations in the articles on Andersen's tales demonstrate this influence. For example, Zhou Zuoren's perception of Andersen was clearly influenced by western criticism. He quoted western critics like Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Georg Brandes, and Sir Edmund William Gosse in his articles, and his comments on the merits of Andersen's tales are also self-evidently rooted in their criticism. In his article 《丹麦诗人安兑尔然传》, Zhou argues that "Andersen... observed the world through the eyes of children and wrote it down with the words of a poet. His works are so natural and beautiful that they are unparalleled and unlikely ever to be matched…" (Zhou, 1913/2005, p.2). This is obviously an opinion drawn from "Hans Christian Andersen" in Boyesen's book *Essays on Scandinavian literature* (1895, p.155-180). Zhou also refers to Gosse's comments (1900, p.vi) in the introduction to *Fairy Tales and Stories by Hans Christian Andersen* translated by Hans Lein Bræstad in this article[47].

In addition, we can also see that most of the translations and articles published in the two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine* and the special issue of *Literature Weekly* were translated from or referred to western sources. These sources are mainly Gosse's *Northern Studies* (1890, pp.215-337), Brandes' Eminent *Authors of the Nineteenth Century* translated by R. B. Andersen (1886, pp.61-75), Boyessen's *Essays on Scandinavia Literature* (1895, pp.155-180), Andersen's "Advertisement" in *Stories and Tales* (1870) published by Houghton Mifflin, and Andersen's *The Story of My Life* (1871) translated by Horace E. Scudder.

Moreover, we should also note that any high praise meted out to Andersen's tales in these western references - and indeed any negative comments on Andersen's other works - is also likely to have influenced the views of Chinese professional readers on Andersen's works. Gosse states in his book that "among all his multitudinous writings, it is of course his so-called Fairy Tales, his Eventyr, that show most distinctly his extraordinary genius… They are equally familiar to children all over the civilized world…" (1890, p.222). However, Boyesen declares that "in reading Andersen's collected works one is particularly impressed with the fact that what he did outside of his chosen field is of inferior quality…" (1895, p.160). To him, *Improvisatoren*, is "merely a disguised autobiography which exhibits the author's morbid sensibility and what I should call the un-masculine character of his mind…" (1895, p.160), which is

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47 The part that Zhou refers to is "life to a child is a phantasmagoria, and thanklessness and rapine and murder are amusing shadows which the unsubstantial human figures throw as they dance in the flicker of the firelight…" (Gosse, 1900, p.vi).

quite in line with Brandes' view on this work. Given that Brandes' criticism is also one of the major referential sources for Chinese intellectuals at the time, their opinions on Andersen and his works suggest the reason why Andersen's works other than fairy tales have very rarely been translated into Chinese.

Fourth, the professional readership's understanding of Andersen's tales influenced Andersen translations in Chinese. To give his readers a taste of Andersen's tales, Zhou attached a short passage of his own translation of an excerpt from "A Picture Book without Pictures" to his article published in 1913. It is in classical Chinese. However, he soon determined that vernacular Chinese is a more suitable medium for Andersen's tales. His conversion was partially caused by his determination to promote vernacular Chinese as the literary language of the New Culture Movement, as well as by his appreciation of Andersen's colloquial style. In his criticism on 《十之九》 (Nine out of Ten), the first collection of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, he elaborates on his disagreement with Chen Jialin and Chen Dadeng's decision to translate Andersen's tales in classical Chinese and their manipulation of translations according to traditional Chinese doctrines and values.

Actually, Zhou's comment is rather hash. For him, through the use of very formal classical Chinese, Chen's translations have been totally deprived of one of the most important Andersenian characteristics - the colloquial style. On the other hand, Zhou also expresses his dissatisfaction with Chen's manipulation of the content whenever the plot is in conflict with traditional moral values. For Zhou, this manipulation has demolished the "no preaching" quality that gives merit to Andersen's tales (Zhou, 1918/2005, p.11-13). Henceforth, through the advocacy of Zhou and other scholars, vernacular Chinese and colloquial style became two norms for translating Andersen's tales. Nowadays all Chinese translations will claim that they have tried to adopt informal and everyday language when translating Andersen's tales.

3.1.4 Translation poetics in this period: main concerns and thoughts

Parallel with the socio-cultural changes and the vernacular movement in the literary system, Chinese translation theories and principles also underwent radical change during this period. The new generation of intellectuals who had been exposed to western theories and ideology adopted the role of the connecting link between traditional thoughts on translation practices and the new ideas inspired by western translation theories as well as by their own translation practice. In this situation, translation practices were more often than not the empirical application of various

thoughts on translation. Therefore, translation theory became the most visible factor affecting translation practice during this period.

Among the various societies involved in the translation debate during this period, 文学研究会 (Society for Literary Research), and 创造社 (Creation Society) were the leaders. Not only did they represent the most influential and avant-garde writers of the time, they also launched large-scale and systematic introduction and translation of foreign literature. According to Zhang Zhongliang (2005, p.40), *The Short Story Magazine*, one of the main organs of the Society for Literary Research, published translated works of about 270 writers from 35 countries from 1921 to 1928; the other organ of this society, *Literature Weekly* which was the successor of 《文学旬刊》 (Literature Every Ten Days), published more than 300 translations from May 1921 to December 1927. What is more, *The Short Story Magazine* was the journal with the 7th highest print (its highest print was 10,000 per issue) among all the journals and newspapers in China during the 1920s (Chen, 2003, p.275). 《创造周报》(Creation Weekly), an organ of the Creation Society, took 8th place on this list (its highest print was 6,000 per issue). The large circulations of the organs of these two societies also illustrate their wide influence on Chinese literature and literary translation.[48]

From the 1920s to the 1930s, the theoretical discussions on translation initiated by the two literary societies exerted profound influence on the Chinese translation poetics of their time and later times. The major issues under discussion were the status of translated literature in the Chinese literary system, what to translate, and the principles of translation. On the one side of those debates were the leaders of the Society for Literary Research, including Zheng Zhenduo and Shen Yanbing (pen name: Mao Dun). On the other side were Guo Moruo, the leader of Creation Society, and his adherents.

3.1.4.1 Debates on the status of translated literature

In 1921, in an open letter published in 《学灯》 (Xue Deng), the supplement to 《时事新报》 (*The China Times*)[49], Guo Moruo complained that "some people have

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48 For more information about the influence of 文学研究会 (Society for Literary Research) and 创造社 (Creation Society) on translated literature and translation theory in China, please refer to Chen Yugang's 《中国翻译文学史稿》 (The History of Translated Literature in China) published in 1989, Xian Liqiang's《创造社翻译研究》(Research on Translation Activities of the Creation Society) published in 2010, and《文学研究会资料》(Source Material on Society for Literary Research) published in 1985.

49 《时事新报》 (The China Times) is the organ of 研究系 (Research Society), which was the successor to 宪法研究会 (Research Society for the Constitution), an organization first established by Liang Qichao and some other intellectuals who shared similar political opinions with him. Its supplement 《学灯》 (Academic Lamp) was founded in 1918 and was one of the

thought too much of the matchmaker but have ignored the virgin, have attached too much importance to translation but haven't paid enough attention to creative writing..." (Guo, 1921, January 15). To refute this idea of comparing translation to matchmaker and creative writing to virgin, which implies the inferiority of translation to creative writing, Zheng Zhenduo expressed his view in an article published in the same newspaper in 1921. He stated that,

> They have underestimated the functions of translation by comparing it to matchmaking... Since there is no universal language at present, but for the work of the translators, a brilliant literary work might never become known to readers in other regions of the world. Therefore, translating a literary work is as creative as composing a literary work. (1921b/1998, p.487)

In a later article Zheng compared translation to wet nursing, and translation practice to the action of "opening the window and letting the sunshine, fresh air, and beautiful scenery into the room" (1923/1998, p.192). Mao Dun was in accord with Zheng and pointed out that it could be many times harder to produce an accurate and excellent literary translation than to create an original literary work (1920, 11(12)). He believed that translation practice was as important as creative writing for the new Chinese literature (1921c, 12(12)).

Mao and Zheng's side won extensive support among the contemporaneous literati. Prestigious writers like Zhou Zuoren, Lu Xun and Hu Shi all considered translation as an essential part of their literary and creative work and often included translated works together with their own creative writings in their anthologies. Through these discussions, translated literature started to occupy an important and prestigious position in the Chinese literary system. Andersen translations, as part of a wider body of translated literature, thus achieved legitimacy.

3.1.4.2 Discussion on what to translate

The issue of what to translate was largely driven by the doctrines and norms of the budding modern Chinese literature of the 1920s. Echoing the social and political situation, intellectuals advocated literature that could rouse people's courage to fight against foreign invasion and the corrupted regime, and enlighten the public with modern ideologies like humanism and democracy. Besides, they also believed that modern Chinese literature needed to absorb new genres and styles of writing from foreign sources. All these opinions inevitably influenced the criteria applied to choosing which literary works to translate.

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great champions of the new culture movement.

There were two main schools of thought. One group represented by Zheng Zhenduo and Mao Dun believed that to catch up with western ideologies, only those literary works that carried new thoughts and ideologies should be translated. Therefore, neither classical works from antiquity nor the bestsellers of the time were a priority because they could not meet the need for reforming Chinese literature and society. In《盲目的翻译家》 (The Aimless Translators), Zheng pointed out the necessity of choosing cautiously which works to translate. He reminded translators to "first read the original work and then observe Chinese society before starting to translate..." (1921/1998, p.491-492). In another article, Zheng stated explicitly that translators should translate literary works embodying "blood and tears" (1921/1998, p.490), as Chinese society was undergoing turbulence and confusion, and the Chinese people were suffering and bleeding. According to him, literature for art's sake was far removed from reality and had nothing to offer Chinese society.

Mao Dun shared Zheng's view and also claimed in his article in 1922 that "it should be a fundamental right to advocate 'blood and tears' literature out of one's fierce abhorrence to the prevailing reality..."(1922, August 1). He pointed out further in another article that "although the idea of translating all classical works is theoretically right, it does not accord with our aims… we should not advocate literature for art's sake… for this idea is in conflict with the spirit of our time..." (1921, 12(2)). In two other articles, Mao Dun also advocated translating realistic and naturalistic literary works.

This inclination was closely related to their thoughts on the revolution in Chinese literature. For instance, one of the tenets of the Society for Literary Research was "literature for life"[50]. This tenet became a norm for literary creation as well as translation for members of Society for Literary Research.

However, there were also intellectuals who did not agree with the Society for Literary Research. Guo Moruo was translating *Faust* when Zheng and Mao's articles were published. He argued that the translator should be entitled to choose what to translate and the only criterion should be the literary work's aesthetic value. He criticised Zheng and Mao's thoughts as 'utilitarian'.[51] Guo also argued against "literature for life's sake", insisting that one should not underestimate the value of classic works for reality's sake because classic literary works are enduring (1922, July 27).

No final conclusion was ever reached in this debate. The Japanese invasion which started in the 1930s soon diverted intellectuals' attention to the social reality of

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50 Realistic literature was comprehended and generalized as "为人生的文学" (literature for life) by Society for Literary Research and became a slogan of this literary society.

51 Guo expressed these opinions in〈论文学的研究与介绍〉 (On Research and Translation of Literature) and 〈论国内的评坛及我对于创作上的态度〉 (Our Literary Criticism and My Attitude Towards Literary Creation), which was published in 1922 in The China Times.

China. In response, the foreign literature that the members of the Society for Literary Research chose to translate fell into the following categories: First, literary works belonging to the genre that Chinese literature lacked, or representing modern western ideologies and new literary currents. Second, literary works from "small and weak" nations which had undergone sufferings similar to what China was going through were also welcomed and translated. In addition, some classic works were also introduced and translated because of their aesthetic value.

It is apparent that Andersen's tales meet most of the criteria by which works were considered to be worth translating, which is why they were translated and welcomed in this period.

3.1.4.3 Issues on Translation Methods and Principles

Discussions on translation methods and principles were also dynamic during this period. They focused mainly on two topics. The first was the proper method of translation, which stimulated a serious of debates over the priority of *Da* or *Xin (also as 顺 Shun and Xin)*. This debate has had a far-reaching influence on Chinese translation theories. The second was on the necessity for and defects of indirect translation.

The discussions on translation methods were derived from translators' translation experiences. They were usually instructive and normative and focused on "how to translate properly" or "the criteria for a good translation" in literary translation. These discussions had their origins in the three criteria of 信*Xin*, 达*Da* and 雅*Ya* raised by Yan Fu[52] and focused on their meaning, validity and applicability. In addition, the ambiguous and abstract nature of Chinese academic tradition made multiple interpretations of these criteria possible and at the same time made it difficult for literati to achieve any common ground.

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52 Yan Fu first advanced these three criteria in the translator's preface to 《天演论》 (The Evolution Theory) which is a Chinese translation of Evolution and Ethics and other Essays by Thomas Henry Huxley. The three criteria of translation, namely 信 Xin, 达 Da, 雅 Ya, have been translated into different versions like faithful, fluent and elegant (Lin, 2006, p.99) or faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance (Luo, 1999, p.105), or fidelity, fluency, and elegance (Chan Tak-hung, Leo, 2004, p.17). They are slightly different from one version to the other because scholars have different understandings of the connotation of these criteria. Thus, based on my understanding of the debates during this period, I translate "达" Da as "intelligibility" and "顺" Shun, a criteria derived from Da as "readability".

The debate over whether literal or liberal translation[53] was the appropriate method of literary translation in China, namely the debates on the priority of *Shun* or *Xin,* started in the 1920s. Mao Dun and Zheng Zhenduo expressed their opinions in 1921 in two articles published in *The Short Story Magazine*. They were in favour of limited foreignization. They believed that one should not go to the extreme of producing expressions unfamiliar to ordinary folk (Chan, 2004, p.21). By the 1930s, most of the major literary figures like Lu Xun, Qu Qiubai, Liang Shiqiu,[54] and Zhao Jingshen had taken some part in this debate, bringing the discussion to a climax. Sympathising with Liang Shiqiu, Zhao Jingshen, an active translator in this period, advocated the principle of rather producing a translation that was fluent and accessible but not completely faithful than one that was faithful but anomalous and awkward. In an article addressed to Mao Dun, he states that:

> If it is a work of literary theory, the translation should first of all be readable… If it is a literary work… the content and idea are the most important things, readability is still the most important aim to achieve in translation. Translation is a difficult task, the translator often has to sacrifice fidelity for readability… Concerned for the interests of my readers, I have no extreme opinion on translation. Readability is always of priority in translation. (1931, 17(1))

Zhao's opinion is also known as the principle of "宁顺而不信" (readability has precedence over fidelity). This principle was rooted in his concern for the average Chinese reader who as a rule would be unfamiliar with any foreign language and know very little about foreign culture - thus be unfamiliar with the syntax of foreign languages. Therefore, making translation readable became a priority. In another article published in the same year, he reaffirmed this opinion by reordering Yan Fu's three criteria 信 (faithfulness), 达 (intelligibility), 雅 (elegance) into 顺 (readability), 信(faithfulness), 雅(elegance). (Zhao, 1931, 1(6))

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53 Here "literal" indicates "word-for-word translation" while "liberal" inclines more to "free translation" or "sense for sense translation". For more discussion of the principles of translation, please refer to Chapter 2 in the first part of 20th Century Chinese Translation Theory edited by Chan Tak-hung, Leo.

54 In 1929, Liang firstly criticized Lu Xun in an article published in 《新月》 (Crescent) that "(this) mechanical method is usually applied through the whole process of translation and makes translated works unreadable. Thus, one cannot understand them and reading them is a waste of time." Quoting Chen Xiying, he defined "mechanical translation" as "the method of translating not only word for word but also without changing the syntax and sequence of words in the original text." Lu Xun then wrote an article in 1930 to reply to Liang's critique and thus started a series of debates in the 1930s.

Countering Zhao's principle, Lu Xun put forward his principle: "宁信而不顺" (fidelity has precedence over readability). He believed that the readability of a translation could be somewhat sacrificed, and that a translator could be justified in doing so, if the aim was to keep the exotic characteristics and syntax of a foreign literary work as well as improve the Chinese language through the introduction of elements of foreign languages (usually western languages).[55] His brother, Zhou Zuoren, another important writer and translator of the time, was in accord with Lu Xun's principle. Besides, he stressed that the metaphrase method he applied was not the same as mechanical translation. According to him, the metaphrase method involves keeping as far as possible to the syntax and style of the original work in the translation, but not excluding the possibility of domesticating anything that the Chinese language could not render literally from the original text (Zhou, 1925, Preface). Qu Qiubai, another ardent advocate of linguistic and literary reform, agreed with Lu Xun on the idea that literal translation is a better method of translation. In his correspondence with Lu Xun, he states that:

> A translation should introduce the meaning in the original text completely and accurately to the Chinese reader and allow Chinese readers to grasp concepts which exactly equate to the concepts that the readers of the original text would get…. A metaphrase like this should be composed with a vernacular Chinese that is genuinely spoken by the people. (Qu, 1931/1984, p.270)

On the one hand, he agreed with Lu Xun that mistranslation was not to be tolerated even for the sake of so-called readability or fluency. For him, Zhao Jingshen's advocacy of the claim that "readability has precedence over fidelity" was a kind of obscurant that aimed at duping the readership that could not read the original work. On the other hand, Qu could not agree to excuse unreadable translation under the principle of "fidelity has precedence over readability". However, his understanding of readability differed from Zhao. He criticized translators like Zhao Jingshen for trying to achieve readability by using "semi-classical and semi-vernacular" Chinese but not the language used by common people. He held that readability could be achieved by using vernacular Chinese, which equates to the everyday language normal people use. He believed that a translation could be both readable and faithful as long as one used idiomatic and vernacular Chinese to translate.

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[55] Please refer to the correspondences between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai from Dec. 1931 to Jun. 1932 to see Lu Xun's opinions on translation strategy. Lu Xun also expressed his thoughts on metaphrase as the principle of translation in other articles like〈"硬译"与"文学的阶级性"〉(Hard Translation and Class Nature of Literature,1930), 〈关于翻译（上、下）〉(About Translation, 1933).

From the perspective of language revolution, Qu (1932/1984) pointed out that *Xin* and *Shun* are not in conflict with each other when doing translation, but interdependent.

In fact, if we scrutinise Zhao Jingshen and Lu Xun's translations during this period, we can sense that both Zhao's principle of "宁顺而不信" and Lu Xun's principle of "宁信而不顺" express their inclination when translating. Zhao tends to pull the original work closer to the Chinese reader to make the reading experience smoother while Lu Xun tries to keep the foreign quality and sense of distance in the original work to introduce foreign syntax, phrases and style of writing to his readers. However, as good translators neither would ever go to the extreme of undermining the quality of their translations. Actually, as Zhao explained later (1989, p.617), when he said he would rather sacrifice fidelity he actually meant that he would rather use Chinese syntax in his translation; he never intended to suggest that the principle of fidelity might be completely discarded. Lu Xun also stressed in other articles that a translator should care about both readability and keeping the "original flavour", and free translation methods could be applied when needed (1925/1984, pp.262-264).

From the end of the 19th century to the 1930s, six groups of Chinese students travelled to foreign countries. Five groups studied in Japan, the USA, the UK, France, and Germany. From 1930, more and more Chinese youngsters formed a sixth group who went to the USSR to learn from this newly established communist country. Therefore, almost all the foreign languages that Chinese literati could read at the time were Japanese, English, French, Russian, and German. Any literary works written in other languages were usually translated through mediated translations in one of those languages. This indirectness in literary translation started to attract attention from many translators in the 1920s. Therefore discussions on indirect translation became another important topic in translation studies from the 1920s to the early 1930s.

Zheng Zhenduo's article《译文学书的三个问题》 (Three Issues on Literary Translation) published in 1921 was one of the first articles that touched upon indirect translation. In this article, he defines indirect translation as "'retranslation' - work translated indirectly from a mediated translation" (1921/1998, p.72). Zheng found it profoundly disappointing and regrettable to see that indirect translation was so popular and common in China in the 1920s. This suggested to him that very few intellectuals cared about literary translation. In this article, Zheng compares an indirect translation to a copy of a copy, and further explains that the ease and style, the meanings of culture-specific phrases and idioms, and the meanings of words in the original text would be distorted or lost during the course of indirect translation because of the cultural differences and linguistic differences between the original text, the mediatory text and the target text. Besides, an indirect translation often inherits the mistakes in the mediatory translation. All in all, translating indirectly is risky and will jeopardise the fidelity of the translation. (1921/1998, pp.72-76)

However, Zheng also admits that at a time when people were not very interested in literature, translating indirectly could be a viable option to help Chinese readers

keep contact with foreign literature. Particularly at the end of his article, he stresses that in an indirect translation the translator should provide clear publishing information on the mediatory translation such as the translator, the press etc. (Zheng, 1921/1984, p92). Obviously, Zheng considers indirect translation as a last resort. Liang Shiqiu also compares an indirect translation to wine that has been mixed with water, or has been in contact with air so long that the flavour has changed (Liang, 1928/1984, p.133). In 1934, Mu Mutian reinforced this negative view of indirect translation in two articles published on 19th June and 30th June in《自由谈》(Free Talk), which was a supplement to《申报》(Shanghai News). These two articles provoked two replies from Lu Xun, in which he expressed a nuanced attitude towards indirect translation and emphasized the necessity of it for Chinese literature. He stressed that without indirect translation Chinese readers could never enjoy Ibsen's works, Cervantes's works, or Andersen's tales.

For him, what was of importance was the quality rather than the directness of translation, for a translator who has good command of the mediatory language and text can often produce a better translation than one who knows little about the original language and text (Lu, 1934/1984, p.238). Lu Xun was pointing out the reality and the need of Chinese literature of the time. Mainly because of the lack of translators who had good command of foreign languages other than Japanese, English, Russian, German, and French, translating indirectly was a common phenomenon in China before the 1950s. Therefore through indirect translations diverse literary works from different countries were introduced to Chinese readers and literature. Many translators who were opposed to indirectness in translation also produced indirect translation works. As Lu Xun mentioned, Andersen and his tales were first introduced and became known to Chinese readers through indirect translations.

3.1.5 The major translators and their impact

From Appendix 1, we can see that most of the influential intellectuals of the time tried their hand at introducing and translating Andersen's tales. Andersen translation became a fashion in the Chinese literary world. Following research into the background of these translators, there are some features that have attracted my attention. First, the translators of Andersen's tales in this period were related to each other in one way or another. For example, most of them were members of the Society for Literary Research. Some of them were even related by kinship (such as the Chen brothers, and Mao Dun and Shen Zemin) or by marriage (for instance, Li Xiaofeng, who used "Ms. Lin Lan" as a shared pen name with his wife, was the brother-in-law of Zhao Jingshen, and Gao Junzhen was Zheng Zhenduo's wife). Since the Chinese Andersen translators of this period were closely related to each other, they became an influential power in the Chinese literary system which was able to initiate a trend of

translating and promoting Andersen's tales. Second, many of them had dual or even multiple roles as both writer and editor. Zhou Zuoren, Gu Junzhng, Zhao Jingshen, to name just a few, all had dual roles as both translator and writer. Their professional background ensured the literary quality of their translations. Third, many of them were leading participants in the above mentioned debates on the principles and methods of translation, resulting in their thoughts on translation influencing their translations of Andersen's tales. Fourth, some of them were patrons and advocates of translation of children's literature, including Andersen's tales, and some of them were critics of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Therefore, their view on children's literature must have influenced their translation.

3.2 The translations of Andersen's tales during this period - facts and specimen studies

After discussing the factors in play, this section will provide an overview of the translations of Andersen's tales during this period through the analysis and description of the first vernacular translation of Andersen's tale produced by Zhou Zuoren, two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine* dedicated to Andersen, and another important Andersen translator, Zhao Jingshen, who translated the greatest number of tales in this period.

3.2.1 The first vernacular version of Andersen's tales

When Andersen's tales were first translated into Chinese in the 1910s, they were translated in classical Chinese, which was still the received literary language in China. 《皇帝之新衣》 (The Emperor's New Clothes), Zhou Zuoren's first offering in 1911, was in classical Chinese. Chen Jialin and Chen Dadeng's 《十之九》 （Nine out of Ten）, the first collection of translations of Andersen's tales published in 1918, was also in classical Chinese. However, as mentioned above, after Zhou's criticism of *Nine out of Ten* was published in *New Youth* in 1918, using vernacular Chinese became the norm when translating Andersen's tales in China. Later, to execute the principle he advocated, Zhou translated 《卖火柴的女儿》 (The Match-selling Girl) in vernacular Chinese and had it published in *New Youth* in 1919. As Zheng Zhenduo puts it, "after that, translation of Andersen's tales began in earnest" (1925, 16(8)). Therefore, this translation is important in that it set the example for later translations.

My first impression of Zhou's translation is that although some sentences may seem rigid or even odd for modern Chinese readers - as a text written in premature vernacular Chinese it still carries traces of classical Chinese - it is already flavoured with colloquialisms, and readable to a modern reader like me. For instance, Zhou used many onomatopoeic words like "蓬蓬" (pinyin: pengpeng), "霎"(pinyin: sha), and

"呼呼" (pinyin: huhu) in his translation. These uses of onomatopoeia make his text conversational.

From this translation we can also sense that influence comes both from the ST and from Zhou's interpretation of Andersen's tales. After some preliminary textual comparison, we can see that the ST for Zhou's translation is probably W. A. & J. K. Craigie's English translation. For example:

Ilden brændte saa velsignet, varmede saa godt! **nei, hvad var det! - Den Lille strakte allerede Fødderne ud for ogsaa at varme disse,** - - da slukkedes Flammen, Kakkelovnen forsvandt, - hun sad med en lille Stump af den udbrændte Svovlstikke i Haanden. (Andersen, emphases added)[56]
Gloss[57]: The fire burned so blessed, warmed so well! **No, what was it! - The little one stretched out her feet to also warm them,** - when the flame went out, the stove vanished, - she sat with a small remnant of the burnt matches in the hand.

How the fire burned! how comfortable it was! but the little flame went out, the stove vanished, and she had only the remains of the burned match in her hand. (The Craigies, 1914, p.343)

这火烧得何等好！而且何等安适！但小火光熄了，火炉也不见了，只有烧剩的火柴头留在手中。(Zhou, 1919, p.31)
Back translation: How the fire burned! How comfortable it was! But the little flame went out, the stove disappeared, only the remains of the burned match in the hand.

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56 The original texts of Andersen's tales in this dissertation are retrieved from Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur online (www.adl.dk), which are based on *Eventyr vol. 1-7*, published by DSL/Hans Reitzel from 1963 to 1990 and edited by Erik Dal.

57 To show the textual differences among the Danish original texts, English mediating texts and Chinese target texts clearly, the examples involved in this dissertation will all be compared in the same linguistic horizon – English. For those Chinese translations rendered from English texts, the English back translations will be offered and be compared with the English glosses of the Danish texts and of the Chinese translations rendered from the Danish texts. As word for word translation is hardly feasible in Chinese-English translation, the principle of Chinese-English translation in this dissertation is to reproduce the syntax of the Chinese texts as adequately as possible and as long as this strategy will not result in serious violation of English syntax and undermine the intelligibility of the English glosses and back translations.

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Although Pedersen has pointed out that most tales in the Craigie version are taken from Dulcken's translation (2004, p.266), Zhou's translation must have been rendered from the Craigie version, as Zhou praised the Craigie version as "one of the most reliable versions" (1918/2005, p.13) in his article, but never mentioned Dulcken. Hence, as shown in the above example, a sentence and a phrase in Andersen's text have been omitted in both Craigie's and Zhou's translations. Together with this omission, some of the vivid and story-telling style has been lost too.

Zhou's translation generally follows Craigie's text quite closely. However, some parts of Zhou's translation have been coloured with his personal character:

...og hvor Skinnet faldt paa Muren, **blev** denne jennemsigtig, som et flor; (Andersen, emphasis added)

Gloss: ...and where the light fell upon the wall, it **became** transparent, as a veil;

...and when the light fell upon the wall it **became** transparent like a thin veil,… (Craigie, 1914, p.343 emphasis added)

...... 火光落在墙上，墙便**仿佛**变了透明，同薄幕一样，...... (Zhou, 1919, p.31, emphasis added)

Back translation: ...the light fell upon the wall, the wall **seemed** to become transparent, like a thin veil.

Here, Zhou has added "仿佛" (seemed) to his translation, which reminds readers that what the little girl saw is just an illusion. This choice reveals that Zhou has still not yet fully adapted to the strategy of storytelling in children's literature and could not fully appreciate Andersen's style. It seems that his head had popped into Andersen's wonderful world, while his feet were still grounded in reality. This contradiction has wielded its influence on Zhou's interpretation of the tale, and further on his translation, for example:

sulten og forfrossen gik hun og **saae saa forkuet ud**, den lille Stakkel! ... Ud fra alle Vinduer skinnede Lysene og saa lugtede der i Gaden saa deiligt af Gaasesteg; det var **jo** Nytaarsaften, ja det tænkte hun paa. (Andersen, emphases added)

Gloss: hungry and frozen she went and **looked so helpless**, the little poor thing!... Out from all windows the lights were shining and there was a smell in the street so lovely of roast goose; it was **indeed** the New Year's eve, yes it was that she thought of.

Shivering with cold and hunger she **crept** along, **a picture of misery**, poor

little girl! … In all the windows lights were shining, and there was a glorious smell of Roast goose, for it was New Year's Eve. Yes, she thought of that! (Craigies, 1914, p.343 emphases added)

冻饿的**索索的抖着**，向前**奔走**；可怜的女儿！*正是***一幅穷苦生活的图画**。……街上窗棂里，都明晃晃的点着灯火，发出烧鹅的香味；因为今日**正是大年夜了**。咦，他女所想的*正是*这个。（Zhou, 1919, p.30, emphases added）

Back translation: **Shivering fiercely** with cold and hunger, **running along**; poor girl! **It was exactly a scene of indigent life.** …In all the windows on the street, brightly shining the lights, and there was a glorious smell of roast goose; for today was **indeed** the **Chinese New Year's Eve**. Yes, she thought exactly of this**.**

By adding "shivering" and describing the whole situation as "miserable", the Craigies try to send a clear message of how miserable the little girl is in a more direct way than Andersen does, for there is no correspondence of "shivering" in Andersen' text and "saae saa forkuet ud" means "looks scared and cowed or helpless" but not necessary "miserable". Andersen is obviously describing the situation in a more neutral way than the Craigies. Zhou Zuoren has moved a step forward to manipulate readers' interpretation by stating that it is "正是一幅穷苦生活的画面" (exactly a scene of indigent life) and adding an adverb "索索的" to enhance the impression of how the little girl shivered badly. Moreover, the girl in Zhou's text was running along the street instead of creeping along. All these deviations from the ST have made the little girl in Zhou's text seem even poorer and more desperate than the one in Craigie's version. The reason for these changes could be that Zhou has related the little match girl's fate to the reality of Chinese society around the "May Fourth Movement", the suffering of the poor. Besides, Zhou uses the strategy of domestication in his text to translate "New Year's Eve" into "Chinese New Year's Eve" because at the time when he translated this tale Chinese people still celebrated New Year's Day only according to the Chinese calendar.

What is even more interesting is that Zhou has compensated the lost pragmatic effects in the ST, which are caused by the particle "jo" in Andersen's text. Zhou uses "正是", meaning "exactly" or "indeed", in his translation, neither of which appears in Craigie's version. This coincidence suggests that on some occasions the indirect translation can be even closer to the original text than the mediatory text. Moreover, Zhou uses two extra "正是" (the underlined italic ones) in the second and last sentence of his translation, which is a message contained neither in Andersen's text nor in the Craigie version. The three "正是" in Zhou's translation have steadily branded a pitiable and helpless image in the reader's mind.

Zhou's effort to draw his readers' attention to the "illusions" before the little girl's death in Andersen's tales and relate them with Andersen's mastery of describing the scene before death is also noticeable. He underscores the parts where there is a narration of illusion or scene before the little girl's death in his translation. Moreover, in the postscript following the translation, Zhou compares them with the illusions described in "Red-Nosed Frost (1863)" by Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov and commends Andersen's tale and Nekrasov's poem as "two contemporary world masterpieces describing the experience of freezing to death". Obviously, Zhou has ignored the religious implications embedded in the illusions in Andersen's tales.

Hence, Zhou's translation has been influenced both by the MT, namely Craigie's English version, and by his own interpretation of Andersen's tale. Because of his prestige and popularity among intellectuals, his translation served as a model for other Andersen translators. The vernacular and colloquial style has become the norm in translating Andersen; the miserable little girl has also become one of the classical images in Chinese children's literature.

3.2.2 Two special issues on Andersen's Fairy tales and his life

In contrast to the individualistic and random features of the translation practices in the previous decade, translation practices in this period were well planned and organized with clear aims. The "Reform Manifesto" on the first issue of volume 12 of *The Short Story Magazine* makes this fact explicit:

> From the 12th year after the establishment of this journal, we will try to update it by expanding and enriching its content. As well as translations, we will also start to introduce new trends taking place in foreign literature and publish discussions on methods of Chinese literary reform… Meanwhile, we believe that publishing translations is ever more important, for the translations can give readers visual impressions of various foreign literary currents so that they do not have to imagine "castles in the air". (Mao, 1921, 12(1))

Many literary societies sprouted and developed during the May-Fourth Movement. They were established by famous literati of the time as laboratories for literary experiments and gathered many intellectuals who were also interested in seeing Chinese literature evolve. Since the literary societies gathered literati who held similar opinions and ideas on literature reform, with the literary journals as their media, literati began to introduce foreign literature systematically through planned translation and criticism. Many literary journals dedicated special issues to foreign writers and organized systematic translations of their biographies and their works, and

of reviews on their works, and thus started the canonization process of these foreign writers in China.

Andersen was one of these canonized writers. The two continuous special issues of *The Short Story Magazine* published in 1925 in memory of Andersen published 9 introductory articles on Andersen and his tales, which included biographies and annals of Andersen, excerpts from the translation of his autobiography, reviews of his works, translations of his tales, and articles introducing Andersen's works and Andersen-related scholarship in the UK and China. In addition, the two special issues also contained 21 translations of Andersen's tales. The translations of Andersen's tales allowed readers to gain a visual impression of Andersen's tales, the biographies and autobiographies helped to sketch an image of Andersen as a Dane and an author, and the reviews and other paratexts of Andersen's works influenced readers' interpretation and reception of Andersen's tales.

Through this comprehensive introduction, Andersen's image as an outstanding writer of children's literature began to establish itself, and children's literature as a new literary genre became more familiar to the Chinese readership. Although children were still not the anticipated readership for these serious literary journals, translations dedicated to Chinese children would appear soon after this first all-pervading introduction among adult readers. Moreover, Andersen's tales would attract more and more translators in the near future. The titles of these articles and translations are listed in Appendix 1, which will show further how carefully these two special issues had been planned to introduce Andersen and his works systemically.

Although all translations in these two special issues are indirect translations rendered from English texts, they are not all translated from the same English versions. Text comparison shows that Mrs. Lucas's version and Mrs. Paull's translations are two of the primary source texts. The Craigie's version is another major source text. In addition to《卖火柴的女儿》 (The Little Match-selling Girl) translated by Zhou Zuoren mentioned above,《火绒箱》the first special issue of *The Short Story Magazine* also contains, rendered from the Craigie versions, (The Tinder Box) translated by Xu Diaofu,《幸运的套鞋》 (The Goloshes of Fortune) translated by Fu Donghua, and《豌豆上的公主》 (The Princess on the Pea) translated by Zhao Jingshen. Moreover, the three English versions are also the main STs of other contemporaneous Chinese translations.

As most of the translators of Andersen's tales during this period were members of the Society for Literary Research, which was led by Zhou Zuoren, and Zheng Zhenduo, many of them also joined Zheng and Mao in their endorsement of literal translation. This is reflected in their translations of Andersen's tales. An example from《牧豕人》(The Swineherd) translated by Xu Diaofu and published in *The Short Story Magazine* (1925, 16 (8)) will illustrate my point. Xu did not mention his ST in his translation. However, after textual comparison, we can see that it is taken from

Mrs. Lucas's translation. In the following examples, this English translation will be referred to.

1. **Now it certainly was rather bold of him to say to the Emperor's daughter**, "Will you have me?" He did, however, venture to say so, for his name was known far and wide. (Lucas, 1899, p.493, emphases added)

这是一定很唐突的，要他向皇帝的女儿求婚，而且说： "你愿意嫁给我吗？" 但他说了，竟这样冒险的说了，因为他底名字很广远的地方都知道的。(Xu, 1925, Vol. 16(8), emphases added)

Back translation: It certainly was rather bold, for him to propose to the Emperor's daughter, and say, "Will you have me?" But he did, venture to say so, for his name was known far and wide.

2. "**Well, let us see what there is in the other casket, before we get angry**," said the Emperor, and out came the nightingale. It sang so beautifully that at first no one could find anything to say against it. (Lucas, 1899, p.494, emphasis added)

"**让我们再看别一只匣子罢，在我们发怒之前，**" 皇帝说。于是取出那只夜莺来，它唱的十分地悦耳，在起初竟一些坏话也找不出来。(Xu, 1925, Vol. 16 (8), emphases added)

Back translation: "let us see the other casket, before we get angry," the Emperor said. So (he) took out the nightingale, it sang so beautifully, that at first (no one) could find any bad words to say against it.

It is obvious that Xu has tried his best to copy the sentence structure in the ST in his translation, even taking the risk of composing awkward Chinese sentences. Native Chinese readers can tell at once that the two sentences in bold in Xu's translation are characterized with 'translationese', which indicates the trace of linguistic influence from the English ST here. The normal Chinese sentences should be "要他向皇帝的女儿求婚，这是一定很唐突的。" and "在我们发怒之前,让我们再看别一只匣子罢。" We could consider this "Europeanized translation" as Xu's practise of, as well as experimentation with, the literal translation principle. What we can also infer from the above examples is that Xu's translation follows its ST very closely. Actually, all translations published in these two special issues remain very close to their STs. At the same time, not a few of them contain Europeanized Chinese sentences, which are the results of translation strategy as well as of the attempt to reform the Chinese language. Sometimes this literalness could even go to extremes, making the translation seem very odd. An example from 《雪人》 (The Snow Man), translated by Shen Zhijian from Mrs. Paull's English version, will confirm my observation:

"… It will come again tomorrow, and most likely teach you **to run down into** the ditch by the wall; for I think the weather is going to change. I can feel such pricks and stabs in my left leg; I am sure **there is going to be a change**." (Paull, 1872, emphases added)

"……它明天就要再来，大概要教你向墙边的沟道**奔跑下去的**，因为我想那天气就要变动了。我觉得我的左足上这样刺痛；料得定天气必有**一种变动**。（Liang, 1925, Vol, 16 (9), emphases added）
Back translation: "… It will come again tomorrow, most likely teach you **to run down into** the ditch by the wall, for I think the weather is going to change. I can feel such pricks in my left foot; I am sure **there is going to be a change.**"

她明天又会冒出来的。而且她会教你**怎样跑到**墙边的那条沟**里去**。天气不久就要变，这一点我在左后腿里就能感觉得到，因为它有点酸痛。**天气要变了**。"（Ye, 1958, p.62, emphases added)
Gloss: She will come out again tomorrow. And she will teach you **how to run into** the ditch by the wall. The weather is going to change soon, which I can feel in my left leg, for it is a bit sore. **The weather is about to change.**"

If we compare Liang's Chinese translation with the Craigies' English translation, we can quickly see that Liang's translation follows its ST very faithfully, even rigidly. Not only has Liang almost copied the sentence structure in his translation, he has also translated "run down into" with "奔跑下去" and "a change" with "一种变动", which ring strange in the Chinese reader's ear. This oddness in Liang's translation becomes even more conspicuous when one compares it with Ye's 1958 translation. A Chinese reader can see immediately that Ye's translation is more fluent and readable in its linguistic style, although it is not easy to show this with an English back translation. The literalness has prevented Liang's translation from achieving the kind of colloquial style which is never rigid and odd.

In contrast with the strategy of literal translation that many translators have adopted in their translations, another palpable characteristic of the translations in these two special issues is the residual traces of classical Chinese. There is an example in 《雪人》（The Snow Man）:

…said the Snow Man; "but do tell me tell me; only you must not clank your chain so; for it jars all through me when you do that." (Paull, 1872)

……雪人说："你**且**告诉告诉我；但你**必不要**把你的链子**作铿锵之声**，因为你做了这种响声，要使我心中发震的。"(Liang, 1925, Vol.

16(9), emphases added)

Back translation: … the snow man said; "just tell me tell me; but you must not clank your chain, for when you do that, it jars all through me."

As usual, Liang's translation keeps close to Mrs Paull's text. However, there are traces of classical Chinese in the diction in Liang's translation. "且", "必不要", "作…之声" are all words and phrases that are usually used in classical Chinese text. Traces like these are also contained in other translations in the two special issues as well as in other contemporaneous translations. They make some parts of the translations more literary than their STs and Andersen's original texts.

Therefore, the translations in the two Andersen issues of *The Short Story Magazine* are in general complete translations of good quality. They are close to their STs and are seldom manipulated according to Chinese moral standards. Sometimes the language used in some translations can even be odd and choppy because of the mechanical transplantation of the sentence structures in the STs. However, since the translations were made in the transitive period in Chinese literary history, when vernacular Chinese had just achieved legitimacy but not quite become a tradition in literary creation, there are still traces of classical Chinese in these translations.

3.2.3 Zhao Jingshen (1902-1985) and his translations

Zhao Jingshen was probably the most important of all the Andersen translators in this period. From 1923 to 1929, he translated nearly thirty of Andersen's fairy tales and published four collections of translated fairy tales. He was also very active in Andersen criticism.

Zhao Jingshen was born in 1909, when the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty ascended the throne. He first came into contact with English during the years when he studied at the St. James' Primary School in Wu Hu in Anhui province, which was run by the Episcopal Church of the US. Henceforth, the door to the western world was opened to him through English literature. He graduated as the top student from St. James and became one of the new Chinese intellectuals who received both a traditional Chinese education and a so-called "modern Western education". The education he received at primary school set the scene for him to grow up and become one of the early active translators devoted to the introduction of Western literature and the construction of new Chinese literature.

Over the course of his life he worked as writer, translator, editor and professor of literature, but all these activities were involved with the establishment of new Chinese literature. After graduating from Tianjin School of Cotton Textile Technology, his literary career started in 1922 when he became the leader of a literary society "绿波" (Green Wave Society) and the editor of the literary supplement to 《新民意报》 (New

Public Opinion Daily).[58] In the following year he joined the Society for Literary Research. In 1927 he joined the Kaiming bookstore as an editor and later became the chief editor of *Literature Weekly*. From 1930 to 1951, he was an editor at the Beixin book store. At the same time he took up teaching positions successively at Hunan First Normal College, the University of Shanghai, the Art University, and finally Fudan University, where he remained until his death.

Zhao started to translate children's literature and contribute to journals like *Children's World* , *The Ladies' Journal*, and 《少年杂志》(*Youth's Magazine*) from as early as 1921. Through his translation work, he became intensely interested in theories of children's literature and composed or edited several books on this topic.[59] He also has many monographs on Chinese literature to his name. Notable books include 《中国小说论集》(A Collection of Essays on Chinese Novels), 《文学概论》 (An Introduction to Literary Theories), 《小说原理》 (Theories on Short Story), 《世界文学史纲》 (A Brief History of World Literature), and many others. As a translator, he translated a wide range of foreign literature into Chinese and he was also one of the earliest translators of H. C. Andersen's tales in China.

As a translator, Zhao insisted on using vernacular in his translations. As mentioned before, he became a member of The Society for Literary Research in 1923. This influential literary society was well-known for its support for vernacular literature. All Zhao's translations and writings were in vernacular Chinese. What is more, Zhao was in agreement with Zhou Zuoren's advocacy of "literature of humanity", which contained ideas that oppose the traditional idea that 文以载道 (literature should convey Confucian teachings) and was shared by members of the Society for Literary Research. It was his empathy with humanism that led Zhao to the translation of children's literature.

At first, Zhao's translations of Andersen's tales were scattered in literary periodicals like *The Short Story Magazine*, *The Ladies' Journal* and *Children's World*. The first collection of his translations of Andersen's tales came out in 1924, which was also the first collection of Andersen's tales published in vernacular Chinese. As an active translator and researcher of Andersen's tales, Zhao published the greatest number of translations of Andersen's tales from the 1920s to the 1930s. Many of them

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58 《新民意报》(New Public Opinion Daily) is the successor to《民意报》(Public Opinion). It supported social reform and the new culture movement and had 13 supplements. Zhao Jingshen became the editor of its literature supplement《朝霞》(Rosy Morning Clouds) in 1925. For more information on this newspaper please refer to Zhou Cezong. Research Guide to the May Fourth Movement. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, p.127.

59 These books include 《童话评论》 (Criticisms on Fairy Tales) (ed.) in 1924, 《童话概要》(A Brief Introduction to Fairy Tale) in 1927, 《童话论集》 (Essays on Fairy Tale) in 1927, and《童话学 ABC 》 (The ABC's of Fairy Tale) in 1929.

appear in collections like《安徒生童话集》（A Collection of Andersen's Fairy Tales, 1924 and 1928) which consists of 14 tales,《安徒生童话新集》(New Collection of Andersen's Fairy Tales, 1928) which has 8 tales, 《无画的画贴》（Picture Book without Pictures, 1923)[60] which includes 33 tales,《皇帝的新衣》 (The Emperor's New Clothes, 1930) which has 10 tales, and《柳下》(Under the Willow Tree, 1931) which include 9 tales. He also translated an excerpt from the English translation of Andersen's biography *Mit Livs Eventyr*, which is entitled 《我作童话的来源和经过》 (The Sources and Course of My Fairy Tale Creation) and is the author of several articles introducing and reviewing Andersen's tales.

Since the only foreign language Zhao knew was English, all his translations, including translations of Andersen's tales, were translated from English texts. Like other contemporaneous translators, he does not always provide information about the STs. Nonetheless, based on some paratexts like his correspondence with editors and his memoirs, as well as through textual comparison, we can still find clues to the STs.

According to my analysis, his translations of H. C. Andersen's tales come mainly from the following English sources. The first is *Fairy Tales, Stories, and Legends* published by Cassell in 1908 and translated by Caroline Peachey. Among Zhao's translations,《锁眼阿来》(Ole the Lockhole), which was published in *The Short Story Magazine* in 1925, is translated from the "Olé Lucköié, the Sandman" in this book and 《豌豆上的公主》(The Princess on the Pea) in 《安徒生童话集》 (A Collection of Andersen's Fairy Tales) published in 1924 is also translated from Peachey's version. The second source must be *Fairy Tales and Other Stories* published by the Oxford University Press in 1914 and translated by W. A. & J. K. Craigie. Zhao later recalled in a letter to Wang Shoulan that some of his early translations were translated from adaptive and abridged English translations in some Christmas books for children. He later retranslated them from the Craigie version, the Complete English translation published by the Oxford University Press. 《豌豆上的公主》 (The Princess on the Pea), which was published in *Short Stories Magazine* in 1925, was retranslated from the Craigie version after it was first published in 1924.

Zhao expressed his understanding of Andersen's tales mainly in articles like《安徒生评传》 (A critical biography of Andersen, 1922/2005, p.14-22), 《童话的讨论四》 (Discussions on Fairy Tales: 4, 1924/2005, pp.23-25) and 《安徒生童话里的思想》 (The Ideas embedded in Andersen's tales, 1925/2005, pp.46-52). He indicates that there are two properties in Andersen's tales that attract him best. The first is that "Andersen's tales are close to the hearts of children". Zhao thinks that Andersen has an excellent understanding of children's psychology and always tells the story from the child's perspective, which makes his tales interesting and intelligible to children. Another property that amazes Zhao is that Andersen's tales are full of natural and

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60 It was renamed《月的话》(What the Moon Says) when it was first published by the Kaiming Bookstore in 1929.

poetic beauty, which brings happiness and pleasure to children. Besides, in contrast to many Andersen translators who focus on the sympathy with the poor and the satire against the rich interwoven in Andersen's tales, Zhao understands these tales as an expression of praise for humanity. In Andersen's tales Zhao finds encouragement for pursuing happiness and dreams. The rich and the poor are spiritually equal. They share an equal right to enjoyment of the beauty of nature and to the pleasure of dreaming. Zhao's interpretation of Andersen's tales is reflected in his selection of tales for translation. The tales he has chosen are all tales full of wonder and imagination. They are seldom sad stories reminding readers of the suffering of the real world.

Zhao Jingshen was attacked and ridiculed by some leading intellectuals like Lu Xun, Qu Qiubai and their adherents from the 1920s, for they advocated literal translation and supported the principle of sacrificing intelligibility for fidelity but Zhao insisted on sacrificing fidelity for intelligibility and was prone to liberal translation. Because of Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai's important political and literary status, Zhao found himself subjected to a lengthy period of criticism by his peers, and his contribution to the translation and introduction of western literature has been somewhat underestimated. His thoughts and contributions to literary translation have disappeared from monographs on Chinese literary translation or theories of translation.

However, a close reading of Zhao's translations quickly reveals that in his principles of translation, Zhao did not intend to bestow absolute freedom on the translator or always be ready to sacrifice fidelity while translating. As he explained later, he advocated sacrificing fidelity for intelligibility because he believed that translation should be in accord with Chinese syntax and grammar even if it sometimes involves minor alterations. He also explained that he never ignored or discarded the principle of 信 xin (faithfulness); rather he tried to emphasise the privilege of intelligibility in literary translation. (Zhao, 1989, pp.616-617) He obviously carried through this principle in all his translations of Andersen's tales for the sake of his readers. Thanks to his style of translation, young readers of those of his translations of H. C. Andersen's fairy tales produced before 1949 could enjoy a pleasant reading experience and appreciate these tales with little difficulty. And if we compare his translation with the English sources, we will find that despite some of the minor alterations, his translations are actually quite close to their English source texts.

Taking 《豌豆上的公主》 (The Princess on the Pea, 1925) as an example, as well as the literal translation of the English title of this tale, the Zhao and the Craigie translations both contain exactly the same number of paragraphs. And Zhao puts stress marks beside the word "real" in the first paragraph just as the Craigies do in their English translation. Moreover, Zhao tries to keep to the discourse of the English version as best as he can, although he rearranges some of the sentences according to

Chinese syntax as he always does. This characteristic is well demonstrated by the following examples taken from Zhao's translation:

Now they saw that she was a real princess, for through the twenty mattresses and the twenty eider-down beds she had felt the pea. (Craigie, 1914, p.22)

现在他们明白,这姑娘一定是个真公主。因为伊能在二十床羽绒毯子和二十床被褥下觉出一粒豌豆来。（Zhao, 1925, Vol. 16(8)）
Back translation: Now they saw that this maid must be a real princess. For she could through the twenty eider-down beds and the twenty mattresses feel a pea.

Zhao tried to keep the general sentence structure of the English version by keeping "Now…for" structure, whereas he changed the position of the prepositional phrase "through the twenty mattresses and the twenty eider-down beds" in the sentence in his translation in accord with the Chinese syntax.

According to Viggo H. Pedersen, the Craigie version follows Dulcken's version closely, which strictly follows the Germen Leipzig version. [61] Thanks to the dependable Leipzig edition, the two "faithful" English versions based directly or indirectly on the Leipzig version, and Zhao's responsible translation, Zhao's Chinese readers could still access a "Princess on the Pea" that came very close to the original. However, there are also cases when Zhao's translations have inherited deviations from the mediating translations, which is apparent in the following examples in 《锁眼阿来》 (The Lockhole Ole/ Ole Lukøie), a translation rendered from Caroline Peachy's "Ole Lucköie or the Dustman":

1. Han kan rigtignok fortælle! (Andersen)
Gloss：He can really tell!

Oh! His are delightful stories. (Peachey, 1908, p.49)

他的故事实在都是些很有趣的故事呢！(Zhao, 1925, Vol. 16(8))
Back translation：His stories are actually all very interesting stories!

2. Saa sprøiter han Børnene sød Mælk ind i Øinene, saa fiint, saa fiint, men dog altid nok til at de ikke kunne holde Øinene aabne, og derfor ikke see

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61 For more comments and analysis of Dulcken's translations, please refer to Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen's *Ugly Ducklings? Studies in the English Translations of Hans Christian Andersen's Tales and Stories* (pp.164-179).

ham; (Andersen)

Gloss：Then he sprays whole milk into the children's eyes, so delicately, so delicately, but always enough that they cannot keep their eyes open and therefore do not see him;

…and all on a sudden throws dust into the children's eyes. (Peachey, 1908, p.49)

…忽然将一把沙子撒在孩子们的眼睛上。(Zhao, 1925, Vol. 16(8))
Back translation：…all on a sudden throws a handful of sand into the children's eyes.

From these examples, one can detect that the deviations in Zhao's translations from the original Andersen text are actually inherited from Peachey's English translation. Two other convincing examples of this kind of deviation would be the two verses in this tale. Zhao translated them into two vernacular free verse poems from Peachey's English translation which are quite different from the original Danish verses. However, Zhao's own principle of translation, "sacrificing fidelity for intelligibility", has also played a role. As Li Yuju points out in his thesis, Zhao's strategy of verse translation is different from that of other Chinese translators. The verses in his translations are usually rhymed, freer and more concise (2011, pp.79-86), which is most likely a result of Zhao's attempt to keep the verses in his translation accordant with the Chinese traditional aesthetic values of poetry.

Sometimes, Zhao Jingshen's presence can be quite visible in his translations. In 《豌豆上的公主》, he translates the "Prince" into "太子", which means "crown prince", and translates "Then there was a knocking at the town gate" into "那时候城门很急的敲着", meaning "Then there was an urgent knocking at the town gate". On some occasions he even becomes visible in his translation when he adds his own explanation to the text. For example, Zhao tells his readers that the old queen "设下计策" (set a stratagem) and "一个字也不漏出，只是悄悄的跑到卧室里去" (just went to the bedroom stealthily without saying a single word), which are meanings that are not included in the English version. And when there are cultural phrases that are unfamiliar to Chinese culture, he will sometimes domesticate them or normalise them. For instance, in the Craigies' English version, when asked about how she had slept the princess answers "Goodness knows what was in my bed", a phrase in which "Goodness" is an exclamation with religious meaning. Zhao has chosen to render it into "我不知道我床上有什么东西" (I don't know what was in my bed) to neutralize the text. There are many such minor changes or rewritings in Zhao's translation. In some translations, he cannot help jumping out from time to time to start a direct communication with his readers, trying to explain what is really going on in

Andersen's tales here, and what Andersen really means there. Still in 《锁眼阿来》，Zhao adds his own explanations and interpretations into his translation:

1. He only wants the children to be quiet, and they are most quiet when they are in bed. (Peachey, 1908, p.49)

他只要孩子们安静，（他便欢喜了。）他们睡在床上果然是很安静的。(Zhao, 1925, Vol. 16 (8))

Back translation: He only wants the children to be quiet, (then he would be pleased). They were indeed very quiet when they are in bed.

2. There lay the slate, on which the figures were pressing and squeezing together, because a wrong figure had got into the sum, so that it was near falling to pieces; (Peachey, 1908, p.50)

那里放了一块石板，上面的数学码子重叠成一团，因为算得不对，所以海麦德的码子几乎（被教师的码子）画的四肢分裂了。(Zhao, 1925, Vol. 16 (8))

Back translation: There lay a slate, on which the figures were overlapping each other. Because the result was wrong, Hjalmar's figure was nearly cut into pieces (by the teacher's marks).

There are more than twenty explanatory additions in this translation. They might occasionally help readers to comprehend and complete sentences. However, they might also mislead readers and undermine the fluency of the tale. This style probably also has roots in Zhao's principle that a translation should first of all be intelligible. He is a little over-anxious about whether the readers of his translation can understand the tales clearly and properly. However, despite the inherited deviations and over-fussy additions, Zhao never alters, adds to, or changes elements like the plots and the characters in his translations. Other than some minor changes, his translations are always complete and remain close to the source texts.

Thanks to all the translators and advocates of Andersen's tales in this period, "the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales became one of the central issues in the New Cultural Movement" (Li, 2005, p.34). At the end of this introductory phase, a first surge of Andersen translation in China arose. According to Zheng Zhenduo's statistics, up to the publication of two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine* on Andersen in 1925, around 90 titles of Andersen's fairy tales had been translated into Chinese.

To sum up, the translations of Andersen's tales in this period are characterized by the following features: First, the translations are organized and systematic because of the appearance of the literary societies. Second, a comprehensive introduction via

essays on Andersen's works and life, translations as well as original works, accompanied and promoted the translation and reading of Andersen's tales. Third, all translations of his works as well as some reviews on his works and life were indirect translations, as a result of the fact that most translators who had translations of Andersen's works published during this period could only read English. The main influences on the translation and interpretation of Andersen's tales in China therefore originated in English works and translations. Third, as Zhang Zhongliang (2004, Qin Gong is his pen name) and Lee Yuju (2011) have pointed out, retranslations of some of Andersen's tales were already appearing during this period. Zhang believes that the retranslated tales reflect the taste and values of the Chinese readership in this period. Those tales that were obviously for children and free of moral teachings received the widest welcome. However, Lee has not found any common features shared by these retranslated tales. He believes that the limited choice of STs and the unsatisfactory quality of the first translations might be the reason for retranslation.

After looking through the list of retranslations offered by Lee in his thesis, I think both Zhang and Lee make valid points on this issue. For me, all the retranslated tales are more like traditional fairy tales than Andersen's other "non-traditional" tales like "De røde Skoe", "Historien om en Moder", "Pigen, som traadte paa Brødetetc", which were translated only once in this period. The unsatisfactory quality of some of the first translations, especially those translated into classical Chinese, could also have been a reason for retranslation. The last but also the most interesting feature is that almost all the influential men of letters in the 1920s had some degree of involvement in the introduction and translation of Andersen's works. Although writing for children had not been an attractive option for ambitious writers in the past, under the influence of Andersen's translations Ye Shengtao published his own collection of children's stories, 《稻草人》 (Scarecrow), in 1923.

Chapter Four
Phase two: Andersen becomes popular with the general public (1926 - 1937)

After the first phase of introduction and translation, Andersen's name became widely known to the general public as well as the intellectual elite. At the same time, promoted by intellectuals like Zhou Zuoren, and Zheng Zhenduo, modern children's literature finally became a sub-system in the Chinese literary polysystem. Following the pioneer Ye Shengtao, authors like Zhang Tianyi and Chen Bochui started to create literary works specifically aimed at children. Translations of foreign children's literature also became more common. For example, in 1926, Kaiming Press started to publish a series of translated children's literature entitled《世界少年文学丛刊》 (The World Juvenile Literature Series). By 1942, this series had expanded to more than sixty volumes. From 1931 to 1937, the World Book Co. Ltd in Shanghai published nearly 50 translated children's literary books, which were included into 《世界少年文库》 (The Library of World Juvenile Literature). Gu Junzheng states in the translator's preface to 《风先生和雨太太》(Mr. Wind and Madam Rain), the first volume of *The World Juvenile Literature Series*, that this translation can be used as "ideal supplementary reading for pupils in primary school" (1927, p.ii). Therefore, it is clear that children, especially students, were the target readers of these collections of children's literature. Since most of the selective translations of Andersen's tales during this period were included in these two collections of translated children's literature, children became the main target readers of the translations of Andersen's tales.

Unlike in the previous phase when Andersen translations were usually scattered across various periodicals, mainly literary journals, more collections of translations of Andersen's tales appeared from 1926 in book form, which indicates that the Chinese publishing houses were becoming more confident in the potential of Andersen's tales in the book market. Moreover, it also demonstrates the popularity of Andersen's tales among the general public, including young readers. According to《民国时期总书目 (1911-1949):外国文学》(A Comprehensive Bibliography of Minguo Period (1911-1949): Foreign Literature), other than the two reprints of 《无画的画帖》(A Picture Book without Pictures, renamed as 《月的话》 (What the Moon Told) when it was reprinted in 1929) translated by Zhao Jingshen and《旅伴及其他》(The Travelling Companion and Others, reprinted in 1927) translated by Lin Lan (pen name of Li Xiaofeng and Cai Shuliu), there were 19 collections of translations of Andersen's tales published from 1926 to 1939, many more than the (four) collections published before 1926. The translated tales in these collections, some of which are (re)translations of the same tale, amount to 237 in total.

4.1 The influential factors in Andersen translation

Most of the translations published in this period were retranslations or revisions of translations that had been published in literary journals before 1926. It should be made clear that the denotation of the term 'retranslation' used in this dissertation is slightly different from that understood by scholars like Anthony Pym (1998), Miryam Du-Nour (1995), and Andrew Chesterman (2000), who stress that a retranslation is a translation for which the same ST has been rendered into the same target language at least once before. In this dissertation, the scope of 'retranslation' includes direct translations derived from the same OT, indirect translations derived from the same mediating translation, and indirect translations rendered from different mediating translations which are translated from the same original text. The last category of retranslations is not included in the scope suggested by the scholars mentioned above. The Chinese retranslations of Andersen's tales during this period fall into the latter two categories. The Chinese translations rendered from the English mediating translations of tales like "Prindsessen paa Ærten", "Lille Claus og store Claus", etc. in the previous phase were retranslated, either from the same or from other STs, two or three times in the course of this decade.

One possible reason for retranslation and republication during this period could have been the prevailing attitude towards retranslation. The discussions on retranslation in this period focused upon the necessity of retranslation. Liang Shiqiu was one of the supporters of retranslation. He pointed out in 1928 that:

> "I could not be more opposed to the act of advertising in a newspaper and stating that 'A certain book has now been translated by me. Other translators please do not translate again.' A book that is worth translating is open to retranslation. A translator will not dare to do a careless job if there are various versions of translations available." (1928/1984, p.134)

However, there were also intellectuals who were against retranslation. Zou Taofen expressed his opposition to retranslation in 1920. He stated that "retranslation is not economical. (We) should translate those valuable books that still remain un-translated..." (1920, June 4). Mu Mutian (1934) also believed that there must be a "definitive edition" for the translation of a foreign literary work. Lu Xun was on the side of Liang Shiqiu on this issue. He claimed that retranslation should be encouraged because it is a way of improving the quality of translation. If the initial translation is not satisfying, a better retranslation can correct its mistakes. Even if there has already been a fair translation, it is still necessary to retranslate so as to update the previous translation according to the new linguistic norms and new interpretations of the original work (Lu Xun, 1935/1984, pp.242-243). It seems that Lu Xun holds that a retranslation can be better and more up to date than an existing translation. In his eyes, earlier Andersen translations in classical Chinese were out of date and ought to be replaced by translations in vernacular Chinese. Mao Dun (1937) also gave his support to the

views of Lu Xun in his article《真亚耳(Jane Eyre)的两个译本》 (On Two Translations of Jane Eyre). At any rate, during this period the voices raised in support of retranslation were louder than those in opposition. Therefore, the retranslation of literary works that had already been translated into Chinese was legitimised during this period, and a common practice.

Another reason for the retranslation and republication of Andersen's tales was commercial and economic. In this period, publishing was a profitable business (Luo, 2012, p.54). As Andersen became widely known in China, more and more readers became interested in his tales. These were the potential buyers of collections of Andersen's tales. During this period the business scope of the Chinese publishing houses usually covered newspapers, journals, and books. Hence, a publishing house often already owned the copyright to a translation when it was included in a collection of Andersen's tales simply because it had already been published in one of the newspapers or journals owned by this publishing house. Hence collections of translations of Andersen's tales actually represented added value for publishing houses, which also motivated their publication.

As well as the poetics of translation and this economic factor, the skopos of translation was another influential factor of the Andersen translation during this period. As those topics of translation studies like "literal translation vs. liberal translation" and "direct translation vs. indirect translation" which had been of significant interest in the 1920s continued to be the main issues in the 1930s, the translation norms in this period did not experience major changes. Fidelity was still considered the supreme principle for translation practice, tempered by the fact that translators were attaching more attention to the readability of their translations since most of the translations of Andersen's tales during this period were aimed at children. For example, from the advertisement in 《水莲花》 (Lotus), a volume of Andersen's tales in *The World Juvenile Literature Series* translated by Gu Junzheng, it is evident that all translations in this series are graded for readers. The eight volumes of Andersen's tales are graded as A level or A and B level, indicating that they are suitable for junior students in middle school and/or senior students in elementary school. In addition, Xu Diaofu claims in the 'Introduction', which is attached at the end of 《小杉树》 (The Little Fir Tree), another volume of Andersen's tales in this series translated by Gu, that this series of translated literature mainly aims at readers aged from 10 to 15 but could also be suitable for children aged from 6 to 9 (1930, postscript).

When children became the main readers of the translations of Andersen's tales, the principles of translation were adjusted accordingly. Xu makes clear that "the language of translation is kept readable to suit the reading competence of children who have received a few years of education" (1930, postscript). A similar principle is also stated in the translator's

preface in the first volume of 《安徒生童话全集》 (The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen),[62] which was published in 1932 and translated by Xu Peiren:

> Children have simple minds and limited knowledge. If western writing is translated rigidly and literally into Chinese, the long and Europeanized sentences will be scarcely intelligible to children. Even if they succeed in digesting these sentences, it will demand great effort. This effort will naturally undermine their interest. Recognizing this, the translator has used domesticated language in this translation so that children will not find it obscure. Moreover, the language is kept easy and plain to allow intermediate-grade students in junior school to understand. (p.3)

From Xu's words, it is evident that students in junior school were the major target readers for his translation. Hence, he followed two principles for their sake. First, he chose the strategy of domestication to make his translation intelligible. Second, he used plain language to match the reading ability of his readers. Xu's choices represent a new principle of Andersen translation established during this period. Subsequently, using plain and readable language has remained a guiding principle for the translation of Andersen's tales in China.

What is also noticeable is that the socio-political situation in China during this period cast its influence on the interpretation and translation of Andersen's tales as well. With the rising fame and popularity of Andersen's tales in China, some intellectuals and Andersen translators started to question whether the messages that Andersen's tales were sending to children were healthy and appropriate for the historical phase that China was in from the early 1930s. Li Hongye is right to point out that the new generation of Chinese literati still "held a sceptical attitude towards fantasy in literary works" (2005, p.102). As with the traditional intellectuals of previous generations, these "new intellectuals" also considered social participation as their natural mission. This attitude usually determined their tastes in literature. Although Andersen's tales amazed them with the vivid imagination and characteristics of "nonsense" literary works, the utilitarian view on literature which was rooted in the traditional value of "文以载道" (literature is for conveying Confucius teachings) still had its impact. Now, the "道" was no longer Confucianism, but often indicated nationalism and patriotism. When reality was so desperate and the nation was in danger of being conquered, the literati lost their appetite for appreciating the poetic beauty and wonderful imagination of Andersen's tales, which steadily became irrelevant and malapropos to the reality of Chinese society in the 1930s.

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62 Xu mentions in the translator's preface that this complete translation consists of 24 volumes with 800.000 Chinese characters in total. However, according to 《民国时期总书目 (1911-1949): 外国文学》 (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Minguo Period (1911-1949): Foreign Literature) only 3 volumes were published by the Children's Bookstore in 1930 and 1931, which included 21 tales. The author of this dissertation has not found any information about the publication of the other volumes.

Because of the anti-aggression war, the tide of romanticism in Chinese literature and also in Children's literature began to ebb. As Wang Quangen puts it, "As times changed, the focus of introduction and translation shifted from the remote and ideal 'fairy land' to the reality of the new society, from fairy tales full of fascination and fantasy to realistic, scientific and literary novels that convey 'practice knowledge'… " (1989, p.140). Andersen's tales were still appreciated as a model of children's literature for their unique style but intellectuals represented by Xu Diaofu started to worry that Andersen's tales would encourage Chinese children to "escape from reality and hide in a fairyland of 'mermaids' and 'swans'" (Xu, 1935, p.240). As the attitude towards Andersen changed in the 1930s, most translators who had been active in the 1920s stopped translating Andersen's tales. There was also diminishing interest in introducing and researching his tales. Zhou Zuoren felt this tendency profoundly and pointed out in his article in 1936 that, "(…) because the orthodox moralists always have their influence in China, (…) now they still insist that children must be fed with practical lessons or indigestible '-ism's. (…) I don't know what will be Andersen's fate in the western world but I can see clearly that he will not stand long in China." (1936, p.27)

The active translators during this period include Zhao Jingshen, Xu Diaofu, Xi Dichen, Gu Junzheng. Since the translations of Zhao and Xu were discussed in Chapter three, I will focus on Gu Junzheng and his translations in this chapter.

4.2 Gu Junzheng (1902-1980) an active translator in this period

4.2.1 His life and career as an editor, a translator and a writer of children's literature

Gu Junzheng was born in the countryside of Jiaxing in Zhejiang province. He received no English education at school. After graduating from The Second Provincial High School of Zhejiang in 1919, he became a teacher in a primary school in the countryside. During the four years that he worked there, he taught himself English and began to try his hand at translation. In 1921 his first translation 《小法人和他水下底土地》 translated from "The little Frenchman and His Water Lots", a short story written by George Pope Morris, was published in *Literature Weekly*. Gu used a very creative strategy to translate the clumsy English spoken by Mr. Poopoo, the hero of the story. In his translation the original English lines spoken by Mr. Poopoo are displayed in parallel with Gu's translation, to let Chinese readers appreciate the humour these clumsy English sentences have bestowed to the original text. Obviously this strategy is not for the pleasure of ordinary Chinese readers who would not understand any English, far less the style of English writing. Gu kept the foreignness in his translation for the sake of those who were familiar with English language and writing, the so called "new literati" in China. Gu's translation must have been appreciated by them, for he had a couple of translations published in *Literature Weekly* and *The Short Story Magazine* after this debut. His success was also closely related to the patronage of Zheng Zhenduo, the leader of the Society

for Literary Research, which operated the two journals that published his translations during this period.

Because of his competence in English and his experience of primary school teaching, he was hired by The Commercial Press in 1923 as an editor of popular science books for children. As before, he continued to translate in his spare time. His translations of fairy tales include 《三公主》 (The Three Princesses of Whiteland), which was published in 1928 and translated from "De tre prinsesser i Hvittenland" by the Norwegian author Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, and 《风先生和雨太太》 (Mr. Wind and Madam Rain), which was published in 1927 and translated from Emily Makepeace's English translation (1860) of *Monsieur le Vent et Madame la Pluie* by Paul de Musset. Until the early 1930s, he mainly focused on the translation of fairy tales, and introducing and translating Andersen's tales was one of his most important and fruitful works during this period. As well as translation, Gu also devoted his time to the introduction of foreign fairy tales. He composed 《世界童话名著介绍》 (An Introduction to World Classic Fairy Tales) in 1926, a long article introducing 12 fairy tales from around the world. This article was published in nine instalments in *The Short Story Magazine* and was the first of its kind to provide a systematic and extensive introduction of foreign fairy tales in China. After this Gu started to work for Kaiming Bookstore in 1928, as an editor of literary and natural science books for teenagers. From 1928, Gu became one of the chief editors of 《中学生》 (Middle School Students), which, as its name indicates, was a journal aiming at juvenile readers. From the early 1930s Gu started to concentrate on the creation and translation of popular science works for children and teenagers. There were very few popular science writers in China in the 1930s. His works and translations became immediate successes, which encouraged him to continue his career as an editor, translator and writer of popular science works. Today he is still largely remembered as a talented and prolific popular science writer in China. His most widely-read popular science works include 《科学趣味》 (Interesting Natural Science), 《电子姑娘》 (Miss. Electron), etc.

4.2.2 His translation of Andersen's tales: facts and specimen studies

The first translation of Andersen's tale rendered by Gu was 《女人鱼》 (The Mermaid), which was based on the English version, "The Little Mermaid". It was published in 1921 in *The Literature Weekly* in four instalments (from issue 105 to issue108) and was a result of cooperation with Xu Diaofu (The pen name Xu Mingji appears under the by-line), an active Andersen translator of the time. Gu also translated another tale, 《蝴蝶》 (The Butterfly),

together with Xu Diaofu in 1923. In total, Gu translated around 19 of Andersen's tales.[63] Most of them appeared in the three collections of his translations of Andersen's tales published respectively in 1929, 1930, and 1932. They are 《夜莺》 (The Nightingale), 《小杉树》 (The Little Fir Tree), and《水莲花》 (Lotus - rendered from the English translation of "Dynd-Kongens Datter").

What is worth mentioning here is that in addition to his translations, Gu also composed a chronicle and a biography of Andersen in 1925. Moreover, he translated an excerpt from *Improvisatoren*, which was published in the second Andersenian issue of *The Short Story Magazine* in 1925. Gu was probably the first Chinese translator to cover Andersen's work other than his fairly tales.

As English was the only foreign language that Gu knew, all his translations were rendered from English translations. Since Gu never provided any information on the specific STs that he worked from, it is not easy to determine the STs of Gu's translations. However, comparing Gu's translations with Andersen's texts and the major English translations, one can find that there are some deviations in Gu's translations that are very likely inherited from certain English translations, which suggests that these are probably the STs of Gu's translations. The text comparison reveals that the two volumes of tales edited by Horace Elisha Scudder (1891), the Craigie translation (1914), and Peachey's translation (1861) must have been the main STs for Gu's translations. The tales in the three collections of Gu's translations are mostly translated from these three versions. There are some examples drawn from Gu's translations like 《旅伴》 (The Travel Companion), 《夜莺》 (The Nightingale), and 《飞箱》 (The Flying Trunk) that support my opinion:

《旅伴》(The Travelling Companion)

Den stakkels **Johannes**! Han laae paa sine Knæ **foran** Sengen og kyssede den døde Faders Haand, **græd saa mange salte Taarer**, men tilsidst lukkede hans Øine sig

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63 His translations include〈夜莺〉 (The Nightingale/ Nattergalen), 〈领圈〉 (The Shirt Collar/ Flipperne), 〈玫瑰花妖〉(The Rose Elf/ Rosen-Alfen), 〈小克劳斯和大克劳斯〉 (Little Claus and Big Claus/ Lille Claus og store Claus),〈情人〉(The Sweethearts/ Kjærestefolkene [Toppen og bolden]), 〈拇指丽娜〉 (Thumbelina/ Tommelise), 〈飞箱〉 (The Flying Trunk/ Den flyvende Kuffert),〈小杉树〉(The Little Fir Tree/ Grantræet), 〈旅伴〉(The Travelling Companion/ Reisekammeraten), 〈荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰花〉 (A Rose from Homer's Grave/ En Rose fra Homers Grav),〈乐园〉 (The Garden of Paradise/ Paradisets Have), 〈好人做的总不错〉 (What the Good Man Does is Always Right/ Hvad Fatter gjør, det er altid det Rigtig)，〈那是的确的〉 (There is No Doubt About it/ Det er ganske vist!), 〈一个大悲哀〉 (A Great Grief/ Hjertesorg), 〈七曜日〉 (The Days of the Week/ Ugedagene), 〈水莲花〉 (The Marsh King's Daughter/ Dynd-Kongens Datter), 〈女人鱼〉 (The Little Mermaid/ Den lille Havfrue), 〈蝴蝶〉 (The Butterfly/ Sommerfuglen), 〈凶恶的国王〉 (The Wicked King/ Den onde Fyrste: et Sagn).

og han sov ind med Hovedet paa den **haarde Sengefjæl**. (Andersen, emphases added)

Gloss: Poor **Johannes**! He lay on his knees **in front of** the bed and kissed his dead father's **hand**, **cried so many salt tears**, but finally his eyes closed and he fell asleep with his head **on** the hard **bed board**.

Poor **John**! He knelt down **beside** the bed, kissed his dead father's hand, and **shed very many salt tears**; but at last his eyes closed, and he went to sleep, **lying with his head against** the hard **bed-board**. (the Craigies, 1914, p.45, emphases added)

Poor **John**! He lay on his knees **before** the bed, kissed his dead father's hand, and **shed very many bitter tears**; but at last his eyes closed, and he went to sleep, **lying with his head against** the hard **bed-post**. (Dulcken, 1889, p.45, emphases added)

可怜的**约翰**！他长跪在**床边**，狂吻他亡父的手，挥了许多**沉痛的眼泪**；但后来他眼睛闭上了，他熟睡了，把头**枕着在坚硬的床板上**。(Gu，1930，p.29, empahses added)

Back translation: Poor **John**! He knelt down **beside** the bed for a long time, kissed his dead father's hand passionately, and shed many **woeful tears**; but at last his eyes closed; he went to sleep, lying with his head **against** the hard **bed-board**.

In Andersen's text Johannes knelt in front of his father's bed, whereas John - indicating Johannes in the Craigie translation - knelt beside his father's bed. Gu's translation has inherited this deviation and has "约翰" (John) kneeling beside his father's bed as well. In addition, Andersen tells his readers simply that Johannes fell asleep with his head on the bed board, whereas the Craigies specify in their translation that John fell asleep, lying with his head against the bed board, which has been translated into Gu's Chinese version. Although in Gu's translation John "挥了许多沉痛的眼泪" (shed many woeful tears) and "狂吻他亡父的手" (kissed his dead father's hand passionately), which is slightly different from how he is described in the Craigie translation, the excerpts listed above show that Gu's translation is closer to the Craigie translation than to the Dulcken translation. Further text comparisons confirm that most of Gu's translations were probably rendered from or heavily depended on the Craigie translation.

When comparing 《夜莺》 (The Nightingale) by Gu Junzheng with the Craigie translation, I note that although Gu's translation is generally quite close to the Craigie translation, there are some differences in the detail. Knowing that the Craigie version can be very close to Dulcken's translation, I compared Gu's translation with Dulcken's version and came to the conclusion that Gu's version is based on an edited version of Dulcken's version produced by Scudder. The following examples will illustrate my observation:

1. » (…) den har min høieste Naade! og kommer den ikke, da skal hele Hoffet

dunkes paa Maven, naar det har spiist Aftensmad. « (Andersen, emphasis added)

Gloss: "…it has my highest grace! and if it does not come, the whole court will be **punched in the stomach** when supper is eaten.

"(…) It has my imperial favour; and if it does not come, all the court shall be **trampled upon** after the court has supped!" (Dulcken, 1889, p.342, emphasis added)

"(…) It has my imperial favour; and if it does not come, all the court shall be **trampled upon** after the court has supped! (Scudder, 1891, p.159, emphasis added)

"(…) 我很爱宠这只鸟；假使你们不将他带了来，等到朝中吃过了夜饭，一切的官员都须重重的**用足践踏**！" (Gu, 1925/1929, Vol. 11 (1), p.707, emphasis added)[64]

Back translation: "…It has my favour; if you fail to take him here, after the court has supped, all the courtiers shall be **trampled upon** heavily!"

2. »Keiseren af Japans Nattergal er fattig imod Keiserens af China.« (Andersen)
Gloss: The Emperor of Japan's Nightingale is poor compared with the Emperor of China.

"The Emperor of Japan's Nightingale is poor beside that of the Emperor in China." (Scudder, 1891, p.164)

"The Emperor of China's nightingale is poor compared to that of the Emperor of Japan." (Dulcken, 1889, p.346)

"中国皇帝的夜莺远胜过日本的。" (Gu, 1925/1929, Vol. 11(1), p.709)
Back translation: "The Emperor of China's nightingale is far better that of the Emperor of Japan."

In Gu's translation in the first examples, "all the courtiers shall be trampled upon", just as their fate in Dulcken and Scudder's translations, whereas in Andersen's translation "skal hele Hoffet dunkes paa Maven" (shall the whole court be punched in the stomach). Although Gu adds a bit of his own interpretation by specifying that these courtiers shall be trampled "heavily", it is still apparent that his translation is based on Dulcken or Scudder's translation.

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64 This translation was first published in The Ladies' Magazine in volume 11, issue 4 in 1925 and then included in〈夜莺〉 (The Nightingale), the first collection of Gu's translations of Andersen's tales which was published in 1929 by Kaiming Bookstore in Shanghai.

In addition, the fact that Gu follows the two English translations in using a semi-colon after the first clause in the function of a full stop in his translation also support this observation. Moreover, as is shown in the second example listed above, in Scudder's version an obvious mistake in Dulcken's translation has been corrected, probably by referring to the Danish text, as Scudder explained in the preface of this 1891 version. Although Gu has rephrased Scudder's text, his Chinese translation still carries a very similar meaning to that of Scudder's translation. Therefore, we can deduce from these textual comparison that Gu's 《夜莺》 (The Nightingale) is probably based on Scudder's translation.

In addition, Gu's translation《飞箱》 (The Flying Trunk) is based mainly on Caroline Peachey's 'The Flying Trunk', as is shown by the following example:

1. …; hun var saa deilig, at Kjøbmandssønnen maatte kysse hende; (Andersen)
Gloss: …; she was so beautiful, that the merchant's son must kiss her;

She was so beautiful that the merchant's son could not help kneeling down to kiss her,…(Peachey, 1907, p.310)

……她是这样的美丽，使商人底儿子忍不住跪下去吻她底手。(Gu, 1925/1929, Vol. 16(4))[65]
Back translation: … she was so beautiful that the merchant's son could not help kneeling down to kiss her hand.

2. …de vare saa overordentligt stolte paa det, fordi de vare af høi Herkomst; deres Stamtræ, det vil sige, det store Fyrretræ, de hver var en lille Pind af,…(Andersen)
Gloss: …they were so extremely proud of it, because they were of a high descent; their genealogical tree, that is to say, the tall fir tree, of which each them was a splinter…

… who were all extremely proud of their high descent, for their genealogical tree,—that is to say, the tall fir-tree, from which each of them was a splinter,—…(Peachey, 1907, p.311)

……,它们很娇夸着它们高贵的门阀；它们底世族老树——就是那大松树，它们都是大松树底小片——…… (Gu, 1925/1929, Vol. 16(4))
Back translation: …, they were very proud of their high descent; their genealogical tree, 一 that is the tall fir tree, they were all splinters of this tall fir tree一…

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65 This translation was first published in The Short Story Magazine in volume 16, issue 4 in 1925 and then collected into 《夜莺》 (The Nightingale), the first collection of Gu's translations of Andersen's tales which was published in 1929 by Kaiming Bookstore in Shanghai.

It is clear in the first group of examples that Gu's translation has inherited the deviation in Peachey's translation. Moreover, from the second excerpt, one can see that Gu has copied the syntax and followed closely the punctuation in Peachey's translation in his translation, despite the fact that the syntax will make his Chinese translation rather odd.

Actually, Gu's translations are usually quite close with their STs. The following example from 《旅伴》 will reaffirm my observation.

She was more beautiful even than before, and thanked him, with tears in her lovely eyes, that he **had** freed her from the magic spell. (The Craigies, 1914, p.65, emphasis added)

她比以前更其来得美丽，在她可爱的眼睛里流着热泪，很感谢他**曾经**把她从魔术中**解救**出来。(Gu, 1930, p.79, emphases added)

Back translation: She was more beautiful than before, she had passionate tears in her lovely eyes, (and) thanked him that he **had** saved her from the magic spell.

In Chinese, "曾经+V." is usually used to mark past tense but not past perfect tense, which is used by Gu in his translation. To express a state which is a result of an action taken in the past in Chinese, one does not need to mark the verb with "had". The Chinese readers will utilize "various factors such as the information provided by default aspect, the tense-aspect particles, and pragmatic reasoning to determine the temporal interpretation of sentences" (Lin, 2005). Therefore, a domesticated solution for translating "he had freed her from the magic spell" would be "他把她从魔术中解救出来." Translating perfect tense by marking the verb indicates Gu's intention to copy the English sentence structure, and what is more, to translate literally.

Another example of this kind would be:

"I am going out into the wide world, too," said the strange man: "shall we two keep one another company?" (The Craigies, 1914, p.49)

"我也**正在到**广阔的世界里**去**,"这个陌生人说，"我们互相结伴着去好不好？"(Gu, 1930, p.41, emphasis added)

Back translation: I'**m going to** the wide world too," this stranger said, "Shall we keep one another company and go?"

Again, as we know, Chinese has no morphological tense markers. In modern Chinese, the tenses and aspects are usually marked lexically by adverbials of time or other words like "正" (to make continuing activities), "正要" (to mark activities due to happen in the near future), "将" (to mark future-existing), "了" (to mark perfect aspect/ past tense), "已经" (to mark perfect aspect/past tense), etc. In Gu' translation, he combines "正在", a mark for

present progressive activity with "到…去", a verbal structure expressing "to go to (somewhere)". Because Mandarin Chinese does not have any verb conjugations, "到…去" can also be used for future tense. Hence, "到…去" is able to translate "be going to" in the English MT. Obviously, Gu has employed an extra marker "正在" to transplant the "be+v.ing" form in English in his Chinese translation, but this unnecessary marker has made his translation read oddly.

Although Gu has applied the strategy of literal translation for his translations, which makes some sentences in his texts quite Anglicized, he is inclined to adopt domestication when he translates some terms. In《旅伴》 (The Travelling Companion), the good son Johannes ("John" in the English translation) is described as "孝子" by Gu, which involves following a series of very formal strictures in Chinese culture, and therefore has different connotations from a "good son" in western culture. "Magician" is translated as "山灵" (Mountain Spirit), a being which often appears in Chinese folk-tales. Moreover, the princess' shoes are described as "绣鞋" (embroidered shoes), which indicates the kind of delicate and expensive shoes that Chinese ladies would usually wear at the time.

Similar strategies have also been adopted in the translation of "The Little Claus and the Great Claus" (《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》 in Gu's translation) and "The Garden of Paradise" (《乐园》 in Gu's translation). In the first translation, the "parish-clerk" is translated into "坟丁" (graveyard keeper) and "the magician" is translated as "术士", which applies to professional warlocks who are generally Taoist monks. In 《乐园》, the instruments played in the fairies' beautiful dancing hall are all named after Chinese instruments like "箜篌" (Chinese harp) and "玉笛" (Jade flute).

Like other contemporaneous translations, Gu's translation is characterized by the features of a Chinese language in a transitional phase, which means that the language in his translation gives the modern Chinese reader a sense of temporal distance. The conversation between little Claus and the peasant in his《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》provides a representative example. This sense of temporal distance becomes more evident if we compare Gu's translation with a modern Chinese translation:

……"你**不听见么**，他说'能够！'不过妖魔**看去很是**可怕；我们最好是不要去看他。"
"哦， 我一点都不怕。我不知道他**看去**是怎样的？"
"很好，他的形状**恰恰**像一个坟丁，大小也和活的一样"
"哈！"农人说，"那是丑极了！你要知道，我是**忍不住看见**一个坟丁的；但是现在不要紧了，**假使**我知道这就是妖魔，我**便**能够忍耐一下。现在我觉得勇敢，不过叫他不要太走近我就是了。"(Gu,1925/1929, Vol. 11 (1), p.263, emphases added)

……"你**听到没有**？他说：'能变得出来。'不过这个魔鬼的**样子是**很丑的：我看最好还是不要看他吧。"
"噢，我一点也不害怕。他<u>会是</u>一副什么样子呢？"

"嗯，他简直**跟**本乡的牧师**一模一样**。"

"哈！"农夫说，"那可真是太难看了！你要知道，我**真是看不惯**牧师的一副嘴脸。不过也没有什么关系，我**只要**知道他是个魔鬼，**也就**能忍受得了。现在我鼓起勇气来吧！不过请别让他离我太近。"(Ye，1958，p.20-21, emphases added)

Since it is hardly possible to represent the linguistic differences between these two Chinese versions in English, I will not offer English gloss and back translation for the two Chinese excerpts here. Instead, the relevant parts of the two Chinese versions are marked to highlight their linguistic differences, and I will support my observation with the following explanation: The highlighted parts in Gu's translations will appear very odd to a modern Chinese reader because features of Europeanization and classical Chinese have mingled together. For example, "他看去" is a transplantation of the English structure "he looks", "你不听见么" is a transplantation of "can you not hear", and "忍不住看见" is an attempt to copy the structure of "can't bear the sight". These rigid borrowings from western languages, mainly English, are no longer used in modern Chinese writing, of which Ye's modern translation is an example. Meanwhile, there are also traces of classical Chinese in Gu's translation. "很是", "恰恰", "假使" and "便" are examples. They make Gu's language somewhat old and literary to modern Chinese readers, whereas Ye's translation seems more fluent and up-to-date.

Comparing Gu's translation with Andersen's text, it is also noticeable that some rhetorical effects in Andersen's text have been lost in the course of translation. In "Grantræet", when the fir tree asks what has happened to the other little fir trees that were carried away from the forest, the sparrows answered "Det vide vi! Det vide vi!", meaning "We know that! We know that!" The Danish text imitates the sound of the tweeting of the sparrows vividly, while the English translation "we know that! We know that!" fails to achieve a similar effect. Gu's Chinese translation does not manage to achieve this sound effect either. This loss in Gu's translation is of course caused mainly by the English version on which it is based. However, it is a fact that none of the Chinese translations, including direct translations from Danish texts, has found an ideal solution, which demonstrates the truth that it is sometimes impossible to reproduce a rhetorical effect contained in Andersen's text – either in English or Chinese - while at the same time rendering the meaning accurately. The loss of some of the figurative effects of Andersen's wordplay in both Gu's Chinese translations and their English STs also supports my observation. In 《飞箱》 (The Flying Trunk), the two levels of meaning, namely the literal and the figurative, involved in the idiom "vare paa den grønne Green" in Andersen's text have not been fully retained in either Peachey's translation or Gu's translation. According to *Talemåder i dansk-Ordbog over idiomer*, "komme/ side/ vare/ på den grønne Green" means "få/have medgang, succes; blive/ være rig; klare sig godt" (have good fortune or success; become rich; perform well). In Andersen's text, this idiom is used to state that the bundle of matches used to be part of a green branch of a tall tree and at the same time to imply that they were lucky to have been formerly in a better situation. In both

Peachey's and Gu's translations, only the first meaning of this idiom has been reproduced, whereas the secondary implication has been lost.

Although Gu's translations are usually very close to their STs, there are still a few deviations caused by his misunderstanding of the STs. Near the end of 《小杉树》 (The Little Fir Tree), the fir tree laments that "事情过后，我才能感到欢快！过去了！过去了！" - "only when the thing has passed, can I feel happy! Past! Past!" Gu's translation is quite different from what the fir tree says in its ST, the Craigies' translation, which is "had I but rejoiced when I could have done so! Past! Past!" Gu's translation must be the result of his misunderstanding of the sentence in the ST. However, deviations like this are not common in Gu's translations, and one finds little trace of conscious manipulation in his translations.

From textual comparisons and analyses of Gu's translations, we can establish that the translations published from 1926 to 1937 shared approximate common features with the translations published in the 1920s with regards to linguistic style and translation strategies. The main difference was that Andersen translations were no longer scattered in the literary journals aimed at professional readers like critics and intellectuals, but were starting to appear in collections and book series for the general public and children. After his early promotion and introduction by Chinese intellectuals, Andersen now enjoyed a reputation and popularity as a world-class fairy tale writer with the general public. His tales remained the only literary works that had been translated and published until the 1930s, and Andersen's other works like his poems, plays and novels tended to be ignored in China, which has determined the image - a talented writer of fairy tales - that still prevails among Chinese readers.

However, since Chinese language and literature was in a transitional period from the 1910s to the 1930s, and none of the Andersen translations before the 1950s was a direct translation from Andersen's original Danish texts, these early Chinese translations would subsequently require updating via retranslation in the 1950s. Ye Junjian produced the first complete direct translation of Andersen's tales in the 1950s, which established his reputation and at the same time helped to consolidate the position of Andersen's tales as classics of children's literature in China.

Chapter Five
Phase three: Andersen's tales achieve canonized status in the 1950s

5.1 Translation environment in the 1950s

According to Chang Namfung's macro-polysystem hypothesis, the cultural macro-polysytem consists of an open set of intersecting and overlapping polysystems. Among these, the ideological polysystem, political polysystem, economic polysystem, linguistic polysystem, literary polysystem and translational polysystem are the major sources of norms that influence translation decisions (Chang, 2000). Chang has augmented Even-Zohar's polysystem theory by integrating it with Toury's norm theory and Lefevere's cultural theory and consequently made the polysystem theory more applicable and comprehensive for translation studies. The ideological system and political system are, according to Chang, the two most influential systems for decision-making in translation, as:

> …the norms from the political polysystem function mostly to determine the dominant ideology, and the norms originating from the ideological polysystem would demand that texts for translation be selected and translated in such a way that ideological values are promoted, or at least not violated, in the interests of the political group upholding those values." (Chang, 2000, pp.119-120)[66]

In the context of the translation history of China from 1949 to 1966, I find Chang's theory quite applicable for observing and analyzing factors that influenced the translation practices in a situation where the whole of Chinese society was largely dominated by politics.

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, through a series of nationwide political movements, China underwent in-depth and multi-level socialist reforms that concerned every aspect of society. New ideological and political systems were soon established in socialist China. Socialist ideology became the mainstream ideology and the communist party became the only reigning party. Considering there is already a brief introduction on the socio-political environment and translation practices in this period in Chapter one, and given the fact that many scholars have already offered

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66 The quotation here is originally in English.

ample information on the socio-political situation in this period,[67] I will elaborate on only the main focuses and tendencies in translation studies and practice, some of which were heavily influenced by the political environment.

Firstly, the discussion of translation criteria continued in this period and remained as one of the major topics in translation studies. However, most articles on the subject were still experience-generated ones focusing on how to translate properly. Yan Fu's criteria of *Xin* (faithfulness), *Da* (intelligibility), and *Ya* (elegance) were always referred to when discussing the criteria of translation. *Xin* (faithfulness), was still the primary aim that a translation should achieve.

Nevertheless a few translators and critics were starting to understand the immanent relationship between literary translation and artistic creation. As Mao Dun expressed it in his keynote speech to the All-Chinese Conference on Literary Translation Work, literary translation involves complete transplantation of the content and the style of the ST into the TT. The translation should read like the original author's writing in the target language. The transplantation of the style of the ST depends on the translator's competence in artistic creation (Mao, 1954/1984, p.511-514). A few articles by other critics also touched on the relationship between literary translation and artistic creation. For example, in his article "Translation is an Art" Tang Ren (Yan Qingpeng's penname) challenges a prevailing opinion which considers translation as barely a skill. He argues that translating is not like photography, which depends on the skill of making the object as lifelike as possible in a photo, but more like painting, which involves skills, experience, and also a talent for artistic creation. (Tang, 1984, pp.64-67) Hence, while faithfulness still remained as the supreme criterion for translation practice, the creativity of translators was legitimised as a constitutive element in literary translation.

In addition, translation activities in this period were characterized by planning and organisation. During this period, the newly established government endeavoured to establish a planned economy in China. On this premise, every task in society should be planned and approved by the government in advance. In a society that emphasized collectivism other than individualism, it was believed that an organized approach to working is more effective. Thus, after 1949, translators who had previously worked individually were gradually organized to work collaboratively on translation projects planned and assigned by the government.

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67 Influenced by the "cultural turn" in translation studies, many Chinese scholars have referred to the socio-political environment in their monographs about the translation history of China. Furthermore, some scholars, such as Mei Teng (2009), Mingjian Cha and Tianzhen Xie (2007) have paid special attention to the influences of socio-political environment on translation activities.

In 1950, with the advocacy of Mao Dun, Shen Zhiyuan and many other eminent literati of the time, the first translator's association was established in Shanghai. It enrolled more than three hundred members; many of them were renowned translators who had already been active before the establishment of new China. A series of articles were published to stress the necessity of planned and organized translation. For example, in 《中国翻译理论著作概要》(Index of Translation Studies in China 1894-2005), 11 of 81 articles listed from this period were concerned with the necessity and advantages of planned and collaborative translation. The fact that none of these articles offered any opposition to planned and organized translation is indicative of the tendency of centralization in the ideological and political polysystems. Concurrently, socialist reform of publishing institutions led to the nationalization of privately-owned publishing houses. As a result, in 1956 all privately-owned publishing houses in China were merged into 19 publishing houses jointly owned by the state and private interests (Liu, 1965, p.10). From then, the central government exercised substantial influence over the publishing industry. As publishing is pivotal for the planning and publication of translations, translation practice was hence also under full government control.

The policy of leaning to the Soviet Union also wielded influence on translation activities. As mentioned in Chapter one, the translated literature in China during this period was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union. This went further than deciding what to translate in close accord with Soviet tastes. The major, almost the only foreign influence on Chinese translation theories and criticism, came from the Soviet Union. Other western theories were considered as capitalist theory and excluded. According to 《中国翻译理论著作概要》(Index of Translation Studies in China 1894-2005), 10 articles concerned with foreign translation theories were published from the 1950s to the 1960s. Seven of these were introductions of or reflections on theories from the Soviet Union, and only three articles focused on western translation theory. Many articles on translation studies from this period quoted only Soviet translation theories. The Soviet Union's proletarian aesthetics predetermined the course of literary translation in China, from the selection of source texts to the criteria and criticism of translation. As mentioned in Chapter One, to a great extent this tendency also determined the popularity of Andersen in China from 1949 to 1966.

Political correctness was also the most important element in the literary polysytem in this period. Among the 81 articles published in this period and listed in the《中国翻译理论著作概要》(Index of Translation Studies in China 1894-2005), 5 articles focus on the political correctness of translation and translator; 3 articles adapt Mao Zedong's socio-political theory to translation studies. This political orientation is more obvious if one refers to the speeches made to the two national conferences on translation: one was The First National Translating Work Conference (1951), the other was the All-Chinese Conference on Literary Translation Work (1954). Political

correctness, learning from the Soviet Union, planned and organized translation, and translating for the proletariat, were the key themes of these two conferences.

From the three characteristics listed above, one can see that translation studies and theories from the 1950s to the 1960s were tinged with political and ideological colour. Just as Chang's theory proposes: when the macro-polysystem is stable, the political and the ideological polysystems take a more central position than other polysystems (especially in a totalitarian country), and the dominant political and ideological norms jointly influence all other types of norm, although they might be challenged sometimes by norms from peripheral systems (Chang, 2000, p.121). The ideological and political norms were the predominant norms for Chinese literary translation from the 1950s to the 1960s. The interpretation and translation of Andersen's tales were inevitably influenced by these dominant norms, as was represented explicitly by reviews from critics like Chen Bochui and Ye Junjian.

5.2 The interpretations of Andersen's tales

In 1955, the anniversary of Andersen's 150th birthday was celebrated in China. Andersen and his tales again became a hot topic in literary circles and among intellectuals in China. A series of commemorative articles were published in 1955 to praise his talent as a writer of fairy tales. Reading articles on Andersen and his tales that were published in this period, the main views and interpretations on Andersen's tales can be generalised as follows:

First, as in the previous phases, Andersen was still considered as a classic writer of fairy tales. The main achievement of Andersen's literary creation was the fairy tale. In Ye Junjian's article in 1955, although Ye notes that Andersen has also created literary works in other genres, he is still described as a fairy tale writer who devoted most of his time and talent to the creation of children's literature. According to Ye, Andersen chose to do so because he considered literary creation for children "an immortal work" and wanted to "win over the next generation" by his fairy tales (1955, p.108). Chen Bochui's comment represents the prevalent view on Andersen's tales:

> He (Andersen) wrote poetry, plays, as well as novels. He was worse than merely unsuccessful in these fields – he was a total failure. However, when he selected themes from Scandinavian, and especially from Danish folk tales, to create fairy tales, (…), he won great success (1957, p.25).

His opinion was evidently inherited from the understanding of Andersen during the "May-fourth Movement" period. But he took it a step further in claiming that all Andersen's other literary creations were failures. This also explains why there were

hardly any Chinese translations of Andersen's literary works other than fairy tales until the 21st century.

Second, Andersen continued to be appreciated for the colloquial language, poetic beauty, and vivid imagination in his tales. "Writing as if speaking" was praised as one of the most outstanding properties of Andersen's tales (Chen, 1955/2005, p.80). Looking at the world from the child's perspective and describing things with children's logic was considered to be another feature that made Andersen one of the few geniuses of fairy tale creation. (Chen, 1955/2005, p.76)

Third, critics agreed that the fantasy in Andersen's tales is not mere day-dreams, but has its roots in reality. According to critics like Ye and Chen, Andersen was a realistic writer whose creation was nourished by his own life experience and his observations of social reality. As Ye put it in his article:

> When Andersen started to create fairy tales (1835), the social conflicts in Danish society were acute: on the one hand there was merciless exploitation by the aristocrats and big landlords, while on the other hand there was the poverty of the common people;[68] on the one hand a life of luxury, on the other hand miserable starvation. These social evils and all sorts of injustice were represented in Andersen's fairy tales in a very natural way (1955, p.108).

According to this interpretation, the clergyman in "Great Claus and Little Claus" can be seen as a corrupt hypocrite who tries to seduce the peasant's wife, while for money the two Clauses adopt every means to entrap each other. Through such Chinese interpretations Andersen was described as a "people's writer" and a great "realistic writer". In an article by Chen, Lenin's words were invoked to explain the reason for the success of Andersen's tales (1955, April, 2).

However, the Chinese critics were not comfortable with the religious undertones embedded in Andersen's tales. Both Chen and Ye stressed this in their articles in 1955. They considered these as limitations and defects in Andersen's tales, ascribing them to the fact that Andersen the writer lived in a capitalist society where belief in religion was inevitably influenced by his time and his world-view. Therefore, they all claimed that Andersen's tales should not be received uncritically.

Hence, as Li Hongye (2005) has also pointed out, Andersen's image as a realistic and progressive writer was shaped during this period. This image was certainly somewhat distorted by interpretations based on proletarian aesthetics. Nevertheless, the new image of Andersen secured the legitimacy and popularity of Andersen's tales

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68 Obviously, the aristocrats and landlords are not counted as part of "the people". From Ye's socialist point of view, they are actually the opposite of "the people", which consists of the proletariat and sometimes the petite bourgeoisie.

in socialist China. What is even more interesting is that some interpretations and translations, such as those of Chen Jingrong, seemed somewhat immune to these politicised norms.

5.3 Chen Jingrong (1917-1989): a female translator of H. C. Andersen's tales

5.3.1 Her life and career as a "New Woman"

Chen Jingrong, whose original name was Chen Yifan, was born in Leshan, Sichuan province in 1917, and passed away in 1989. She went to a primary school run by the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris in Leshan when she was six years old and received some basic French language education there. After graduation from primary school, she continued her education in Leshan Girls' Secondary School and started to learn English. Cao Baohua was her English teacher and later became her first lover. Chen tried to elope with him to Beijing in 1932 when she was fifteen, but failed. To protect Chen's reputation and avoid making their affair public, Chen's family refrained from any attempt to punish Cao. Cao went to Beijing alone. Two years later, Chen ran away from her family again, heading for Beijing, and this time she succeeded. In 1935 she finally married her former teacher and continued her studies and writing in Beijing. Their marriage lasted for 4 years. Subsequently she had two other marriages, but both ended in divorce.

Chen Jingrong followed several vocations in her life. She worked as a primary school teacher, an editor for poetry journals, a government official, and a writer and translator. But her two most important professions were poet and translator. Chen is known as one of the avant-garde 'Jiu Ye' (Nine Leaves) poets,[69] and she wrote a lot of modernist poetry. She had her first modernist poem published in 1935, and had three collections of poems published in 1947, 1948 and 1983. She was also an active translator who translated French and English literature into Chinese. She was one of the few female translators of Andersen's tales in China who produced translations on

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69 In 1981, the Jiangsu People's Publishing House published 《九叶集》 (The Nine Leaves Collection). This is a selection of the poetry of nine poets from the 1940s. They are Mu Dan, Tang Qi, Tang Shi, Yuan Kejia, Xin Di, Chen Jingrong, Hang Yuehe, Du Yunxie, and Zheng Min. In the Preface, Yuan Kejia compares these nine poets to "nine leaves". "Nine Leaves" then became a term used to refer to this poetry group. Some researchers also use terms such as the "China Poetry group (China's New Poetry was the name of the journal they published during the 1940s) and the "New Modernist group" (distinguishing it from the "Modernist group" of Dai Wangshu and others). (Hong Zicheng, 2007, p.73) Chen Jingrong together with other Nine Leaves poets contributed significantly to the development and establishment of modern Chinese vernacular poetry.

a large scale. In 1947, the Sanlian Bookstore in Shanghai published 6 volumes of her translations of Andersen's tales. As well as this six-volume translation of Andersen's tales, her well-known translations also include Chinese translations of poems by the French modernist poet Charles Pierre Baudelaire, Victor Hugo's masterpiece Notre-Dame de Paris (The Hunchback of Notre Dame), and Reportáž psaná na oprátce (Notes from the Gallows) by Czech writer Julius Fučík.[70]

5.3.2 Chen's translations of Andersen's works – facts and specimen studies

According to "A Chronicle of Life and Works" attached at the end of 《陈敬容诗文集》 (Collected Poems and Essays of Chen Jingrong), Chen Jingrong's first translation of Andersen's tales was《安徒生童话选》(A Selection of Andersen's Fairy Tales), which was published in 1946 by Sanlian Bookstore. In 1947,《安徒生童话全集》(Complete Andersen's Fairy Tales), which consisted of 6 volumes, was also published by Sanlian Bookstore. However, there are no remaining copies of either of these two translations known to be still available today. None of the studies on Chen Jingrong has ever given any specific information concerning these two collections of translations. The translations I have found are four volumes of translations featuring in《新中国少年文库》(The Juvenile Library New China) and published in 1950.[71] Therefore, Chen's translations were published in a transitional period from the Republic of China era to The People's Republic of China era. However, the fact that her translations of Andersen's tales appeared in《新中国少年文库》(The Juvenile Library New China), the first book series of children's literature published after the establishment of the communist government, demonstrates that both Andersen's tales and Chen's translations were acceptable to the new ideology.

Chen explains her motives in translating Andersen's tales in the preface to《丑小鸭》(The Ugly Duckling), a collection of translations containing 6 tales published by Sanlian Bookstore. In this preface, she declares that the lack of proper literature for Chinese children inspired her to translate Andersen's tales. She believes that human beings share common emotions. Therefore, she is confident that young Chinese readers will understand Andersen's tales. What's more, she hopes that reading these tales will lead young Chinese readers, "the masters of the future world" in her words, to a broader spiritual world and bring them happiness. Chen does not write much on Andersen's style of writing, but compliments the rich imagination and benevolence expressed in his tales. (Chen, 1950)

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70 This is an abridged relay translation based on a French translation.

71 The four volumes are entitled 《天鹅》 (Swans, 7 tales), 《丑小鸭》(The Ugly Duckling, 6 tales), 《雪女王》(The Snow Queen, 4 tales), and 《沼泽王的女儿》(The Marsh King's Daughter, 5 tales). The first two volumes were first published by the Camel Bookstore in Shanghai in 1948.

English and French were the two foreign languages that Chen knew best.[72] In the preface to《丑小鸭》(Ugly Duckling)，Chen also states that "the fairy tales in this collection are translated from several versions of English translations." Therefore, her translations of Andersen's tales are indirect translations transferred from more than one English translation. However, she has not given any further information about these English translations. After some textual analysis and comparisons I have established that E. V. Lucas and H. B. Paull's English translations (1945) were the main English translations that Chen used.

The first hint of one probable English source of Chen's translations is that she translates "Tommelise" as "小丁妮" (Little Tiny), which is the same as the title in E. V. Lucas and H. B. Paull's English translation. Moreover, if we compare the second paragraph of Chen's "丑小鸭" to Lucas and Paull's "Ugly Duckling", we can find additional clues:

> …der var ligesaa **vildsomt** derinde, som i den tykkeste Skov, og her laae en And paa sin Rede; hun skulde ruge sine smaae Ællinger ud, men nu var hun næsten kjed af det, fordi det varede saa længe, og hun sjælden fik Visit; de andre Ænder holdt mere af at svømme om i Canalerne, end at **løbe op** og sidde under **et Skræppeblad** for at snaddre med hende. (Andersen, emphases added)
>
> Gloss: ... it was just as **trackless** in there as in the thickest forest, and here lay a duck on her nest; she would hatch her small ducklings out, but now she was almost tired of it because it lasted so long, and she seldom had visitors; the other ducks liked much better to swim about in the canal than to **run up** and sit under **a dock leaf** to chat with her.
>
> In among the leaves it was as **secluded** as **in the depths of a forest**, and there a duck was sitting on her nest. Her little ducklings were just about to be hatched, but she was quite tired of sitting, for it had lasted for such a long time. Moreover, she had very few visitors, as the other ducks liked swimming about in the moat better than **waddling up** to sit under **the dock leaves** and gossip with her. (Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.70, emphases added)
>
> 叶丛中就像**森林里面**一样**僻静**，那儿有一只母鸭坐在她的巢里。她正要孵出一些小鸭来，但是她已经坐得很疲倦，因为已经孵了好一会儿

72 According to the preface to 《陈敬容诗文集》 (Collected Poems and Essays of Chen Jingrong)，she also picked up some self-taught Russian. But since she started to learn this language only after 1949 and never translated any work from Russian, Russian was obviously not a foreign language in which she felt confident.

了。而且又很少有客人来拜望她，别的鸭子们宁可在壕沟里游泳，不大高兴**摇摇摆摆地**走来，坐在**羊蹄草叶**下面同她谈天。（Chen，1950，p.1, emphases added）

Back translation: In among the leaves it was as **secluded** as in **the inside of a forest**, and there was a duck sitting on her nest. She was about to hatch some ducklings out. But she was already very tired of sitting, for it had lasted for such a long time. Moreover, there were very few guests came to visit her. The other ducks would rather be swimming in the moat than **waddling** to her and sitting under **the dock leaves** to gossip with her.

If we compare the texts in bold face in Lucas and Paull's translation, Andersen's text, and the underlined part in Chen's translation, it is clear that Chen's translation is closer to Lucas and Paull's translation than to the Danish text in many ways. For example, in the first sentence of Chen's translation, "僻静", meaning solitary and quiet in Chinese, has almost the same meaning as "secluded" used by Lucas and Paull but is not so close to "vildsomt" in Andersen's text, which means pathless and trackless. And in Andersen's text, it was as trackless in the leaves as in the "tykkeste skov" (thickest forest), while in Chen's translation it was as solitary and quiet in the leaves as in "森林里面" (the inside of a forest), which is almost the same as Lucas and Paull's "the depths of a forest". Moreover, in both Chen and Paull & Lucas' translations, the other ducks didn't want to go "waddling" to the mother duck and sit under the "dock leaves" while in Andersen's text they didn't want to "løbe op" (run up) and sit under "et Skræppeblad" (a dock leaf).

More instances could be found from Chen's other translations like《天使》which is "The Angles" in Paull and Lucas' translation,《小伊达的花儿们》which is "Little Ida's Flowers" in Paull and Lucas' translation,《卖火柴的女孩儿》which is "The Little Match Girl" in Paull and Lucas' translation, and 《钟》which is "The Bell" in Paull and Lucas' translation. In Appendix 2 further examples will be provided showing this target text-source text relationship.

According to Kirsten Malmkjær, what makes the act of translation different from the act of creative writing is that the translator should suspend his/her freedom to invent, which means that the translator should first of all try to reproduce the style of the original text in his/her translation (Malmkjær, 2004). At the same time, in her two articles on Dulcken's English translations of Andersen's tales (2003, 2004), she is obviously more occupied with the question how translator's choices have influenced their style of translation, suggesting that the translator will usually mingle his /her own style into his/her translation. Thus, the style of a translation results from the integration of the author's style and the translator's style. Chen's translations of Andersen's tales often verify Kirsten's theory.

An example from 《小丁妮》 （"Little Tiny" in Paull and Lucas' translation）demonstrates the influences that Paull and Lucas' English translations have cast on the style of Chen's translation:

A graceful little white butterfly constantly fluttered round her, and at last alighted on the leaf. Tiny pleased him, and she was glad of it, for now the toad could not possibly reach her, and the country through which she sailed was beautiful, and the sun shone upon the water, till it glittered like liquid gold. (Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.24)

一只漂亮的白蝴蝶不断地绕着她飞翔，最后棲止在叶子上了。丁妮很使他高兴，而她本人也非常高兴，因为现在虾蟆再也不可能到达她身边了，她航过的地方都是美丽的，太阳照在水面上，使它像流动的金液一样闪光。(Chen, 1950, p.45)
Back translation：A beautiful white butterfly constantly flew round her, at last alighted on the leaf. Tiny pleased him, and she herself was also very glad, for now the toad could not reach near her anymore, the places she sailed to were all beautiful, the sun shone upon the water, made it glitter like liquid gold.

En nydelig lille hvid Sommerfugl blev ved at flyve rundt omkring hende, og satte sig tilsidst ned paa Bladet, for den kunde saa godt lide Tommelise, og hun var saa fornøiet, for nu kunde Skruptudsen ikke naae hende og der var saa deiligt, hvor hun seilede; Solen skinnede paa Vandet, det var ligesom det deiligste Guld. (Andersen)
Gloss: A lovely little white butterfly constantly fluttered around her, and sat down at last on the leaf because it liked Thumbelina, and she was so pleased, because now the toad could not reach her and the place she sailed to was so beautiful; sun shone upon the water, it was like the most beautiful Gold.

一只很可爱的白蝴蝶不停地环绕着她飞，最后就落到叶子上来，因为它是那么喜欢拇指姑娘；而她呢，她也非常高兴，因为癞蛤蟆现在再也找不着她了。同时她现在所流过的这个地带是那么美丽——太阳照在水上，正像最亮的金子。（Ye, 1958, Vol. 1, p.57-59）
Gloss: A very lovely white butterfly flew around her constantly, at last alighted on the leaf, for it liked Thumbelina so much; and she, she was also very glad, for the toad could never find her now. And the place she was now sailing through was so beautiful—the sun shone on the water, which was just like the most shining gold.

Comparing the two Chinese translations by Chen and Ye, we can see that the syntactic features of the two extracts are different. Although sentences in both Chen and Ye are shorter than the one long sentence in the Danish text, the divisions of sentences in Chen and Ye's translations are different. Chen's translation divides Andersen's long sentence in the same way as Paull and Lucas, while Ye has done it in his own way. Moreover, the sentence structures in Chen's Chinese translation also reflect the influence from the English translation. The most salient instance in the example listed above is that the English translation translates "for den kunde saa godt lide Tommelise" as "Tiny pleased him". The subject in the Danish sentence is "den" indicating the white butterfly, while in the English translation the subject is Tiny. The English translator uses a causative verb to make "Tiny" the subject of the sentence. Because Chen's translation is transferred from the English translation, Chen has adopted the same syntax in her translation. She also uses a causative verb "使...高兴" in her translation to make "丁妮" the subject of the sentence while in Ye's transaltion "他", indicating the butterfly, remains the subject of the sentence like "den" in the Danish text.

Paull and Lucas' English translation has also influenced the diction of Chen's Chinese translation. For example, In Chen's translation the white butterfly is "漂亮的" (beautiful), while in Ye's translation, the white butterfly is "很可爱的" (very lovely). Relating these two Chinese translations to their respective source texts, it is clear that Chen's translation is close to Paull and Lucas' "graceful", which is a specific word; and Ye's translation is close to the Danish adjective "nydelig", which bears a more general meaning and could be used to describe things that are beautiful, lovely, nice, excellent, delightful or dainty.

Influences from Paull and Lucas' translations on Chen's translations are also traceable in her translation of "The Little Match Girl".

In Paull and Lucas' translation, the grandmother first "appeared in the circle of flame". Then she and the little match girl "soared in a halo of light and joy". And after they entered heaven, the people didn't know "in what a halo she had entered with her grandmother". "Halo" in English is a word with Christian connotation. It is a catholic symbol that represents the light of divine grace suffusing the soul. However, in Andersen's text there is no such circle of light, although the grandmother looks "velsignet" (blessed) when she appears and they fly up to God in "Glands og Glæde" (brightness and joy). Being transferred from Paull and Lucas' translation, Chen's translation keeps the halos - "光圈" in Chinese. The religious connotation in Paull and Lucas' translation has been transplanted into Chen's Chinese translation.

There is another example of how the source text has influenced Chen's translation of 'The Little Match Girl'. In Andersen's text, there are two places where he uses "fattig" to describe the little match girl and one place in where he uses "den lille Stakkel" to indicate the little match girl. In Danish "Fattig" is used to describe people who have so little money or other possessions that it is difficult for them to get

the daily necessities and maintain an acceptable standard of living, or to describe something which contains very little of particular elements. In addition, "Stakkel" in Danish is used to indicate a human being (or an animal) that you feel sorry for because he/she is helpless and unfortunate. Thus, "poor", "deficient", or "destitute" could be the proper English correspondences for "fattig" and "the poor little thing" could be the English counterpart for "den lille Stakkel". In Paull and Lucas' translation, they use "poor" to translate "fattig" and "the poor little creature" to translate "den lille Stakkel", which is fair enough. However, in addition to that Paull and Lucas have also decided to use the adjective "poor" to describe the little match girl in three other places in their English translation, which are additions that do not exist in Andersen's text. It is not the purpose of this research to speculate on their purpose in adding three 'poor's in their translation, but their choice has evidently intensified the piteous image of the little match girl and enhanced the reader's impression of her deprived and helpless situation. Chen Jingrong closely follows the English translation and has incorporated six poors as "可怜的" in her translation. Consequently, the little match girl in Chen's translation appears more pitiful than she does in either the ST or the Andersen text.

However, Chen's subjectivity has also affected, consciously or unconsciously, her style of translation. As we know, besides the meaning of "destitute" or "penniless", the adjective "poor" in English is also used to describe people who are considered to be deserving of pity or sympathy. These people are often helpless but can be nice or even lovely. Hence, when translating Paull and Lucas' English text into Chinese, Chen could either translate it as "穷苦的" (destitute) or as "可怜的"(pitiful). The first choice would draw the reader's attention to the privations the little match girl suffers, while the second choice would tend to evoke reader's sympathy for the girl and intensify her loveliness. As a result, Chen has chosen "可怜的"(pitiful), which has moderated the little match girl's image as a penniless girl and highlighted her piteousness and loveliness.

Chen's style of translation has also been influenced by another of her identities – that of poet. As a female poet, her language is often beautiful and delicate. Her translations are, like her poems, full of poetic beauty. For example, in the last paragraph of her translation of "The Bell", she has reproduced the beautiful scenery described in H. C. Andersen's tales with poetic and passionate language:

o, hvilken Pragt! (…), Skoven sang og Havet sang og hans Hjerte sang med; den hele Natur var en stor hellig Kirke, hvori Træer og svævende Skyer vare Pillerne, Blomster og Græs det vævede Fløiels Klæde og Himlen selv den store Kuppel: deroppe slukkedes de røde Farver, idet Solen **forsvandt**, men Millioner Stjerner tændtes, Millioner Diamant-Lamper skinnede da,

(...). (Andersen, emphasis and italics added)

Oh! What splendour lay before him! (…); the wood sang, the ocean sang, and his heart sang with them. All Nature was like a vast holy temple, where trees and floating clouds were the pillars, flowers and grass the woven tapestry, and the heaven itself a great dome. The red colour vanished as the sun **went down**, but millions of stars peeped out; they were like countless diamond lamps,(…). (Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.239, emphasis and italics added)

呵，什么样美丽的景色展开在他前面！(…) *树林歌唱着，海洋歌唱着，他的心也和它们一齐歌唱着。整个的大自然**就像**一座巨大的神圣的庙宇，树木同浮云**就像**巨柱，花儿草儿**像**一幅织成的地毯，天空本身**像**一个大圆顶。太阳**沉没**时红色消逝了，可是千万颗星星闪现出来。它们好像无数的钻石灯，* (…)。(Chen, 1950, emphasis and italics added, p.14)

Since the rendition of syntactic characteristics and the figures of speech are the main focuses of my analysis here, the English gloss and back translation for the Danish and Chinese texts will only be offered when they are mentioned in my analysis. In Chen's translation the parallel structures (in italics) create a rhythmical and musical effect. If we compare Chen's translation with the English text, it is clear that she has successfully reproduced the rhythmical effect in the ST, which closely follows the OT, namely Andersen's text. The only difference is that in Chen's translation, she uses "像" (like) and "就像"(just like) in the sixth sentence to form a series of similes whereas in the English text there are three metaphors and one simile, and in Andersen's text there are four metaphors. Chen's choice has slightly weakened the pragmatic effects created in Andersen's text but is still a satisfactory solution. Besides, "沉没" (sink) is also a more picturesque verb than "went down" in the ST and "forsvandt" in the Danish text. Therefore, Chen's translation has kept the poetic effects in both the ST and Andersen's text and appears even more literarily beautiful with regard to the diction.

Just as she states in her preface to 《丑小鸭》（The Ugly Duckling），Chen knows clearly for whom she is translating and has tried her best to keep the vivid tone, rich imagination and beauty of Andersen's tales in her translation for young Chinese readers. In the tales that includes dialogue, she always tries to translate them with spoken language. However, she is not as adept as Ye Junjian on this point. The dialogues in her translations are sometimes still quite literary compared with those in Ye Junjian's translations. For example:

"为什么花儿们今天看起来好像这么**憔悴**呢？"她又问，并且指着她

那个已经很枯萎了的花束。

（…）

"会的，真的，它们会跳，"学生回答道。"当天黑了，每个人都睡熟了的时候，它们就十分快乐地到处跳着，它们差不多每晚都要开一个跳舞会呢。"（Chen, 1950, p.85, emphases added）

"为什么花儿今天显得这样**没有精神**呢？"她又问，同时把一束已经枯萎了的花指给他看。

（…）

"嗨，它们可会跳啦，"学生说，"天一黑，我们去睡了以后，它们就兴高采烈地围着跳起来。差不多每天晚上它们都有一个舞会。"
 (Ye, 1958, Vol. 1, p.40, emphases added)

The English back translation and gloss of the emphasized parts in the two Chinese translations will be offered in the following analysis. To avoid redundancy, they have not been listed above. In Chen's translation, the flowers are "憔悴的" (emaciated), which is a word often used in literary works, while in Ye's translation they are "没有精神" (tired), which is a phrase more often used in oral Chinese. This difference in style becomes even more apparent when we read the emphasized segments of the two translations listed above. In Chen's translation the student answered, "会的，真的，它们会跳 […] 当天黑了，每个人都睡熟了的时候，它们就十分快乐地到处跳着，它们差不多每晚都要开一个跳舞会呢。" ([They] can, indeed, they can.[…]When the day gets dark, everybody is fast asleep, they dance about quite merrily. They hold a ball almost every night.) In Ye's translation the dialogue is more vivid. It goes: "嗨，它们可会跳啦，[…] 天一黑，我们去睡了以后，它们就兴高采烈地围着跳起来。差不多每天晚上它们都有一个舞会。" (Ha! They are so very good at dancing. […] When the sky turns dark, (and) after we go to sleep, they start to dance happily together. Nearly every night there is a ball). Therefore, although both Ye and Chen's translations are expressed in colloquial language, the dialogue in Ye's translation reads more like a child's language than that in Chen's translation.

Working from the analyses and comparisons above, Chen's translation of Andersen's tales is heavily influenced by the English translation she relied on. Many features of style in her translations, including sentence structure, diction, paragraphing, - even the religious implications - are inherited from Mrs. Paull and Lucas' English translation. Nevertheless, her own voice can also be traced through some subtle nuances.

The reason that she chooses to keep close to the source text is probably because the fundamental norm for translation had always been *Xin* (faithfulness) in China.

Since theories of children's literature were in their infancy in China in the early 1950s, there were no other influential norms to govern the translation of children's literature. Therefore, the translator had not many options in terms of how to translate 'properly' in the Chinese literary context other than to try to keep close to the source text.

As a poet and a translator, it seems that Chen rarely swam with the tide. Obviously, she did not concern herself overmuch with the political trend of the time when she translated Andersen's tales, for in the preface to her collection of translations she recommended only the beauty, humanity and vivid imaginations embedded in Andersen's tales, while her contemporary translator Ye Junjian showed more sensitivity to the prevailing ideology of the time in the sense that he interpreted Andersen's life and works in accordance with the politicized literary norms of the time in the paratexts of his translations. Although Chen never sought to dispute the ideological norms of the time in her translation, she certainly did not try to echo the mainstream ideology either. The reason for this choice could be that her translations were rendered and published during a transitional period when the authorized ideological norms were not yet established. On the other hand, her choice could also stem from the fact that a translator does not always actively behave in accordance with the mainstream ideological norms.

5.4 Ye Junjian (1914-1999): the first direct translator

5.4.1 His life

In 1914 Ye Junjian was born in a village in Hong An, a small county in Hu Bei province, located in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in central China. At the time of his birth the New Culture Movement was about to start, bringing far-reaching change to Chinese culture and society. His father was a store-keeper but had hopes that his son would go on to better things. He wanted Ye to receive some modern education and master some practical skills like English and mathematics, hoping that his son could find a good job in one of those new commercial institutions that were now doing business with western countries. In 1929, Ye was sent to join his elder brother in Shanghai and entered a "new-style school", which followed the western, mostly US and UK education systems and curricula. Ye received some elementary English education in this school. It was in high school that he started to study Esperanto. After graduating from high school, Ye enrolled firstly in Central China University in Wuhan in 1933 and then transferred to Wuhan University the next year. He studied in the department of foreign languages during his undergraduate years. In 1937, he started to work for the third office of the political department of the National

Government Military Commission[73], which was in charge of publicity work in the Kuomingtang (KMT) government but was actually led by communist party members like Zhou Enlai and Guo Moruo. In 1944, Ye Junjian was invited by the UK government to work in the war-time publicity department. After WWII, he was given the chance to study and do research in Cambridge University King's College. He stayed in Europe for 5 years and learned several European languages. Ye had a good aptitude for languages. In his memoir, he claims that he could read ten languages, Esperanto, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian.

Ye returned to China in 1949 at the dawn of the establishment of the communist government. Although he was not a communist party member, because of his connections with the communist party and leftist intellectuals, he had the trust of the newly established government and was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of 《中国文学》 (Chinese Literature). This was the first journal founded by the government after 1949 to specialize in publishing translations of Chinese modern literature into foreign languages like English, French, etc. He even became a member of the team which was responsible for the translation of Mao Zedong's poems. He worked as a professional translator, writer and university professor thereafter.

As a writer, Ye Juanjian's literary creation started from as early as his years at university. He taught himself Esperanto when he was 17 and composed *Jarfino* (The End of the Year), his first short story in Esperanto in 1933. In 1937, a collection of short stories in Esperanto entitled *Forgesitaj Homoj* (The Forgotten People) was published. His talent attracted the attention of a foreign teacher while he was studying as an English major at university. This foreign teacher was Julian Bell, the nephew of the famous English writer Virginia Woolf. He encouraged Ye's writing and was willing to recommend Ye's works to some English journals. From 1944, English literary journals like *The London Magazine*, and *Life and Letters Today,* began to publish Ye's short stories. In 1946 a collection of short stories called *The Ignorant and the Forgotten* was published in the UK. In 1947 and 1948, two of his novels, *The Mountain Village* and *They Fly South*, were published in UK under the pen-name Chun-ChanYeh.

After he went back to China and started to work for the government in 1949, he was too occupied with his translation work to continue his literary activities, and prudence dictated that he lay down his pen during the Cultural Revolution. He did not resume writing until the Cultural Revolution had ended, when he finished two

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73 This was a department established during the era of the second cooperation between the KMT (Kuo Min Tang) and the CPC (Communist Party of China) and in charge of publicity during the anti-Japanese war.

trilogies《土地》(The Land) and《寂静的群山》(Quiet are the Mountains) in the 1970s and the 1980s.[74] As well as writing novels, he also wrote a great number of tales for children. These tales were later collected into books like《叶君健童话故事集》(Ye Junjian's Fairy Tales and Stories, 1985), and 《真假皇帝》(The Real and Fake Emperors, 1979).

According to a documentary about Ye Junjian, the translations he completed, alone or with other translators, amount to 25 million words.[75] His translations of Andersen's tales were an important part of his work as a translator, but not all of it. He also translated tales and works by other foreign authors. For example he translated Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* into Chinese via English intermediary translation and Henrik Ibsen's *Bygmester Solness* (The Master Builder) and also Leo Tolstoy and M. Maurice Maeterlinck's literary works. As well as his translations of foreign literary works into Chinese, Ye also applied himself to the translation of Chinese literary works into foreign languages. He was the first translator to translate Mao Zedong's 《论持久战》 (On Protracted War) and《新民主主义论》 (On New Democracy) into English. He translated three of Mao Dun's novels and two other novels by Zhang Tianyi and Yao Xueyin into English and got them published in London in 1948 in a collection called *Three Seasons*.

While working as the editor of *Chinese Literature*, he organized and contributed to the translation of Mao Zedong's poems into English. To introduce the new literature of communist China to the western countries, he also organized the translation of proletarian literature like《新儿女英雄传》 (New Heroes and Heroines) and 《王贵与李香香》 (Wang Gui and Li Xiangxiang).

Therefore, Ye Junjian's life and career was closely related to translation and writing. He produced excellent original literary works as well as translation works for his readers. His translations of Andersen's tales earned him widespread fame, and they were canonized because of their high quality.

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74 The trilogy《土地》(The Land) consists of《火花》(The Sparks),《自由》(The Freedom) and《曙光》(The Dawn). According to Li Baochu, they were composed from 1973 to 1976 at a time when Ye had been forced to leave his position and were published in 1980 by the People's Publishing House. (1997, p.86) The first novel in the trilogy《寂静的群山》(Quiet are the Mountains), The Mountain Village was written in English and published by Sylvan press in London in 1947. It was translated by Ye himself into the Chinese version《山村》(The Mountain Village) and published in 1950 by Chaofeng Press in Shanghai. From 1980-1984, Ye created the other two novels in this trilogy, which are 《旷野》(The Wild Field) and《远程》(A Distant Journey). (Li, 1997, p.112) In 1989, the whole trilogy was published by The Yellow River Publishing House of Art and Literature for the first time. The English and Greek versions of this trilogy were published in 1988 and 1990.

75 This three-episode documentary is 《英国文学史的一个章节--叶君健》(A Chapter of British Literature's History---Junjian YE) directed by Huang Jianming in 2012. It was broadcast by CCTV-news (The English international channel of China Central Television) from 23-26 April, 2013.

5.4.2 Ye's translations of Andersen's fairy tales - facts and specimen studies

According to Ye Junjian himself, he was first attracted by Andersen's tales in the 1930s, when he was still a student in high school. In his English text book, which was published in the UK, he read some of Andersen's tales and was enthralled by the melancholy story of Elisa and her eleven brothers. Later, he read more of Andersen's tales in Esperanto, which had been translated by Łazarz Ludwik Zamenhof from German translations. However, after he travelled abroad during the Second World War he was too occupied by his work in the UK to develop his interest in Andersen. This changed during his years at Cambridge University. During this period he started to learn Danish and other European languages. In Cambridge, he also made friends with some classmates from Sweden and Denmark. From the winter of 1947 he was invited by his Danish friends to travel to Denmark and stay in their homes during winter and summer vacations. His regular visits to Denmark lasted until he came back to China. During his stays in Denmark, he started to read some of Andersen's tales in Danish so as to improve his Danish and learn more about Danish culture and customs, and its traditions of fairy tale. Through his experience of reading the original versions, he found that the English and French translations of Andersen's tales frequently deviated from the original Danish texts. The translations had often been adapted or even abridged to fit the norms and the book market of the target cultures at the expense of the style, beauty and humour of the original texts. This dissatisfaction with English and French translations provided him with the impetus to translate Andersen's tales directly from Danish into Chinese (Ye, 1998). In 1953, appeared the 《没有画的画册》 (Picture Book without Pictures), the first volume in a series of translations called 《安徒生童话选集》(A Selection of Andersen's Fairy Tales). This translated anthology was published by Pingming Press and launched Ye's career as translator of Andersen's tales.

There have been numerous versions of his translations published from the 1950s until current times. However, it is likely that they are all based on two versions. The first is 《安徒生童话选集》 (A Selection of Andersen's Fairy Tales) published by Pingming Press. The volumes in this selection were published in succession from 1953 to1954 (it will be referred to as the "1954 version" in the following section). The second is《安徒生童话故事全集》 (Complete Translation of Andersen's tales). The volumes in this translation were published in succession from 1957 to 1958 (it will be referred to as the "1958 version" in the following section). The widely praised 1978 complete translation is based on this version.

The 1954 translation was the first large-scale translation of Andersen's tales following the establishment of the PRC. This series of translations is made up of 98

tales in 9 volumes[76] and includes some illustrations by Vilhelm Pedersen and Lorenz Frølich, the original illustrators of Andersen's Danish versions. On the fly page of each volume is a short introduction to each of the fairy tales that have been selected. They are usually one-paragraph introductions aimed at guiding the reader's interpretation of the tales. On these fly pages there is also information about the source texts of the translations, from which we know that Ye used at least three texts as STs: *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales* published by the Oxford University Press, *Hans Christian Andersen: Fairy Tales, world edition* published by Flensted in Odense, and *H. C. Andersens Eventyr* published by Atheneum in Copenhagen. As the titles suggest, the first two source texts are in English. Although Ye has not mentioned the translators of these two English versions, the translator for the world edition must be R. P. Keigwin, and some textual comparison indicates that the translators for the Oxford version must have been W. A. & J. K. Craigie. Ye also mentioned in an article on literary translation that he used about ten English translations as references when doing his translations, among which he considered the two complete translations published by Ward, Lock & Co and Oxford University Press to be the most serious translations with the best quality because they were "literal translations translated from original texts" (Ye, 1998, pp.312-313).

Although Ye signified the Danish text as the third source text for his selected translation, there is evidence indicating that his 1954 translation was probably based mostly on the two English translations mentioned above. The following example from 《卖火柴的女孩》（The Match-selling Girl), supports this observation:

但是这颗小亮灭了，火炉也不见了。她手中只有一根烧过了的火柴。
(Ye, 1954, Vol. 5, p.40)
Back translation: But the little light went out, and the stove vanished. She had only a burned match in her hand.

But the little flame went out, the stove vanished, and she had only the remains of the burned match in her hand. (Craigie, 1914, p.343)

nei, hvad var det! - Den Lille strakte allerede Fødderne ud for ogsaa at varme disse, - - da slukkedes Flammen, Kakkelovnen forsvandt, - hun sad med en lille Stump af den udbrændte Svovlstikke i Haanden. (Andersen, emphasis added)
Gloss: **No, what was that! - The little (girl) stretched out her feet to warm them as well,** - as the flame went out, the stove vanished, - she sat with a little stump of the burned match in the hand.

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76 There will be a table of contents of this series offered in Appendix 3.

The first example shows that the emphasised part in the original text is not translated [77] in Ye Junjian's 1954 translation, which corresponds to Craigie's translation. There are ten more instances like this one in Ye's 《卖火柴的女孩》 (The Match-selling Girl). Thus, 11 of the 13 examples in this translation which deviate from the Danish text correspond with deviations in the Craigies' English translation. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that 《卖火柴的女孩》 (The Match-selling Girl) in Ye's 1954 translation relies heavily on the Craigies' English translation.

There are more instances that support my observation that many tales in this translation rely heavily on the English translations. More examples will be offered in the next section when comparing the 1954 translation with the 1958 translation as well as in Appendix 5. In addition, since only volume 2 《海的女儿》(The Little Mermaid) claimed to be rendered both from the world edition translated by R. P. Keigwin and *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales* translated by W. A. And J. K. Craigie, most of the tales in Ye's 1954 translation must have been translated from the Craigies' English translation.

Ye Junjian's complete translation of Andersen's tales was published by New Literary & Art Publishing House in Shanghai from 1957 to 1958. This complete translation is entitled 《安徒生童话全集》 (The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen) and consists of 16 volumes and 163 tales. It was the first complete direct translation of Andersen's tales in China.[78] It was rendered from *H. C. Andersens Eventyr og Historier* published in 1949 and 1952 by Flensteds Forlag, Odense[79] and includes illustrations by Vilhelm Pedersen, Lorenz Frølich and Herluf Jensenius. In contrast to the selected translation published from 1953 to 1954, according to Ye himself every tale in this version was translated directly from the Danish text and therefore this version is a brand-new translation (Ye, 1998, p.50). On the fly page of each volume is a short summary of the selected tales and a postscript about the year of publication, the Danish title and the creative motivation of the respective tales as they were originally published in Denmark.

Although the literary norms during this period were quite politicised, one can find very little in the translated texts that echoes with this political and ideological tendency. Generally speaking Ye has made every effort to keep his translations as

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77 Conversely, this part is translated in Ye Junjian's 1958 translation.

78 There will be a table of contents of this translation offered in Appendix 4

79 After the spelling reform of Danish language in 1948, the letter "å" was introduced into the Danish alphabet to replace the letter "aa", and the capitalization of common nouns was abandoned. Therefore, those of Andersen's tales published after 1948 have differences in spelling from the previous versions. Besides, there are also minor changes and corrections of Andersen's text in the 1949 Danish version, but they have led to very little change in the meaning of the original texts published in the 19th century.

close to the original Danish text as possible. It is lucky for Chinese readers as well as for Andersen that Ye has not tried to manipulate the translations in accordance with prevailing political and ideological influences. However, that is not to say that the 1958 version is entirely immune from political influences. In fact, in the foreword and postscript of the 1958 version Ye has tried to guide readers with political and ideological interpretation and appreciation of Andersen's tales, a common formula in literary criticism following the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957.

For example, there are already hints of ideological interpretation, between the lines of the postscripts following the translational texts of every volume, which are in conformity with the socio-political atmosphere in China at the time. For example, in the postscript of the volume 11, Ye writes in the last paragraph that:

> From these tales… We can also trace the development of his democratic ideas: he eulogizes people who were born low and poor but have contributed to human wellbeing (for example in the "Two Brothers" and "The Old Church Bell"), and to rustic and simple-hearted countrymen (for example in "What the Old Man Does is Always Right")… . In the Ice Maiden, Andersen starts to express his suspicions about God because God fails to resolve people's problems in real life - through this tale his disillusionment is subtly expressed. (Ye, 1958)

The atheistic interpretation of these tales from the perspective of historical materialism is expressed quite explicitly in this paragraph. In Ye's case, we can see that ideological factors do not always influence translation practice by directly manipulating the translational text. They can also be apparent in paratexts like prefaces, postscripts, comments, notes etc, which relate to the translational text. These paratexts, often constructive parts of a translation, can affect the reception of the translation in the TC in the same way as textual manipulation in the translation.

Ye's motivation for retranslating all the tales directly and solely from the Danish texts was related to his plan to "transplant all of Andersen's tales to China to enrich the literature available to Chinese children and provide reference points for Chinese authors" (Ye, 1999) after the establishment of the PRC. Ye's statement reminds us that it was almost exactly for that same reason that Andersen's tales were first introduced into China in the early 20th century. It seems that Andersen's tales had always been considered as a kind of compensation for the unproductive state of children's literature in China. Until as late as the 1950s, original Chinese children's literature was never prosperous enough to marginalize translated children's literature.

Moreover, the fact that all the existing Chinese translations had been translated indirectly from other intermediary translations could have been another motivation for this 1958 translation, as indicated by Ye's declaration in the preface that "all tales in this version were translated directly from the Danish original text." Apparently, he

wanted to highlight the directness of this new translation. As a matter of fact, Ye's later translations mostly relied on the 1958 translation.

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Ye was labelled one of the Bourgeois academic authorities and denounced as a capitalist fellow traveller. Moreover, since Andersen was an author from a western capitalist country, in the prevailing political conditions his translations could no longer be published. It was not until 1978, when Chinese intellectuals were freed from political suppression, that Ye Junjian's next important translation was published, again by Shanghai Translation Publishing House. This complete translation is mostly based on the 1958 version with only minor alterations.

Ye Junjian translated five more Andersen tales and added them in his later complete translation, which consists of 165 tales and was published by Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House in 1995. He is the Chinese translator who has rendered the greatest number of Andersen titles directly from Danish into Chinese.

5.4.2.1 Ye Junjian's thoughts on translation and his style of translation

Although a translator with an international reputation, Ye Junjian never engaged in any theoretical research on translation. However, he expressed his thoughts on literary translation in two essays. One is《关于文学翻译的一点体会》(A Reflection on Literary Translation) published in 1989. It was re-titled 《谈文学作品的翻译》(On Literary Translation) and published in 《名家翻译经验谈》(Reflections on Translation by Famous Translators) in 1998 with minimal amendments. The other is 《安徒生童话的翻译》(On the Translation of Andersen's Fairy Tales) published in 1999. In addition, in some of the forewords in his translation works we can also find his opinions on translation. Although they have never been systematically structured, these thoughts on translation, derived from traditional Chinese translation theories and generated from his personal translation practice, became his principles of translation.

Generally speaking, Ye's thoughts on the criteria of good translation were inherited mainly from the translation theories initiated by Yan Fu known as the three principles *Xin*, *Da*, *Ya* (faithfulness, intelligibility, and elegance). In his article on literary translation, Ye claims that Yan Fu's criteria should still be the standards for literary translation practice in communist China.[80] On the other hand, Ye notes that it is almost impossible to make a translation completely equivalent to the original text because of the fact that the same work will provoke different interpretations in different times and among different readerships. Moreover, word for word translation

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80 However, in this article the criterion of Da (intelligibility) was not touched upon.

cannot be successful in translation, especially in translating western literary works into Chinese, because of the long distance between the two cultures and the sharp linguistics gap between Chinese and western languages. Therefore the criterion of *Xin*, according to Ye, actually requires that translator tries his/her best to transfer the content and message of the original literary work to his/her translation as closely and completely as possible, but not necessarily the linguistic features.

As to the standard of *Ya*, Ye believes that it concerns the linguistic style of the translation and involves the recreation of the original work. According to him, a translator's interpretations of the original work, his knowledge of the source culture and literature, and his own style of writing will determine the style of his translation. Since different translators in different historical eras will have different interpretations of the original work as well as different styles of writing, there are always diverse translations of the same literary work. He then points out that in this sense translation is not a copy but a recreation, and admits that his translations of Andersen's tales must inevitably contain his personal perspective and thus be recreations as well. However, Ye stresses at the same time that the "literary recreation" must still be constrained by the principle of faithfulness.

In 《安徒生童话的翻译》(On the Translation of Andersen's Fairy Tales), Ye classifies Yan Fu's principles as the linguistic principles for literary translation and suggests that there should also be a "literary standard" for the style of translation (1999, p.51). He believes that the translator's literary talent will determine the quality of his/her translation. Relating to his own experience of translating Andersen's tales, he explains this view. He states that the style of his translation of Andersen's tales is inevitably influenced by his own interpretation as well as his literary tastes and talent. He appreciates the poetic style in Andersen's tales, with the result that he does his utmost to keep this style in his translations. Besides, he believes that it is important to keep the "Andersen style" in the Chinese translations. Thus he expresses his support for keeping the foreign quality in his translations. He also implies in this article that it is because of his literary talent and his serious attitude towards the translation of

Andersen's tales that his work has been highly praised by Scandinavian scholars like Søren Christian Egerod and Christoph Harbsmeir. [81]

Ye Junjian has his views about indirect translation as well. He claims that it is best for classical foreign literary works that they be translated directly from the original text, or that any translation must at least be based on the most serious mediating text. As to average literary works, for which the story is the most important component to be transferred, indirect translation can be justified and be a proper way of translation. Andersen's works naturally figure among the classical canon for Ye, thus he decided to translate them directly from the Danish texts.

Working from Yan Fu's theory, Ye has added his own ideas and interpretation in his article. His thoughts on literary translation have determined the translation strategies and principles he has applied to the translation of Andersen's tales. These strategies proved very successful and his translations have remained the most widely-read translations of Andersen's tales in China even after the publication of two other complete direct translations by Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e in 1995 and 2005. [82] Critics like Meng Zhaoyi and Li Zaidao even praise Ye's translation as the canonized translation that "has yet to be bettered" (Meng & Li, 2005, p.340).

In the following sections I will firstly compare Ye Junjian's 1954 version with the 1958 version to clarify the major changes that took place in the course of these two translations of Andersen's tales. Subsequently the 1958 version, the version that most of Ye's later versions rely on, will be compared with the other two complete

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81 In a book review written by Professor Søren Christian Egerod and published in Le Monde oriental in Vol. 14, 1961. Ye Juanjian's 《安徒生童话选》 (A Selection of Andersen's Fairy Tales), which was published in 1959 by People's Publishing House, is praised as accurate and authoritative. According to Egerod, Ye's style of translation is very much like Jean Hersholt's in his English translation and is "one of the two best translations in the world". In addition, in another article published in Anderseniana in 1980, Christoph Harbsmeier expresses his astonishment that Ye Juanjian as a writer who has composed novels to promote the Chinese communist revolution could reconcile Andersen's poetic tales with socialist ideology and has translated all Andersen's tales so carefully and with so much love. Søren Christian Egerod (1923-1995) was a professor of East Asian Languages at the University of Copenhagen. He established the East Asian Institution in 1960 and was a prestigious sinologist. Christoph Harbsmeier is also an established sinologist in Scandinavia. This explains why their comments on Ye's translations of Andersen's tales are valued so highly by Chinese scholars, as well as by Ye Junjian himself.

82 The fact that the versions of "The Ugly Duckling", " The Emperor's New Clothes", and "The little Match Girl" in Chinese text books for primary school students are either Ye Junjian's translations or adaptations of Ye's translations makes it very likely that his translations are the most widely-read in China.

translations by Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e to illustrate my first impressions of Ye Junjian's style of translation.

5.4.2.2 Comparison between the 1954 and 1958 translations

This first complete translation (1958) was an immediate success and went on to become a canonized translation. Compared with previous translations of selected tales of Andersen, Ye made some major alterations as well as corrections in this version. The following examples from his two translations of "Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkern" will help to illustrate my observation:

...... 这只鹅从盘子里跳下来了，它的**胸前**插着刀子和叉，在地上蹒跚地走着，一直走向这个小姑娘。(Ye, 1954, Vol. 5, p.40, emphasis added)
Back Translation: ... the goose hopped down from the dish, with a knife and fork in **breast**, it waddled along to the little girl.

…the goose hopped down from the dish, and waddled along the floor, with a knife and fork in its **breast**, to the little girl. (The Craigies,1914, emphasis added)

……这只鹅从盘子里跳出来了，**背上**插着刀叉，蹒跚地在地上走着，一直向这个穷苦的小姑娘面前走来。(Ye, 1958, Vol.5, p.38-39, emphasis added)
Gloss: … the goose hopped down from the dish, with a knife and fork in the back, it waddled along to the poor little girl.

...Gassen sprang fra Fadet, vraltede hen af Gulvet med Gaffel og Kniv i **Ryggen**; lige hen til den fattige Pige kom den. (Andersen, emphasis added)
Gloss: ... the goose hopped down from the dish, waddled across the floor with fork and knife in its **back**; to the poor girl it came.

The differences between the two Chinese translations in the first example are actually brought about by the different source texts they were rendered from. The 1954 version is close to the Craigies' translation, its English mediating text, while the 1958 is close to the Danish text. Hence, one can also confirm that, as Ye claimed, the 1958 version is very likely a totally new translation in that it has been rendered from a totally different source text. There are more instances in other tales like《老头子做事

总不会错》(What the Old Man Does is Never Wrong)[83], 《甲虫》(The Beetle), etc., that prove this point.

The 1958 version is also different from the 1954 version in that Ye added some translator's notes to the 1958 version and at the same time deleted some that existed in the 1954 version. Most of the notes in the 1954 version are explanations of specific cultural and religious terms that appear in the source text. Unlike the ones that have been added to the 1958 translation, barely any note concerning the writing style of Andersen has been added to the 1954 translation. For example, in "雪人" (The Snow Man), in both the 1954 and 1958 version Ye translated 'væk' into '完了'(pinyin: wanle), meaning 'finished' and could imitate the sound of the bark of a dog, like '汪' (pinyin: wang), the onomatopoeia in Chinese. This choice in translation makes evident Ye's effort to translate the wordplay used by Andersen.[84] There is no note to this pun in the 1954 version while in the 1958 version Ye adds a note to it. Ye explains in this note that the word 'væk' in the original text is used as a pun which means 'finished' and at the same time used as a onomatopoeia imitating the bark of a dog (Ye, 1958). Clearly, Ye took a very serious approach towards this version and intended to help the readers to taste some of the true 'flavour' of Andersen and appreciate his style of writing through his notes.

On the other hand, some of the notes that existed in the 1954 version but have been deleted in the 1958 version seem to be those concerned with religious issues. In 《美神》 (The Goddess of Beauty) in the 1954 version there are 14 notes, three of which are explanations of Christian teachings and legends in the tale; the rest are about famous names and places in western culture and history as well as figures and stories from ancient Greek and Roman Mythology. This tale is re-titled as 《素琪》 (The Psyche) in the 1958 version and includes 13 notes. Ye Junjian has added one note about Campagna di Roma, a lowland plain surrounding the city of Rome in central Italy, shortened one note introducing how Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden, and deleted two notes concerning Christian ritual and the Old Testament. The self-censorship conducted in the tightened political environment around 1958 might

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83 In the 1954 translation the title is "老头子做的事儿总是对的" (What the Old Man Does is Always Right), which is actually a closer translation to the original title "Hvad Fatter gjør, det er altid det Rigtige". However, if one compares the texts of the 1954 translation, the 1958 translation, the English translation and the Danish text one finds that the 1954 translation is still apparently influenced by the Craigies' English version.

84 Scholars like Johan de Mylius and Fritse Jacobsen have discussed amply the wordplay and puns in Andersen's writings. Please refer to "H. C. Andersens ordspil: i original og engelsk oversættelse" by Fritse Jacobsen and "Ordspil i H. C. Andersens eventyr" by de Mylius for further details.

have caused the deletion of these notes. However, there is no paratext to confirm my deduction.

Some of the titles of tales have been changed in the 1958 translation too. Therefore, "Lille Claus og store Claus" has been translated as "两个同名字的邻居" (Two Neighbours with the Same Name) in the 1954 version but as "小克劳斯和大克劳斯" (Little Claus and Big Claus) in the 1958 version; "Prindsessen paa Ærten" has been translated as "公主的皮肤" (The Princess' Skin) in 1954 but as "豌豆上的公主" (The Princess on the Pea) in 1958; "Tommelise" has been translated as "玛娅" (Maia) in 1954 but as "拇指姑娘" (The Thumb Girl) in 1958; "De Vilde Svaner" has been translated as "没有家的天鹅" (The Homeless Swans) in 1954 but as "野天鹅" (The Wild Swans) in the 1958 translation. According to my analysis, more than twenty titles in the 1954 translation have been changed in the 1958 version; most of them have been altered to accord with the Danish titles.

What is more, the linguistic style in the 1958 translation is closer to Andersen's original text in the sense that Ye uses more short and colloquial sentences in this version. Comparing the following two excerpts from 《两个同名字的邻居》 (Two Neighbours with the Same Name, 1954) and 《大克劳斯和小克劳斯》 (Great Claus and Little Claus, 1958) , we can see the difference quite explicitly:

> "好吧，"最后小克劳斯说。"今晚你让我在这儿过夜，你对我是太好了。我同意你的要求吧。你可以以一斗钱的代价把这个魔术师买去，不过我要求这一斗的钱必须得装的满满的。"
> "那不成问题，"农夫回答说。"可是你得把那儿的一个箱子为我拿走。我一点钟也不愿意把它保存在我的家里。也许他还待在里面呢——谁也不知道。" (Ye, 1954, Vol. 2, p.25)

Back translation: "All right," little Claus finally said. "You allowed me to stay overnight here, you treated me very kindly. I'll agree with your request. You can buy this magician with one Chinese peck[85] of money, but I want this peck to be full to the brim with money."

"No problem," the peasant answered. "But you have to take that chest away for me. I don't want to keep it in my house for one hour. Maybe he is still in it — no one knows."

> "好吧，"最后小克劳斯说。"今晚你让我在这儿过夜，实在对我太好了。就这样办吧。你拿一斗钱来，可以把这个魔法师买去，不过我要满满的一斗钱。"
> "那不成问题，"农夫说。"可是你得把那儿的一个箱子带走。我一分钟也不愿意把它留在我的家里。谁也不知道，他是不是还待在里面。"
> (Ye, 1958, Vol. 1 p.23)

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85 A Chinese peck is a traditional Chinese unit of measure for grain or for liquid.

Gloss: "All right," little Claus finally said. "You allowed me to stay overnight here, you treated me very kindly. Let's do it this way. Give me one Chinese peck of money, you can have this magician, but I want a heaped peck of money."

"No problem," the peasant said. "But you have to take that chest away. I don't want it in my house for one minute. No one knows if he is still in there."

»Ja,« sagde da lille Claus tilsidst, »da Du har været saa god at give mig Huusly i Nat, saa kan det være det samme, Du skal faae Troldmanden for en Skjeppe Penge, men jeg vil have Skjeppen topfuld.«

»Det skal Du faae,« sagde Bonden, »men Kisten derhenne maa Du tage med Dig, jeg vil ikke have den en Time i Huset, man kan ikke vide, om han sidder deri endnu.« (Andersen)

Gloss: "All right," said little Claus finally, "since you've been so kind and given me accommodation tonight, so it can be the same (I'll do something for you in return), you shall get the magician for a bushel of money, but I want a bushel full to the top."

"You shall get it," said the peasant, "but you must take the chest over there with you, I do not want it for one hour in the house, you don't know if he's still there."

One may not be able to tell from the English gloss and back translation of the two Chinese translations that the 1958 version is more colloquial than the 1954 version. However, the Chinese reader will be able to tell the change in the 1958 version through sentences like "就这样办吧。你拿一斗钱来，可以把这个魔法师买去，不过我要满满的一斗钱", which is closer to spoken Chinese than "我同意你的要求吧。你可以以一斗钱的代价把这个魔术师买去，不过我要求这一斗的钱必须得装的满满的". Moreover, "可是你得把那儿的一个箱子带走" in the 1958 version also reads more like everyday Chinese than "可是你得把那儿的一个箱子为我拿走". Besides, from the examples above it is also evident that the average length of the sentences in the 1958 version is also shorter than that in the 1954 version. The short sentences also make the 1958 version sounds more colloquial and suitable for reading aloud.

In addition, the textual comparison also reveals that although a direct translation, Ye probably also referred to the Craigies' English version when he made his direct translation. An example will be offered in Appendix 5 to illustrate my point.

5.4.2.3 Comparison between Ye Junjian's 1958 translation and translations by Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e

By comparing his work with Shi Qin'e's translation, one can see that Ye Junjian's translation is often more concise, which is very much like Andersen's style, while Shi Qin'e tends to amplify her translation with explanatory words or phrases or even clauses. There is an example in the two Chinese translations of "Ole Lukøie":

......朝孩子们的眼皮子里喷一点甜牛奶，*那么细的奶水叫人一点都不觉得*，可是喷了一点点就叫人眼皮子*重重地*抬不起来，*迷迷糊糊地*睁不开眼睛，这样也就看不见他了。(Shi, 2005, Vol. 1, p.208, italics added)
Gloss: ...sprays a little sweet milk into the eyelids of the children, *which is so fine that one can hardly feel it*, but a light spray would make one's eyelids *too heavy to be* lifted up and make one *too dizzy to* open one's eyes, therefore they do not see him.

......他在孩子的眼睛里喷了一点甜蜜的牛奶——只是一点儿，一丁点儿，但已足够使他们张不开眼睛。这样他们就看不见他了。(Ye, 1958, Vol. 3, p.67)
Gloss: ...he sprayed little sweet milk into the children's eyes— just a little, little bit, but enough that they could not keep their eyes open. Therefore they would not see him.

...saa sprøiter han Børnene sød Mælk ind i Øinene, saa fiint, saa fiint, men dog altid nok til at de ikke kunne holde Øinene aabne, og derfor ikke see ham; (Andersen)
Gloss: so he sprays sweet milk into the children's eyes, so fine, so fine, but it's always enough that they cannot keep their eyes open, and therefore do not see him.

Shi Qin'e added some phrases (in italics) to translate explanatorily while Ye Junjian's translation is quite close to the content and length of the Danish text. There are many such examples of amplification or even over-expression in Shi Qin'e's translations but they are rare in Ye's translations.

Let us now take a look at excerpts from two translations of the "Sneemanden": one is from Lin Hua and the other is from Ye Junjian. The comparison will give us additional insight into Ye Juanjian's style of translation:

天气真的变了。天亮的时候，一层浓厚的雾盖满了这整个的地方。到了早晨，就有一阵风吹来——一阵冰冷的风。寒霜紧紧地盖着一切；但是太阳一升起，那是一幅多么美丽的景象啊！树木和灌木丛盖上一

层白霜，看起来象一座完整的白珊瑚林。所有的枝子上似乎开满了亮晶晶的白花。**许多细嫩的小枝，在夏天全被叶簇盖得看不见，现在都露出来了——每一根都现出来了。这象一幅刺绣，白得放亮，每一根小枝似乎在放射出一种雪白晶莹的光芒。**赤杨在风中摇动，精神饱满，象夏天的树儿一样。这是分外的美丽。**太阳一出来，处处是一片闪光，好象一切都撒上了钻石的粉末似的；而雪铺的地上简直象盖满了大颗的钻石！一个人几乎可以幻想地上点着无数比白雪还要白的小亮。**(Ye, 1958, Vol. 11, p.63, emphases added)

Gloss: The weather really changed. At dawn, a thick fog covered the whole place. When the morning came, the wind started to blow — the cold wind. The frost covered everything tightly; but when the sun rose up, what beautiful scenery! The branches and bushes were covered with a layer of rime, looking like a whole white coral forest. All branches seemed to be blossoming with shining white flowers. **Many twigs, which were concealed by the leaves in the summer, now came out — every one of them came out. It was shining white, like an embroidery.** It seemed that every twig was radiating a crystal and white light. The birch was waving in the wind, vigorously, like the trees in the summer. This was extraordinarily beautiful. **When the sun came out, it was shining everywhere, as if everything was powdered with diamond dust; and the snow carpeted earth seemed to be covered by big diamonds! A man could almost imagine that there burned countless little tiny lights, which were even whiter than the white snow.**

天气真的变了。一层雾，又厚又浓，在清晨的时候罩住了这个地区。天亮的时候，开始起风了，风是冰冷的，霜把一切都严密的盖住。可是当太阳升起的时候，那是什么样的景色啊！所有的树上、矮丛上都是浓霜。整个世界就像是一大片白珊瑚林，就好像所有的树枝上都挂满了闪闪发光的白花。**夏天，被密麻的叶子挡住而叫人看不见的那许多又细又小的嫩枝，现在都露出来了，像一块挑花白布，白的闪亮，就好像从每根树枝里都流出了光。**细枝下垂的白桦树在风中摇曳，它生气勃勃，就像夏天的树木似的，这真是无比美丽的胜景！**太阳美美地照射着的时候，啊，大地上万物都在闪闪发光。让你觉得处处都铺上了一层钻石细尘，整个白雪皑皑的大地上面又嵌满了颗颗巨大的钻石。或许可以说，大地上燃着无数只小烛，白得胜过了那白色的雪。**
（Lin, 1995, Vol. 3, p.274-275, emphases added)

Gloss: The weather really changed. A layer of fog, thick and intense, covered this district at dawn. When the morning came, the wind started to blow, the wind was freezing cold, the frost covered everything. But when

the sun rose up, how beautiful it was! All trees and bushes were covered by the thick frost. The whole world seemed like a large piece of white coral forest, as if all the branches were blooming with shining white flowers. **In the summer, those twigs which were concealed by the thick leaves now all emerged, like a piece of white lace, which was white shining, as if there was light flowing from every twig**. The birch with pendulous branches was waving in the wind. It was as vigorous as the trees in the summer. This was incomparably beautiful scenery! **When the sun was beautifully shining, ah, everything in the world was shining. It made you think that everything was powdered with a layer of diamond dust. The whole snow-covered earth was embedded with giant diamonds. One might also say that there were thousands of tiny candles lighted on the earth, even whiter than the white snow.**

Der kom virkelig Forandring i Veiret. En Taage, saa tyk og klam, lagde sig i Morgenstunden hen over hele Egnen; i Dagningen luftede det; Vinden var saa isnende, Frosten tog ordenlig Tag, men hvor det var et Syn at see, da Solen stod op. Alle Træer og Buske stode med Riimfrost; det var som en heel Skov af hvide Koraller, det var som om alle Grene vare overdængede af strålehvide Blomster. **De uendelig mange og fine Forgreninger, dem man om Sommeren ikke kan se for de mange Blade, kom nu frem hver evige een; det var en Knipling og saa skinnende hvid, som strømmede der en hvid Glands ud fra hver Green.** Hængebirken bevægede sig i Vinden, der var Liv i den, som i Træerne ved Sommertid; det var en mageløs Deilighed! **og da Solen saa skinnede, nei, hvor funklede det Hele, som om det var overpuddret med Diamantstøv og hen over Jordens Sneelag glimrede de store Diamanter, eller man kunde ogsaa troe, at der brændte utallige smaa bitte Lys, endnu hvidere end den hvide Snee.** (Andersen, emphases added)

Gloss: There was really a change in the weather. A mist, so thick and clammy, lay down in the early morning over the whole district. At dawn the wind started to blow. The wind was so icy that the frost covered everything. But what a sight to see when the sun rose. All trees and bushes stood out with hoarfrost. It was like a whole forest of white coral, as if all branches were studded with radiant white flowers. **The many delicate twigs that people cannot see in the summer because of the many leaves, now all come out. There was a lacy and shiny white that flowed from each branch.** The birch was waving in the wind, like there was life in it, as the trees in the summer. There was a matchless loveliness! **And when the sun was shining. Ah! How everything was sparkling, as if it were powdered with diamond dust, and over the layer of snow on the earth glittered**

the large diamonds. Or you could also believe that there burned countless little tiny lights, which were even whiter than the white snow.

We can see after comparing the two Chinese translations with the two emphasised parts in the original text that when translating into Chinese, the translator cannot avoid rearranging the sequence and structure of the sentences in the original text. But Ye's translation follows the sentence structures in the ST more closely than Lin's translation, as Lin has rearranged the sequence of the clauses more frequently than Ye. This difference is apparent, for example, in the different sentence structures in the first emphasised part in Ye and Lin's translations, where Ye has attempted to keep the sentence structure of the original text in his translation while Lin has rearranged the sentence structure.

Overall, Ye has transferred the message in the original text into his translation with minimum alteration while Lin sometimes deviates from the original text. For instance, in the second emphasised part in Lin and Ye's texts, Lin translates "hen over Jordens Sneelag glimrede de store Diamanter" into "整个白雪皑皑的大地上面又嵌满了颗颗巨大的钻石" which literally means "huge diamonds are embedded into the snow that is covering the field". But in the original text "big diamonds" are "on the snow" but not embedded into the snow. Thus Ye's translation "而雪铺的地上简直象盖满了大颗的钻石", which literally means "the snow floored field is simply like being fully covered with big diamonds" is closer to the message in the original text.

In addition, "地上点着无数比白雪还要白的小亮" in Ye Junjian's translation is almost a literal translation from the Danish text while Lin Hua's translation "大地上燃着无数只小烛，白得胜过了那白色的雪" meaning "there are thousands of tiny candles lighted on the earth, even whiter than the white snow" deviates from the message in the original text. This might be the result of the translator's interpretation, or possibly the influence from R. P. Keigwin's English translation.

A Chinese can also easily tell from the two Chinese translations that as Ye Junjian stated, he has made every effort to compose his translation in a poetic and fluent style which would accord with Andersen's writing style. Lin's translation is also generally faithful but not as fluent and rhythmic as Ye's translation.

As I have explained above with reference to Ye's solution to the translation of the word "væk" in "Sneemanden", Ye has made a great effort to translate the wordplay and puns in Andersen's tales. However, Lin Hua and Shi Qin'e choose to translate this word into "滚" (pinyin: gun), which means "go away" in Chinese and has only rendered one of the double meanings contained in this pun in Andersen's tale. Besides, unlike Ye, both Lin and Shi haven't provided any note to explain the pun Andersen uses here. The careful wordplay and puns in Andersen's tales, which is recognised as one of the ingredients that constitute Andersen's unique style of

writing,[86] is sometimes reproduced better in Ye Junjian's translation. However, not all the puns in Andersen's tales in the Danish text can be transferred into Chinese properly and adequately; even if they have been translated successfully into English. There are puns that are lost in all of Ye Juanjian's three versions of translation. The following examples drawn from Ye's two versions of 《幸运的套鞋》 (The Galoshes of Fortune) will demonstrate the loss of puns.

> "(…) det er jo den **første** Bogtrykker, der har været i Danmark?"
> "Ja, det er vor **første** Bogtrykker!" sagde Manden. (Andersen, emphases added)
> Gloss: " (…) is it indeed the first printer we had in Denmark?"
>> "Yes, he is our first printer!" said the man.

> 'That is a very old name: was not that the name of about the **first** printer who appeared in Denmark ?'
> 'Why, he is our **first** printer,' replied the man. (The Craigies, 1914, p.101, emphases added)

> "(……) 这不是在丹麦所出现的**第一个**印刷所的名字吗？"
> "唔，彼为吾国印刷业之**始祖**。"这人回答说。(Ye, 1954, Vol. 3, p.17, emphases added)
> Back translation:
>> "Wasn't it the name of the **first** printer appeared in Denmark?
>> "Yes, he is the **first** printer in our country." the man answered.

> "(……) 这不也是丹麦**第一个**印刷所的名字吗？"
> "是的，他是我国印刷业的**始祖**。"这人回答说。(Ye, 1958, Vol. 2, p.20, emphases added)
> Gloss: "Wasn't it also the name of the earliest printer in Denmark?
>> "Yes, he is the first printer in our country." the man answered.

In Andersen's time, "den første" meant both "the earliest" and "the best" in Danish. In the original tale, Justistraaden thinks Godfred von Ghemen was the first printer in Denmark and also the best one. "the first" in the Craigies' translation translates the pun "den første" adequately and successfully because it means both "the earliest" and "the best" in English. However, this pun has been lost in all of Ye's translations because "第一个" only means "the earliest" in Chinese and there is no Chinese word that is equivalent to "den første" or "the first" and captures both meanings mentioned above. Hence, because of the semantic differences between the

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86 Please refer to John de Mylius's essay "Ordspil i H. C. Andersens eventyr" published in 1993.

Danish and Chinese language, it is not always possible for the translator to transfer the puns in Andersen's text into the Chinese translation.

5.5 Conclusion

Relating the facts about the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales that have been stated above to the analyses of Chen Jingrong's translations and Ye Junjian's translations, we can see that in the 1950s the translation and interpretation of Andersen's tales was characterized by the following features:

First, influenced by new socio-political trends, the interpretation of Andersen and his tales was usually guided by proletarian aesthetics and viewed from the perspective of social realism. Andersen was thus moulded into an author of the proletariat, and his tales were interpreted as full of sympathy with the poor, and anger as well as satire towards the rich. The socio-political environment of this period required the majority of critics and translators, as part of the readership, to choose, consciously or unconsciously, to focus on and magnify some properties of Andersen's tales which accorded with the controlling ideology, while ignoring other properties that were in conflict with the socio-political norms. The translated image of Andersen was shaped jointly by the mainstream interpretations in this particular era as well as by selected facts about himself and his tales. In brief, the socio-political influences manipulated the interpretations of Andersen and his tales, and further manipulated Andersen's image in China.

Second, as one might expect, translation practices in this particular environment were also influenced by ideological factors. Ye Junjian's translations are examples that manifest the traces of this influence in the sense that the translator becomes visible through paratexts like prefaces, postscripts, notes, as well as through comments after the translated texts, trying to manipulate his readers by offering "the standard" interpretation of Andersen's tales. In contrast to textual manipulation, Ye's approach to manipulation mostly avoids altering the translated texts themselves, but nevertheless casts significant influence on the readership.

Third, side by side with the translations that endorse the mainstream ideology, there are always non-mainstream translators with translations that do not identify with the mainstream ideology. Chen Jingrong and her translations are of this type. Her interpretation of Andersen's tales concentrated more on their intrinsic qualities and on perspectives that relate more closely to the nature of children's literature, scarcely influenced by the political environment. Her translations, therefore, are relatively uncontaminated by the political norms of the time.

Fourth, Ye's translation,《卖火柴的小女孩》(The Little Match-selling Girl), was for the first time chosen to feature in a Chinese text book for primary school pupils, which signified that it was accepted by the new government, an indication of the

institutionalization and canonization of Andersen's tales in socialist China. Since then, at least three of Ye's translations[87] of Andersen's tales have been selected for Chinese text books for primary and middle school students. This form of recognition derived both from the needs of the newly established education system after the 1949, and from Andersen's established reputation in China as a talented writer of fairy tales.

At the same time, Andersen's proletarian parentage also certified his legitimacy. As the ratio of primary school attendance soared after the establishment of the socialist government, the direct result of Andersen's presence in a widely-used textbook was a growing recognition of his tales among young readers.[88] Another result was that with the promotion of the education system, Andersen's tales together with Ye Junjian's translations achieved canonized status in the Chinese literary system.

Fifth, as faithfulness was still considered the supreme criterion of translation, the Chinese translations of the 1950s remained quite close to their STs in the sense that there were few content variations in the Chinese translations. Besides, the Chinese translators tried their best to reproduce the linguistic and rhetorical features in the STs, although there are losses and oversights in the Chinese translations caused both by the differences between the SL and TT and by occasional mistranslations.

Sixth, despite the appearance of regular interpretations and translations of Andersen's tales, not much criticism was dedicated to the new translations of Andersen's tales in this period. There was hardly even any review of the first direct, complete translation rendered by Ye Junjian when it came out in 1958. Mary Ann Farquhar's observation probably explains the dearth of criticism. She states that from around 1957 the debate within children's literature tended towards a one-sided attack on fairy tales as a form. (1999, p.280)

Fairytale, a genre which is full of imaginary fantasy and closely related to western culture, came under the fiercest attack from the latter half of the 1950s, when ideological controls on literary creation became sterner. As Farquhar notes,

"because the fairytale used symbolic settings, (…), it had become a politically subversive tool in the hands of great writers, (…) In a regime of

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87 These translations are 〈卖火柴的女孩〉 (The Match-selling Girl) selected in the Chinese text book for students in the second term in grade 6, 〈丑小鸭〉 (The Ugly Duckling), which is an adaptive version based on Ye junjian's translation and selected in the Chinese text book for students in the second term in grade 2, and 〈皇帝的新装〉 (The Emperor's New Clothes) selected in the Chinese text book for students in the first term in grade 7.

88 According to 《1999 年中国统计年鉴》(Chinese Statistics Almanac, 1999), in 1952 the enrolment rate of primary-school-age children was 49.2%. This ratio soared up to 84.7% in 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution started. (http://www.stats.gov.cn/yearbook/indexC.htm, last consulted Jan. 14, 2014)

revolutionary romanticism, fairytales were therefore proscribed…" (1999, pp.281-282).

Although Andersen was interpreted as a writer from a proletarian family, full of sympathy with the poor, which legitimised his tales in China from 1949, his fairy tales were finally cast out of the Chinese children's literary canon in the 1960s when attacks on fairy tales and western literature reached a peak. It was not until the end of the Cultural Revolution that translations of his tales began to appear on the Chinese book market once more.

Chapter Six
Phase four: Andersen's tales remain canonized (1978-2005)

6.1 Political reform and its influence on translation

In 1978, two years after the death of Mao Zedong, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was held. This conference was the prelude to overall political and economic reform in China. Subsequently the central government launched a series of political reforms and decided to adopt an opening-up policy which gradually led China's return from isolation to the international world. At the same time, the principle of guiding every aspect of social and economic life through political norms, namely Mao Zedong's thoughts, was abandoned. With the publication of 《实践是检验一切真理的标准》(Practice is the criterion of Every Truth) in 1978, an extensive debate on "the criteria of truth" started and initiated the first intellectual event after the Cultural Revolution. Through this debate, Deng Xiaoping, the new leader of the Chinese government, successfully liberated the country from the over-intense political atmosphere and from the rigid application of Mao Zedong's thoughts to policy making.

The role of literature and art was thus redefined. Just as Deng stated in 1980, "(…) and we will drop the slogan that literature and art are subordinate to politics, because it is too easily used as a theoretical pretext for arbitrary intervention in literary and art work" (1984, p. 240). Although Deng stressed that "this does not mean that they (literature and art) can be divorced from politics" (ibid.), literature and art were no longer called upon to serve immediate political goals. As a result, the ideological control of intellectuals was gradually relaxed and western theories and literature could once more be read and discussed in China. Artistic and literary considerations rather than ideological and political standards were restored as the criteria for good literature.

Consequently, the loosening of censorship on literature and art brought a revival of translation and introduction of western theories and literature. At the same time, Chinese readers' long-suppressed hunger for ideas and information from the outside also stimulated the translation and publication of foreign works, especially those from western capitalist countries. After the intellectually barren years of the Cultural Revolution, when all forms of literary and art work were scrutinised under a political microscope and risked being labelled as reactionary and banned, there was a "vacuum" (Even-Zohar, 1978, pp.47-51) in the Chinese literary system. Translated literature hence moved from the periphery to the central position in the literary system. As a result, "the third wave of translation from the outside world"[89] (Qi, 2012, p.135) took place in China.[90] Lin Kenan comments that, "it is the most

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89 The quotation is originally in English.

comprehensive and by far the least restricted translation upsurge. (…) Class struggle is no longer the principal criterion by which literary work is categorized, nor is it the sole basis for judging what can and cannot be translated"[91] (2002, p.168-169).

According to Qi Shouhua's observation, the first batch of literary works and translations published in China after the Cultural Revolution were mostly reprints of classics that had been banned (2012, p.138). Andersen's tales are not among the reprinted translations she mentions in her book. However, the fact that 《安徒生童话全集》 (The Complete Andersen's Fairy Tales) was published by Shanghai Translation Publishing House in 1978 confirms that Andersen's tales were also among the classics that were reprinted and republished shortly after the end of the Cultural Revolution. This 1978 version was actually a reprint of a 16-volume direct translation by Ye Junjian first published in 1958 by Shanghai New Literature and Art Press, which was later integrated into Shanghai Translation Publishing House.

The number of publishing houses concentrating on the publication of foreign literature soared too. According to Meng and Li's statistics, by the end of the 1980s the total number of publishing houses specialising in foreign literature exceeded forty. These publishing houses published more than 7,000 translated literary works in the 1980s, in comparison with the 5,600 translated literary works that were published in the three decades from 1949 to 1979 mounts (2005, p.403). However, in tandem with political reform, economic reforms were also affecting every aspect of Chinese society from the mid-1980s. As a result, former state-owned publishing houses were gradually becoming financially independent companies. The competition between publishing houses became increasingly fierce. Economic factors became an important consideration in the publishing industry. The market potential of a foreign literary work became crucial for deciding whether it should be translated and published. Hence, the canons that already enjoyed popularity in China and the modernist works that were full of exotic glamour to the Chinese readers were often very attractive to publishing houses. It was not infrequent that several publishing houses published translations of the same foreign literary work at the same time. Andersen's tales were an example of such popular translated works. According to Shen Feng's article 《安徒生如何来到中国》 (How Andersen came to China), by 2004 29 publishing houses had published 159 versions of translations of Andersen's tales. 6.86 million copies of these translations had been printed. Most of these were published after 1978.

The interpretations of Andersen's tales became diverse and de-politicised too. As shown in the literature review in Chapter Two and by the collections of articles edited by Wang Quangen(2005), the non-political psychological, philosophical, adult interpretations appeared since the mid 1980s. Chinese critics' interests switched to the elements like the poetry,

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90 Many scholars agree that the period starting from around 1977 saw another upsurge of translation in China. Lin Huangtian (1995) also states that from 1949 to 1977, the annual number of translated titles published was around 200, whereas in 1988 this number soared to over 1,000.

91 The quotation is originally in English.

humour, and humanity involved in Andersen's tales. For instance, Pan Yihe (2001) tried to relate Andersen' tales to Søren Kierkegaard's philosophy. According to him, the theme of "The Princess on the Pea" is no longer a satire on the shallow and vain ruling class but a philosophical reflection about "true". Moreover, translators like Lin Hua also had new understandings of Andersen's tales. These interpretations have bestowed Andersen's tales with richer connotations and have in some sense stimulated more translations and interpretations.

6.2 Lin Hua (1927-2005) - Another complete direct translation

6.2.1 His life and career- a diplomat and an Andersen translator

Lin Hua, whose original name was Chen Dezhong, was born in 1927 into an ordinary family. His father was an employee in the Salt Affairs Bureau in Kunming, Yunnan province. According to his wife Yuan Qingxia, Lin Hua started to learn English when he was 8 years old and started to watch English movies when he was at high school (Lin, 2009, 5). He was enrolled in the Department of Foreign Languages of Tsinghua University in 1946. He majored in English language and literature. Two years later he became a member of WFDY (World Federation of Democratic Youth), which was an underground society led by the Communist Party of China before 1949.

After the establishment of the PRC, Lin Hua was assigned to work in the Department of English Studies, Beijing Foreign Studies University. In 1953, he and his wife were reassigned to the Chinese Embassy in Denmark. He subsequently worked in Denmark for nearly 13 years until 1968. (Lin was called back to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for about three years during this period.) At this time, there were very few Chinese diplomats who could speak "minor" languages like Greek, Icelandic, Danish, etc. Taking the view that it was useful for diplomats to know the local language in order to perform their diplomatic work effectively, the Chinese government encouraged its diplomats to learn the language of the country in which they were stationed. As an energetic young diplomat, Lin Hua applied himself to learning Danish. At first, he went to "aftenskole" (night school) to learn Danish; later he began to attend the "sprogskole" (language school) run by Copenhagen University to improve his command of the language. After several years of study, he had a very good command of Danish and was appointed as interpreter to the state leaders when they visited Denmark. Because of his excellent performance in Denmark and his mastery of Danish, he was sent to establish the Chinese Embassy in Iceland in 1971. He worked as a professional diplomat until 1988.

His career as a translator of Danish as well as Icelandic literature started after he retired. He had a deep feeling and great passion for the literature of Denmark and Iceland because he had spent his prime in these two countries. His knowledge of Danish language and culture enabled him to appreciate Danish literature. He planned to translate Andersen's works

immediately after his retirement. However, no publishing house showed any interest in retranslating Andersen's tales [92] or in translating other Danish literature, including Andersen's other works, until 1991, when Lijiang Publishing House and Juvenile and Children's Publishing House respectively invited him to translate Johannes V. Jensen's *Den Lange Rejse* and Andersen's tales. When《安徒生童话故事全集（新译本）》(The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen (New Translations)) was published in 1995, Lin became the second translator in the history of Chinese translation of Andersen's tales to produce a complete version of Andersen's tales directly from the original Danish texts.

As well as Andersen's tales, Lin's other translations include 《安徒生文集》(2005, [Selected Works of Andersen]), 《漫长的旅行》(2001, [The Long Journey]) translated from the first two volumes of Johannes V. Jensen's *Den Lange Rejse,* 《七篇奇幻的故事》(2000, [Seven Gothic Tales]),《冬天的故事》(2000, [Winter's Tales]) translated from Karen Blixen's works, and《埃伊尔萨迦》（1999, [Njáls Saga]）translated from one of the sagas of Icelanders. As a mark of appreciation for his contribution to the promotion of Danish literature in China, Lin was awarded the Dannebrogordenen in 1997 and the Rungstedlund-prisen in 2002.

6.2.2 His translations of Andersen's works – facts and first impressions

6.2.2.1 Lin's understanding of Andersen and his tales

Lin is different from the previous translators of Andersen's tales in terms of his understanding of Andersen and his literary merits. Unlike the preceding translators who often consider Andersen more or less as a fairy tale writer and promote Andersen's tales mainly from that perspective, Lin is more aware of Andersen's other literary identities, as a first-rank poet, an innovative novelist, etc. This is because Lin has a comprehensive knowledge of Andersen's life and literary career. He is probably the only Chinese translator who has read through and studied carefully Andersen's poems, novels, dairies and autobiographies. Reading his articles on Andersen's life and work, one can find that Lin offers many details concerning Andersen's literary career and has a deeper understanding of the relationship between Andersen's life and his literary creation than many previous Andersen scholars and translators in China.[93] For example, in an unfinished article "安徒生各篇童话产生的经过" (How did Andersen's Tales Come into Being), Lin traces the course of creation of several of Andersen's tales very carefully from paratexts like Andersen's dairies and the prefaces in his

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92 The canonized status enjoyed by Ye Junjian's translations might be a reason for this lack of interest in retranslating Andersen's tales. Many publishing houses at the time were more interested in reprinting, legally or clandestinely, Ye's translations.

93 His opinions on Andersen and his literary creation are embedded in prefaces, postscripts of his translations and some articles. Most of them have been collected in《林桦文存》(The Collected Works of Lin Hua) published in 2009.

collections of works, as well as his correspondence with his friends. Therefore, it is obvious that Lin had studied Andersen meticulously before he got down to the translation work.

In the preface of《安徒生文集》(The Selected Works of Andersen), Lin states his understanding of Andersen's artistic achievements. According to him, Andersen is "the first author who created novels on modern subjects and concerning realistic issues" (2005, p.2). Moreover, he is also "a first rank travelogue writer" who adopts travelogue as a medium to express his spiritual world, his values and his beliefs. Besides, Lin also mentions Andersen's achievements as a poet and novelist. On top of that, Lin points out that "what best proves Andersen's status as a classic writer, are the fairy tales he composed and the popularity of his fairy tales among readers around the world" (2005, pp. 30-43). Through this preface, one can feel Lin's intention of drawing readers' attention to the fact that Andersen is not only a famous fairy tale writer but also a talented poet, novelist, travelogue writer, and a paper-cutting artist. Actually, Lin Hua's view on Andersen's multiple identities was manifested by his determination to translate《安徒生文集》(The Selected Works of Andersen) before the bicentenary of Andersen's birth. As well as his translations of Andersen's tales, three and a half volumes of this selection have been dedicated to Andersen's autobiography, poems, and novels. As Lin puts it, "(I) wish to do something to help us realize that Andersen is not only 'a writer of children's literature' but also a 'world-class writer' and to represent Andersen 'comprehensively as a human'" (Lin, 2005, p. 2).

Lin Hua's understanding of Andersen's tales is mainly expressed in the prefaces of 《安徒生童话故事全集（新译本）》(The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen (New Translations)) and 《安徒生文集》(The Selected Works of Andersen), which can be summarized into seven points. First, Lin points out that the vivid imagination and fantasies embedded in Andersen's tales provide one of the reasons why his tales are so welcomed across time and all over the world. In Andersen's tales, according to Lin Hua, everyday objects are bestowed with life. They can talk like human beings and speak in everyday language that children can easily understand and will find interesting. Second, most of Andersen's tales, according to Lin, are composed in short, simple sentences that are accessible to average readers, adults as well as children. That makes Andersen's tales unique and avant-garde. Third, Andersen has integrated his own life experiences into his fairy tales. Anything that happened in real life could be transformed into a fairy tale. He has wrapped the experiences that he has taken from his adult world in a sugar coating of charming plots and sweet stories. Lin Hua believes it is this special strategy of writing that makes Andersen's tales attractive to both adults and children, both readers at home and abroad, and at the same time opens the possibility of multiple interpretations. Fourth, Lin Hua believes that Andersen is indeed a fairy tale poet. Many of Andersen's tales are actually poems at the same time. For example, "Bispen paa Børglum og hans Frænde" and "Vinden fortæller om Valdemar Daae og hans Døttre" are like epics, while "Ib og lille Christine" and "Pebersvendens Nathue" are like prose poems. Fifth, another literary merit that Lin Hua has found in Andersen's tales is humour. He quotes Andersen to illustrate that humour is the salt of Andersen's tales. Sixth,

Andersen's tales are quite "Danish", in that he has expressed his love for Denmark and represented Danish customs and culture in his tales. Seventh, from Andersen's tales, one can feel a great love of nature. In Andersen's tales, there are plenty of passages describing the beauty of nature. He is very good at describing picturesque scenery.

From Lin Hua's point of view, as a poet with romantic feelings and a man who had experienced the fickleness of the world, the tinge of romance is unified with realism in Andersen's tales. Moreover, Andersen was an author who lived in the transitional period from Romanticism to Realism; his tales were branded with this transition and at the same time became a driving force for this transition (Lin, 2005, pp. 34-42) & (Lin, 1995, pp.16-20).

6.2.2.2 His principles and strategies of translation

As an experienced translator, Lin Hua had his perception regarding the nature and principles of translation. Although he never wrote anything systematic on translation theories, we can still find his principles of translation in his correspondence with Ren Zhiqun, a translator of Andersen's poems and his interview with Yang Shaobo, a journalist from 《人民日报》 (The People's Daily)[94]. They can be classified into four principles:

First of all, as with most of the Chinese translators, Lin considers the famous criteria of *Xin*, *Da*, *Ya* (Faithfulness, Intelligibility, Elegance) coined by Yan Fu (1898) as the principles of translation. *Xin* is the primary principle for Lin. He explains his principle both when writing one of his letters to Ren Shiqun and when being interviewed by Yang Shaobo. In his view, every character and word in the ST must be carefully chosen by the author to serve his or her compilation. Therefore, whenever Lin translates, he will try his best to feel and understand the style of the ST.

At the same time, Lin is against rigid translation. In his opinion, while trying one's best to be faithful to the ST, a translator should at the same time have his own "soul" and try to make his or her translation accessible and elegant. For Lin Hua the criteria of "readability" and "elegance" relate more to a translator's personal style, which is the creative part of a translation. Lin Hua understands translation as an independent literary genre. Like other literary works, translation is also a kind of literary creation, which integrates the creativity of the author with that of the translator.

When it comes to the translation of Andersen's works and tales, Lin Hua summarises several strategies that he has adopted. First, Lin claims that since Andersen's style is concise and unsophisticated, he has chosen literal translation as the main strategy to make sure that his translations are faithful to their STs. Lin says he prefers accurate expression and succinct language, and will avoid adding any word that is not necessary. At the same time, he believes that it is unnecessary to translate all the conjunctions and functional words in Andersen's texts. This strategy, he believes will help reproduce the "poetic rhythm" in Andersen's texts and transfer the "texture" of Andersen's tales into his translations.

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94 The correspondence and interviews are collected in《林桦文存—童话王国的使者》(The Collected Works of Lin Hua- An Envoy of the Kingdom of Fairy Tales) published in 2009.

In addition, Lin Hua is aware that Danish is a language with its own characteristics. He explains that compared with Chinese, Danish contains a smaller vocabulary. However, this language is very expressive. A limited vocabulary with extensive means of expression makes Danish a language that is very difficult to master, yet very attractive. Lin points out that sometimes a combination of several simple words that even a child would know can generate very rich and complicated meanings (2009, p.341). Lin is quite right. According to the online version of *Den Store Danske Encyklopædi*, "the Danish vocabulary is in principle unlimited, as new words can be formed freely by compounding or deriving."[95] For example, the word 'Langtidsplanlægge' is a verb combined by four simple words 'lang'(long), 'tid'(time), 'plan' and 'lægge'(to prepare a plan), meaning 'to plan long-term'. However, it might be taken as a compound noun meaning "a plan which takes a long time" or understood as "to plan for a long time". Both will lead to misunderstanding of this word. According to Lin, this characteristic of Danish vocabulary is more often than not at the root of mistakes in translation (2009, p.341).

6.2.2.3 His translations of Andersen's tales – facts and specimen studies

When Lin Hua passed away in 2005, eleven versions of his translations of Andersen's works had been published in China. Ten of them are translations of Andersen's tales. These translations, selected translations or single-tale versions, are all based on 《安徒生童话故事全集（新译本）》 [The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen (New Translations)] published in 1995 by China Juvenile and Children's Books Publishing House[96]. According to the information offered on the copyright page, this version is translated from *H. C. Andersen. Samlede Eventyr og Historier* published by Hans Reitzels Forlag A / S and Flensteds Forlag in 1991, which includes 156 tales printed in Andersen's own time.

Reading Lin's translations, one can always sense that as he claimed, he tried his best to be "faithful" and "succinct". If we take《幸福的家庭》(The Happy family) for example, there are 2229 Chinese characters in Ye Junjian's translation, while in Lin's translation, there are 2022 Chinese characters. Lin's translation is therefore ten per cent shorter than Ye's. It is the same with Lin and Ye's translations of "Keiserens nye Klæder" (Lin's《皇帝的新装》[The Emperor's New Clothes] has 2741 Chinese characters while Ye's《皇帝的新装》 [The Emperor's New Clothes] has 2954 Chinese characters) and "Prindsessen paa Ærten" (Lin's 《豌豆上的公主》 [The Princess on the Pea] has 617 Chinese characters while Ye's 《豌豆上的公主》 [The Princess on the Pea] has 665 Chinese characters). These statistics demonstrate the concise quality of Lin's translation.

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95 The original text is "det danske sprogs ordforråd er i princippet ubegrænset, da nye ord frit kan dannes ved sammensætning og afledning Danish". (http:// denstoredanske.dk/ Sprog,_religion_og_filosofi/Sprog/ Dansk/Danmark_-_sprog, last consulted in November, 2013). The English quotation here is my translation.

96 There will be a table of contents of this translation offered in Appendix 6.

Moreover, Lin has also expended considerable effort in keeping his translations as close as possible to Andersen's texts. His "loyalty" to the STs is manifested in several ways.

First of all, Lin has tried his best to retain the syntax in Andersen's texts in his translations, although it is not always possible due to the huge linguistic and syntactical distance between Chinese and Danish. His translations have even been criticised, although without being named,[97] for containing 'translationese' caused by rigidly copying the syntax in the STs. There is an example from 《小人鱼》 (The Little Mermaid):

Nu ringede Klokkerne i den store hvide Bygning, **og** der kom mange unge Piger gjennem Haven. **Da** svømmede den lille Havfrue længer ud bag nogle høie Stene, som ragede op af Vandet, lagde Sø-Skum paa sit Haar **og** sit Bryst, **saa** at ingen kunde see hendes lille Ansigt, **og da** passede hun paa, hvem der kom til den stakkels Prinds. (Andersen, emphases added)

Gloss: Now bells rang in the large white building, and there were many young girls going through the garden. Then swam the little mermaid further out behind some tall stones that jutted out of the water, put sea foam on her hair and her breast, so that no one could see her little face, and then she watched who came to the poor prince.

白色的大建筑里响起了钟声，许多年轻姑娘穿过花园走了过来。**于是**小人鱼游到远一点的地方，藏在几块从海水里伸出的石块后面，把海水泡沫抹在自己的发上**和**胸前，**所以**没有人看见她那小小的脸，**然后**，她注意着是谁来到那可怜的王子跟前。（Lin, 1995, Vol. 1, p.109, emphases added）

Gloss: In the large white building the ring of the bell started, while many young girls were coming through the garden. So the little mermaid swam further out, hid behind several stones that jutted out of the water, put sea foam on her hair and breast, so no one saw her little face, and then, she watched who came to the poor prince.

钟声从那幢雄伟的白色建筑物中响起来了，有许多年轻女子穿过花园走出来。小人鱼远远地向海里游去，游到冒在海面上的几座大石头的后面。她用许多海水的泡沫盖住了她的头发**和**胸脯，**好使得**谁也看不见她小小的面孔。她在这儿凝望着，看有谁会来到这个可怜的王子身边。(Ye, 1958, Vol.1, p.128, emphasis added)

Gloss: The ring of bell started in that great white building, there were many young

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97 In one of her letters to me Shi Qin'e, another Andersen translator who produced 《安徒生童话全集》(The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen, 2005), a direct translation consisting of 157 tales, criticized some translators for adopting a rigid method of translation. The example of rigid translation that she used to illustrate her point is actually drawn from Lin Hua's translation 《卖火柴的小姑娘》 (The Little Match Girl). However, Shi did not mention Lin by name.

girls coming out through the garden. The little Mermaid swam further away into the sea, to several big stones that jutted out of the water. She used lots of sea foam to cover her hair and breast, **so that** no one saw her little face. She was here staring, to see who would come to this poor prince.

Comparing Lin's translation with Andersen's text, we find that Lin has retained the segmentation of sentences in the ST in his translation in spite of the Chinese syntactic norms. He could have put a full stop between "脸" and "然后", which would be more in accordance with Chinese grammar. In contrast, Ye Junjian has chosen to divide his translation into three full sentences. His choice is more appropriate to Chinese linguistic norms, which provide that a new sentence should be introduced when one wants to express a new sense.[98] Moreover, apart from the first two 'og's, Lin has rendered four conjunctions in the ST, while Ye Junjian has chosen to omit most of them in his translations. This choice also reveals Lin's intention to reproduce the syntax in his translation, which becomes more evident if we notice that Lin has claimed that it is not necessary to translate all the conjunctions and functional words in Andersen's tales.

Another example in Lin's translation of "Fyrtøiet" (The Tinder Box) also reflects his commitment to reproducing the syntax in the ST. In Andersen's text, the third time that the dog takes the princess to the soilder, "Hunden mærkede slet ikke, hvorledes Grynene dryssede lige henne fra Slottet og til Soldatens Vindue, hvor han løb op ad Muren med Prindsessen." (The dog did not know that the flour ran all the way from the castle and to the soldier's window, where he had run up to the wall with the princess.) Lin's translation of this part follows the syntax of Andersen's sentence so closely that he translates it into "狗一点儿没有注意到从宫殿到他顺着墙爬上去把公主驮到士兵跟前的那扇窗子的路上全都撒了荞麦粉。" (The dog didn't notice that the flour ran all the way from the palace to the window where he ran up to the wall with the princess to the soldier.) As a result of this effort, the modifiers of "窗子" ('vindue' in Andersen's text) in Lin's translation is "他顺着墙爬上去把公主驮到士兵跟前的", which is very long and heavy. According to the Chinese syntax, the attributive element in a sentence cannot contain a long list of modifiers. Therefore, Lin's translation would be odd to Chinese readers.

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98 Chinese syntax is quite different from Danish syntax. According to the explanation offered by ordnet.dk, "sætning" means "rækkefølge af ord som udgør en afgrænset helhed indeholdende subjekt og verbal, og som fremsætter et udsagn, et spørgsmål eller en opfordring"(sequence of words which form a distinct whole containing subject and verb and makes a statement, a question or an invitation), which stresses the formal completness of a sentence. A sentence is complete when the form is complete and a compound sentence could be constructed by several sentences with several sense groups. Nonetheless, a Chinese sentence is often organized as one sense group. It is complete and finished when the sense has been expressed thoroughly but not necessary when it includes both subject and verb. A new sentence will usually be introduced when one starts to express another sense.

Second, Lin's translations are close to the STs with respect to paragraphing. Unlike other Chinese translators like Ye Junjian, Ren Rongrong and Shi Qin'e, Lin rarely alters the paragraphing in Andersen's texts in his translations.

Third, in Lin's translations one rarely finds omissions from or additions to STs. Besides, there are some instances in Lin's translations which seem to suggest that he understands some of Andersen's texts more accurately than many other translators. In the first paragraph of "Nattergalen", Andersen writes that "ved de allerprægtigste var der bundet Sølvklokker", meaning "on the most beautiful (flowers) were bound silver bells". Lin has translated this segment into "在最最美的花枝上都系着银铃，" (on the most beautiful stem of flowers were bound silver bells), which is very close to the ST, whereas Ye has translated "de allerprægtigste" with "最名贵的" (the most valuable), This is obviously the result of influence from W. A. & J. K. Craigie's translation, where "de allerprægtigste" was translated into "the costliest". Another translator Shi Qin'e has translated this word into "最珍稀的" (the rarest), which is still not as close as Lin's choice. Therefore, Lin's translation of "de allerprægtigste" is the closest one to Andersen's text among these three direct translations. Another example of this kind can be found from the end of the first paragraphs of the three direct Chinese translations. The ST goes:

..., og i disse boede der en Nattergal, der sang saa velsignet, at selv den fattige Fisker, der havde saa meget andet at passe, laae stille og lyttede, naar han om Natten var ude at trække Fiskegarnet op og da hørte Nattergalen. (Andersen)
Gloss: ..., and in these (branches) lived a nightingale, who sang so blessedly that even the poor fisherman who had so much else to take care of, lay still and listened when he was out in the night to pull the fish net up and heard the nightingale.

If we compare the ST with the three direct Chinese translations:

在树丛中有一只夜莺，它唱得十分动听，连那位有许多事情要照料的贫苦渔夫夜间去收鱼网听见它歌唱的时候，也会一动不动地躺下倾听。(Lin, Vol.1, 1995, p.285)
Gloss: In the trees there was a nightingale, it sang so beautifully, even that poor fisherman who had so much to take care of would lie down still and listen when he went out in the night to pull his fishing net up and heard it sing.

树林里住着一只夜莺。它的歌唱得非常美妙，连一个忙碌的穷苦渔夫在夜间出去收网的时候，一听到这夜莺的歌唱，也不得不停下来欣赏一下。(Ye, Vol.3, 1958, p.123)
Gloss: In the woods lived a nightingale. It sang very beautifully, even a busy poor fisherman had to stop and listen when he went out in the night to pull his fishing net up and heard this nightingale sing.

在一棵大树的枝头栖息着一只夜莺，她婉转啼鸣，歌声悦耳动听，连忙碌不已的穷渔夫在夜间到湖上去收网的时候，也会忘掉干活儿，一动不动的站在那里倾听，……(Shi, 2005, Vol.1, p.239)

Gloss: On a branch of a big tree perched a nightingale, she was whistling and singing, the voice was sweet and beautiful, even the busy and bustling poor fisherman would forget his work, stand still and listen when he went to the lake in the night to pull up his fishing net.

We find that Lin's translation is again the closest to Andersen's text.

Another example is Lin's solution to the translation of a sentence repeated eight times in the fifth part of "Lykkens Kalosker" (The Galoshes of Fortune). In this tale the pet parrot Poppedreng cries "lad os nu være Mennesker!" (let's now be human beings!) eight times. In her article "Key terms in H. C. Andersen's fairytales and their translations into English", Malmkjær states that "if a translation does not retain the key terms whose patterning is largely responsible for establishing the core, it will not retain the core either: one possible interpretation, or reading, or understanding of the story will not be available to the reader" (1991, p. 204). These key terms, according to Malmkjær, are linguistic markers which appear repeatedly in Andersen's tales and will help significantly with the classification of characters, phenomena and items in the tales into two contrasting classes, namely genuine, desirable ones and artificial, undesirable ones (1991, pp. 204-205).

Working from Malmkjær's opinion, I believe that there are linguistic markers (terms, sentences or paragraphs) that appear repeatedly in a tale which help to signify the core, which is the theme, of the tale. Hence, the strategies taken to translate these key terms, sentences or paragraphs are vital for retaining the core of a tale in its translation. The sentence "lad os nu være Mennesker!" appears repeatedly in "Lykkens Kalosker" thus functions as the "key sentence" of the tale, which signifies the satire on the tame and artificial parrot Poppedreng. Let us take a look at the three direct Chinese translations from Lin Hua, Ye Junjian, and Shi Qin'e's translations, of this key sentence:

"让我们做个人吧！"(Lin, 1995, Vol.1, p.157-159)
Gloss: "let's be human!"

"让我们像个人吧！"(Ye, 1958, Vol. 2, p.53-55)
Gloss: "let's be like human!"

"让我们做人吧！"(Shi, 2005, Vol. 1, p.119-121)
Gloss: "let's be human!"

If we read through Andersen's text, we will agree that the repetition of this sentence enhances his ridiculing of "Poppedreng", who tries his best to speak human language and to

follow human norms so as to please his owner. Although the meaning of "være Mennesker" is vague, one can still deduce from the context that the parrot is desperate and determined to become a "real" human being. Therefore, Lin's translation has successfully transferred the key sentence which signifies Andersen's intention and kept the satire on "Poppedreng" to a similar extent, whereas Ye's translation would be weaker with the sense of satire. Ye has translated the parrot's cry into "be like human beings", which is not as determined as the parrot in Lin's translation. Shi has chosen a similar translation to Lin.

Although Lin usually follows Andersen's texts rather closely when he translates, this is not to say that he never make mistakes. Again in "Nattergalen", when the real nightingale tries to ask the God of Death to give back the things he took from the emperor, it asks in this way:

»Ja vil Du give mig den prægtige Guldsabel! ja vil Du give mig den rige Fane! vil Du give mig Keiserens Krone!« (Andersen)
Gloss: "Yes you will give me that magnificent gold sword! Yes you will give me that big pennon! You will give me the King's crown!"

Lin has translated this line thus:

"我要你把那把豪华的宝剑给我！是的，把那把大扇子给我！请你把王冠给我!" (Lin, 1995, Vol.1, p.294)
Gloss: "I ask you to give me that magnificent sword! Yes, give me that big fan! Please give me that crown!"

Lin has translated the nightingale's dialogue into three sentences with requesting mood which have similar effect with the imperative sentences used by Andersen. Nevertheless, Lin has made a mistake here when he translates "Fane" into "扇子" (fan). This could have been caused by a slip of attention while translating. There are other such minor mistakes caused by misunderstanding or misreading scattered in Lin's translations of other tales like 《小人鱼》 (The Little Sea Maid；it has been renamed as 《小美人鱼》 [The little beautiful mermaid] in the version published in 2007), 《幸运女神的套鞋》 (The Galoshes of Fortune). Nonetheless, they constitute a small proportion of Lin's translations and have never caused any serious misunderstanding of the whole story of a tale.

Furthermore, after some preliminary comparisons between Andersen's texts and Lin's translations, it seems to me that Lin is not very adept at rendering rhetorical features in Andersen's texts into his translations. This shortcoming becomes even more evident when we compare his translations with those of Ye Junjian. There is an example from 《身影》 ("The Shadow"; it is entitled as 《影子》 (The Shadow) in Ye's translation):

Skomagere og Skrædddere, alle Folk fløttede ud paa Gaden, der kom Bord og Stol, og Lyset brændte, ja over tusind Lys brændte, og den ene talte og den anden sang,

og Folk spadserede, Vognene kjørte, Æslerne gik: klingelingeling! de har Klokker paa; der blev Liig begravede med Psalmesang, Gadedrengene skjød med Troldkjællinger, og Kirkeklokkerne ringede, jo der var rigtig nok levende nede i Gaden. (Andersen)

Gloss: Shoe makers and tailors, all people moved out into the street, there came table(s) and chair(s), and the candle(s) burned, yes over a thousand candle(s) burned, and this one was talking and the other was singing, and people walked, carriages drove, donkeys ran: Klinglingling! They had bells on, there were corpses buried with psalm-singing, street boys fired fireworks, and church bells rang, yes, it was indeed full of liveliness down in the street.

鞋匠、裁缝，所有的人，都搬到街上来了；搬来了桌子椅子，点燃了蜡烛。是啊，上千支蜡烛亮了起来；这个在说，那个在唱，大家都漫步走着。车子驶过，驴子走着：叮当！它们身上有铃；在赞美诗中有人为死者安葬。跑到街上来玩的孩子点燃焰火，教堂的钟都鸣响起来，是啊，街上真是活跃极了。(Lin, 1995, Vol.2, p. 94)

Gloss: Shoe makers, tailors, all people, moved out into the street; (they) brought table(s) and chair(s), lit candle(s). Yes, around a thousand candles burned; this one was talking, that one was singing, people were all strolling. Carriages drove by, donkeys were running: Kling! They had bells on; in psalm someone were burying the dead. Boys who ran into the street fired fireworks, church bells all started to ring, yes, on the street it was very lively.

鞋匠啦，裁缝啦，大家都搬到街上来。桌子和椅子也被搬出来了；蜡烛也点起来了——是的，不止一千根蜡烛。这个人聊天，那个人唱歌；人们散步，马车奔驰，驴子走路——丁当——丁当——丁当！因为他们身上都戴着铃铛。死人在圣诗声中入了土；野孩子在放焰火；教堂的钟声在响。的确，街上充满了活跃的空气。(Ye, 1958, Vol.5, p.90-91)

Gloss: Shoe makers, tailors, people all moved out into the street; table(s) and chair(s) were brought out; candle(s) lit 一 Yes, more than a thousand candles. This one was talking, that one was singing; people were walking, carriages were driving, donkeys were running 一 Kling一Kling一Kling! Because they were all wearing bells. The dead were buried in psalm; wild boys were firing fireworks; church bells were ringing. Yes, on the street it was full of liveliness.

In the ST, Andersen describes a vivid street scene in a hot country in the evening. As usual, it is described by a long sentence with simple syntactic structure. Andersen uses the conjunction 'og' ('and') six times to link different parts of this sentence together. In addition, Andersen adopts several strategies to achieve vivid effect. The first strategy is repetition. In this sentence, the "S+V" structures appear repeatedly from "og den ene talte" til "æslerne

gik", which form a musical rhythm. This musical effect together with "Klingelingeling", the onomatopoeia of the ring of bells on the neck of donkeys, successfully mimics the busy and noisy scene on the street. Another strategy that Andersen adopts is alliterations, a figure of speech that he has used very frequently in his tales, in this part. For example, in the first sentence Andersen alliterates "Skomagere", "Skrædddere" and "spadserede", as well as "Folk" and "fløttede". The alliterations have also enhanced the musical quality in Andersen's tales. Therefore, the whole sentence is perfect for reading aloud and for evoking a lively picture of a street scene in the reader's mind.

Unlike English, Danish verbs do not have a continuous form. Therefore, from the excerpt listed above, the tense Andersen has used does not tell us on its own whether he has described actions that were being taken progressively over a period of time in the past, or just things that happened in the past. However, verbs like "kom", "brændte", "talte", "sang", "spadserede", "kjørte", "gik" used in his texts are all able to express a sense of progression. Through the context we can sense that Andersen intends to impress his readers with a scene which is as lively as if everything in it was happening in front of their faces. Therefore, past continuous tense would be the correct choice for translating this excerpt. Lin translated "og den ene talte og den anden sang, og Folk spadserede, Vognene kjørte, Æslerne gik" into "这个**在**说，那个**在**唱，大家都漫步走**着**。车子驶过，驴子走**着**"(this one was talking, that one was singing, people were all rambling. Carriages drove by, donkeys were running). Reading Lin's translation it is obvious that the author is describing a series of activities that were taking place on the street because in mandarin Chinese the continuous and progressive aspects are often marked by adverbs like "正在", "正", "在", "着", and "起来" and the past tense is marked by adverbials of time like "昨天"(yesterday), "刚才"(now), "去年"(last year), etc., as well as some particular particles like "了". The progressive aspect used in Lin's translation has bestowed his translation with an on-site sense and made it lively to read. However, we must also note that as with Danish, in mandarin Chinese one can also omit these markers of progressive aspect and express something taking place progressively by the verbs of continuous sense. For example, Ye has translated this part into "这个人聊天，那个人唱歌；人们散步，马车奔驰，驴子走路". Since "聊天"(talk), "唱歌"(sing), "散步"(walk), "奔驰"(run) and "走路"(walk / go) are all normal verbs with continuous sense, they can also express the sense of continuous and achieve a similar effect to Lin's choice. Without markers like "在", "着", etc, Ye's sentence becomes more concise than Lin's translation. Moreover, the structure and the length of the clauses in Ye's translation are similar, which gives the effect of repetition and makes the whole sentence rhythmic and musical. Compared with Ye's translation, the length and the structure of the clauses in Lin's translation are uneven and therefore read less musically than Ye's translation.

Besides, Ye has done a better job than Lin in reproducing the alliterative effect in Andersen's text. In Ye's translation "啦" (pinyin: la) alliterates with "来" (pinyin: lai), "了" ((pinyin: le) and "路" (pinyin: lu). In Lin's translation, only "了" (pinyin: le) alliterates with "来" (pinyin: lai). In addition, in Ye's translation "布" (pinyin: bu) rhymes with "路" (pinyin: lu) and "土" (pinyin: tu); "当" (pinyin: dang) rhymes with "铛" (pinyin: dang) and "响"

(pinyin: xiang), which give Ye's translation an extra rhyming effect that Andersen's text does not have. Therefore, Ye's translation of this extract has amplified Andersen's style in the sense that it has reproduced the features like repetition and rhythm in Andersen's text while Lin's translation has not achieved a similar effect.

There is another example drawn from 《飞箱》 (The Flying Trunk):

Saa sad de ved Siden af hinanden, og han fortalte Historier om hendes Øine: de vare de deiligste, mørke Søer, og Tankerne svømmede der som Havfruer; og han fortalte om hendes Pande: den var et Sneebjerg med de prægtigste Sale og Billeder, og han fortalte om Storken, som bringer de søde smaa Børn. (Andersen)
Gloss: Then they sat side by side, and he told stories about her eyes: they were the most beautiful, dark lakes, and thoughts swam about like mermaids; and he told about her forehead: it was a snow mountain with the most splendid halls and pictures, and he told about the stork that brings cute little children.

然后，他们并肩坐在一起。他称赞她的眼睛：她的眼睛漂亮极了，像两个美丽深邃的湖，思想就像人鱼似地在里面遨游。他称赞她的额头：它像一座雪山，上面有最华丽的厅堂和图画。他还讲到鹤，它给他们送来可爱的婴儿。
(Lin, 1995, Vol.1, p.212)
Gloss: Then, they sat shoulder by shoulder. He praised her eyes: her eyes were so gorgeous, like two deep and beautiful lakes, thoughts were like mermaids swimming in them. He praised her forehead: it was like a snow mountain, on top of which there were the most beautiful halls and paintings. He also told about the stork, which brings them lovely children.

Since I will focus on the comparison of the figures of speech contained in Andersen and Lin's texts here, the deviation in Lin's translation will not be mentioned. In the ST, Andersen uses one simile and two metaphors to represent how the son of the merchant described the princess's appearance, while Lin has changed the two metaphors into similes in his translation. Hence simile is the only rhetorical strategy used in Lin's translation. Since similes always represent the similarity between tenors and vehicles directly, compared with metaphors, similes reduce the difficulty of relating tenor with its vehicle for readers but at the same time reduce the poetry of the language. Therefore, as a rhetorical strategy, simile is not as poetic as metaphor. Consequently, Lin's translation reads as more direct and plain than Andersen's text and has somewhat lost the poetic beauty embedded in the ST.

In addition to the "loyalty" and flaws that characterized Lin's translations, his scholarly annotations will be noted by his readers after the preliminary reading of his translations. Lin's translations have the largest number of notes of all Chinese translations. In his translations published in 2007, he gives a note to every title to offer background information concerning the publication and the creation of the tale. In addition, Lin has taken the trouble to annotate

many culture-specific terms in Andersen's tales that are related to Danish and European culture, history and religion. For example, in 《幸运女神的套鞋》(The Galoshes of the Goddess of Fortune/ Lykkens Kalosker) in the 2007 edition, there are a total of 45 notes, while the number of notes in Ye Junjian's translation of this tale is 24, and the Shi Qin'e translation has only 6. In addition to the note to the title and three notes transferred from the ST, there are 41 translator's notes given by Lin Hua: five of them are about famous people in European history; twelve notes concern historical and geographical information about Copenhagen and Denmark; eight notes are about historical events and facts; eight notes are about cultural and custom-related information; six notes are given to explain other languages that are used in Andersen's text; one concerns an explanation of the understanding of the ST; one explains the quotation in Andersen's text that is drawn from the Bible. These notes demonstrate Lin's wide knowledge of Danish and European culture and history. For example, note 7 in Lin's translation is about "哈兰":

> 哈兰坡是丹麦人对后来成为皇家新市场的那片地方的俗称。哈兰是瑞典的一个地名，当时有许多从哈兰来的农民在这里经商。（Lin, 2007）
> Gloss: The Halland Slope was a name used by Danes to indicate the piece of land which later became the Kings New Market (It is Lin's literal translation of 'Kongens Nytorv' in Danish). Halland was originally the name of a place in SwedenMany Swedish farmers came from Halland to do business at Halland Slope.

> [Hallandsaas] vistnok A.s fejlagtige etymologi. H. var folkelig betegnelse for det sted, der blev til Kgs. Nytorv, og antages alm. enten at hentyde til, at pladsen pga. sin ufremkommelighed sammenlignedes med det vanskeligt farbare højdedrag Hallandsås på grænsen ml. Skåne og Halland, eller at bønderne fra Skåne og Halland holdt torv her. (Dal, 1990, p.73)
> Gloss: Hallandsaas. Here is probably a mis-spelling. H.(Hallandsaas) was the popular name for the place that became Kongens Nytorv, and it would be taken for granted that the name alludes to that place (Hallansas) either because it is being compared to the impassable hills at Hallandsås on the border between Skåne and Halland, or because the peasants from Skåne and Halland held a market here.

This note shows that Lin has probably checked the note given in *H. C. Andersens eventyr*, a critical version that is based on Andersen's original texts, edited by Erik Dal with commentary by Erling Nielsen. It is most likely that from the note given in this critical version, Lin has understood that the "Hollandske" in Andersen's text is a misspelling of "Hallandske" and thus corrected it in his Chinese translation. Almost all other Chinese translators do not know this background information and therefore have mistranslated it in their translations. On the other hand, as we know that many of Andersen's tales are deeply rooted in Danish culture and history, Lin's notes also offer Chinese readers a rich source of reference for their appreciation of Andersen's tales. Therefore, to anyone who wants to read

Andersen's tales for more than simply entertainment, Lin Hua's translations will be very informative and helpful.

By re-translating Andersen's tales directly from the Danish texts, Lin offers Chinese readers one more choice when they want to explore the world of Andersen's tales. The foreignness in his translations will draw Chinese readers towards Andersen, and remind them that these are tales translated from a foreign author's works. Besides, the conciseness of language, as a feature of Andersen's tales, is demonstrated by Lin's concise translations. Moreover, the scholarly and informative annotations in Lin's translations manifest that Andersen's tales are serious literary works which are not only for children but for all those who are interested in exploring the time, culture, and the country that Andersen lived in.

6.3 Ren Rongrong (1923-) and his new translations of complete Andersen's tales from their English translations

6.3.1 His life and career - a prestigious translator and writer of children's literature

6.3.1.1 His Early Life

Ren Rongrong is the most commonly used and best-known pen name of Ren Genliu.[99] He was born in 1923 in Shanghai. Ren's father was a small merchant. He went to Japan to work as an apprentice in a printing house run by one of his countrymen when he was young. After returning to China, he was hired as a salesman by a local printing house run by someone from the same home town. He was a hardworking business man and learnt some English in his spare time. After a few years, he started his own printing business. From his own life experience, Ren's father realized the importance of education. He intended to send Ren to an old-style private school in Shanghai shortly after Ren turned five years old. However, Ren never went to that school because he was still too young and he simply refused to go to school. Not long after that, Ren's family moved to Guangzhou. He was then sent to another old-style private school in Guangzhou where he completed the reading and learning of the three Chinese classics for enlightenment education by the age of eight. Although the old-style education was already being criticized severely for its rigid style and conservatism, Ren's two-year traditional Chinese education gave him a solid basic knowledge of Chinese

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99 Rongrong (溶溶) was originally the given name of Ren's daughter. Ren started to use it as his pen name when he started to translate children's literature in the year when his daughter was born. The pen name was then used in his translations and creations of children's literature and became known to Chinese readers. Because the component "氵" in the Chinese character "溶" signifies "water", which is a symbol of femininity in Chinese culture and thus is often used as a girl's given name, Ren has often been assumed to be a female writer and translator.

language and culture. He went to the primary school section of Lingnan Middle School (It was originally the YMCA charity school attached to Lingnan University) when he was eight. Lingnan School was a missionary school in Guangzhou which offered a western educational system and bilingual education. According to Ren's autobiographical article, he started to study English and was exposed to a variety of children's literature in the school library there. In 1938, Ren went back to Shanghai and entered the Lingnan Middle School in Shanghai. However, he stayed at that school for only one semester. From the autumn semester in 1938, Ren attended The Lester School and Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education.[100] In Lester School, English continued to be his favourite and best subject. In addition, as a school run by native English with a bilingual education, all courses except Chinese and Chinese Geography were instructed in English. When Ren dropped out from this school in 1940, he had mastered the English language. Also in this school, Ren made some friends who would have a profound influence on his life. Cao Ying (the pen name of Sheng Junfeng), who was already an underground member of the CPC, was one of these friends. Ren started to learn Russian from Cao Yin when they were in middle school and at the same time was attracted by the communist thoughts and ideas passed on by Cao. Through books written by Lu Xun and other leftist intellectuals, Ren gradually became a communist. Ren began to take part in the underground actions under the CPC when he was still attending the Lester School and finally decided to leave Shanghai for Hai'an, Jiangsu, where the headquarters of the North Jiangsu New Fourth Army was located. Ren stayed with the New Fourth Army for a few months before he was forced to go back to Shanghai because of serious health problems. After his recovery, he undertook work on linguistic reform of the Chinese language initiated by CPC in 1941 as the editor of 《语文丛刊》(Chinese Language Series). To help him fulfil his duties better, the CPC arranged for him to major in Chinese language and literature in Daxia University in 1942. Through this university education, Ren improved his understanding of Chinese language and literature, which would benefit his translation and writing in the future. Ren completed his education when he graduated from Daxia University in 1945.

Looking through Ren's life before 1945, it is apparent that like many of his contemporaries who started their education in the 1920s, a transitional period, Ren's was part of the last generation to receive a traditional education and the first generation to receive a modern westernized education. This experience gave Ren a solid foundation of Chinese traditional knowledge and at the same time equipped him with knowledge of western languages and cultures. Moreover, he also belonged to the first generation of intellectuals

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100 This was a private college founded by an English gentleman Henry Lester in Shanghai in 1934. It was established for the education of Chinese students but only existed for 10 years. The arrival of the Japanese invaders in Shanghai resulted in the management and teaching at the school descending into chaos. After the Japanese Navy had occupied the campus of the school, it was shut down for good in 1944. As well as a technical institute, the Lester school also had a middle school and a high school, which produced many influential Chinese scholars in various fields.

who were accustomed to reading and writing in vernacular Chinese after the vernacular movement started in the 1910s. Relating Ren's education experience with his early life experience, I agree with Ma Li when he states that Ren's career as a prolific writer and translator of children's literature was determined by his education and life experience in his youth. (Ma, 1998, pp.30-49) Guangzhou and Shanghai, the two cities in which he spent his boyhood, were the first cities that opened as commercial ports and cradles for new thoughts and ideas in China. This early life experience gave Ren contact with western culture and cultivated his interest in children's literature from an early age. His education experience had also nourished him with knowledge of Chinese classics and modern Chinese literature, as well as western classics. Therefore, as one of the few Chinese who were bilingual and at the same time had a good knowledge of Chinese literature and culture, it was natural that he would go on to become a professional translator.

6.3.1.2 His career as a translator and writer of children's literature

Ren first tried his hand at translation in 1942. It was not children's literature but a Soviet short story. In 1946, his first translated children's literature was published in the initial issue of《新文学》(New Literature). It was rendered from a Turkish short story for children, written by Sadri Ertem. However, Ren did not really start his career as a translator of children's literature until 1947, when a friend who worked in the Children's Bookstore in Shanghai invited him to translate children's literature for 《儿童故事》(Children's Stories), a journal specialising in the field. Shortly after that Ren was introduced to Shidai Publishing House by Jiang Chunfang when the publishing house planned to publish a series of children's literature translated from Soviet works. Shidai Publishing House published more than a dozen translations of children's literature by Ren from 1947 to 1949. The cooperation with Shidai Publishing house not only brought extra income to Ren, whose financial situation was not very good at the time, but also set him on the path of becoming a well-known translator of children's literature after the establishment of the PRC. In the early years after the establishment of the PRC, Ren was initially appointed editor of 《苏联儿童文艺丛刊》 (Soviet Children's Literature Series), which was a journal exclusively for the publication of translations of Soviet children's literature, and then the director of the translation department of Shanghai Juvenile and Children's Publishing House, the first publishing house specialising in the publication of children's literature established in the PRC era. He worked as a professional translator and editor of children's literature from then until the start of The Cultural Revolution.

As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the period between 1949 and 1966 was a prolific and flourishing period for literature and art in China and the first peak of literary translation after the establishment of the PRC came during this period. The situation was the same with the translation of children's literature. Therefore Ren was very productive during this period. According to the list of translations offered by Ma Li in his book on Ren, Ren had

around 40 translations of children's literature published from 1949 to 1963. According to Ma, Ren's translations make up around 8 percent of all the 426 translations of children's literature published from 1949 to 1966 (Ma, 1998, p.61). More than 90 percent of these translations were rendered from Soviet works.

Ren was "confined to the cow shed"[101] during the Cultural Revolution and had to stop translating children's literature. To counter the solitude and boredom, Ren started to teach himself Italian, something he had been thinking about for a long time. As learning Italian became the only way that could free his soul from the desperate reality, he made rapid progress. Before long he was able to read simple Italian texts. Ren was finally released and sent to a cadre school[102] around 1970. He was assigned with some translation work by the Party and started to learn Japanese in his spare time. As there were no proper conditions for practicing listening and speaking during that special period, Ren concentrated on reading while teaching himself Italian and Japanese. He read through dozens of Japanese books in his years at cadre school. Although Ren could not do any translation during the Cultural Revolution, he did not allow his time to be wasted. By the time it ended he had expertise in four foreign languages, a great advantage for a professional translator.

When political and social life began its return to normal in China in 1978, Ren was asked to found a new literary journal《外国文艺》(Foreign Literature and Arts) for Shanghai Translation Publishing House. He worked as the editor of this journal, which is aimed at adult readers, until he retired in 1989. Thus since 1978 translating children's literature has been Ren's pastime rather than his profession.

After 13 years of chaos, by the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1978 there were few remaining books suitable for children to read. The central government responded by encouraging translators and writers to devote their efforts to translating and creating children's literature. In 1978, Ren was invited to a national forum on the publication of children and juvenile's literature. The messages about the new cultural and education policy conveyed through this forum encouraged Ren to take up translation and creation of children's literature again, although as a full-time editor he could only work in his spare time. However, because of Ren's love for children's literature, his amateur work has turned out to be his greatest achievement. From the list of his translated works, we can see that the range of STs that Ren chose from after 1978 was enlarged. They were no longer confined to Soviet children's literature but included children's literary works from the UK, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany Austria, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Australia, the Soviet Union and the US. The genres that he translated after 1978 extended from children's poetry to fairy tales and fiction. Ren is a very diligent translator; according to the catalogue of the National

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101 "Cow shed" refers to a place where "counter-revolutionaries" were imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution. Many intellectuals were confined in cow sheds during this period.

102 Cadre School is also called the May Seventh Cadre School. It is a special type of institution established during the Cultural Revolution that combined hard agricultural work with the study of Mao Zedong's writings and thoughts in order to "re-educate" cadres and intellectuals in proper socialist thought.

Library his translations published from 1978 to 2013 amount to around 440 volumes. His latest translations are two series of works by Cyndy Szekeres and William Steig, which number 11 volumes and were published in January 2013, when he was about to celebrate his 90th birthday in May.

His translation work has also inspired Ren Rongrong in many ways when it comes to his own creation of children's literature. Some of his fairy tales and children's poems have become classics of Chinese children's literature. Being influenced and inspired by prominent authors of children's literature like Astrid Lindgren, Lewis Carroll, Carlo Collodi, and H. C. Andersen through the translation of their works, Ren's creations are characterized by a colloquial, humorous, and jolly style. He is very good at embedding educational themes in illogical and even absurd plots, which makes his moralisation funny and interesting to children. Among Chinese authors of children's literature, he is the leader of "热闹派" (jolly school) writers who consider amusement as the basic function and the most important aim of children's literature. His stories like 《没头脑和不高兴》(Mr. Mindlessness and Mr. Sulkiness，1958) and collections of poems like 《给我的巨人朋友》(To My Giant Friends, 1992) have become classics of Chinese children's literature. In particular *Mr. Mindlessness and Mr. Sulkiness* was quite outstanding among the intensely politicised works of its time. It was adapted into an animated TV series in 1962 and was very popular with Chinese children. Ren's success in children's literature is known as the "Ren Rongrong phenomenon" by Chinese critics and has been studied since the 1990s. More information on Ren Rongron's works of children's literature can be found in the work of Ma Li (1998), Sun Jianjiang (1995) and Jin Bo (2012).

As a litterateur, Ren has been a political conformist ever since the start of his career. He accepted the influence and leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) when he was still in middle school and then worked for the leftist literary journals run by the CPC. The two peaks of his translation and creation work in children's literature, in the 1950s and the years after 1978, both owed a debt to the encouragement of the cultural policy launched by the CPC government.

Ma is right when he emphasizes that Ren's success is built on his constancy (Ma, 1998, pp.126-144). While he kept a free soul for his readers and himself, Ren had a genuine belief in the principles he espoused. We should also note that Ren is a moderate man. He has maintained his individuality and his beliefs without placing himself in confrontation with the political mainstream. His personality has been represented in his works and translations. In his works, his moral teachings are always wrapped in unique and fantastic plots. He never takes a didactic tone. As to his translations, although most of those he produced before 1966 were rendered from Soviet works, which was obviously the result of the political environment of the time, these Soviet works are often full of the fun and joy of childlike innocence. Their suitability for children is always the primary criteria of his selection of STs. Since 1978 his selection of STs has become diverse in terms of nationality, genre, and style, but being interesting and funny for children is still the most important consideration. For Ren,

political correctness is never the main or sole factor to be considered when selecting works to be translated.

6.3.2 His translations of Andersen's tales

6.3.2.1 His understanding of Andersen's tales

Because Ren does not have a command of Danish, and Ye Junjian's translations were considered to be the authoritative Chinese translations of Andersen's tales for almost three decades up to the 1990s, retranslating Andersen's tales via English translations did not form part of Ren Rongrong's plans. Then Shanghai Translation Publishing House, a publishing house that has published many translations of foreign classics since 1978, invited him to retranslate Andersen's tales.At their insistence, Ren finally agreed to take on the job. The first edition of Ren's translations appeared in 1996. It was an indirect translation rendered from intermediate English translations. Like Ren's other translations of children's literature, this edition was an immediate success and has been reprinted several times. In 2004, Zhejiang Juvenile and Children's Publishing House published a revised edition of Ren's translations of Andersen's tales. It took Ren around one year to revise his translations. He even retranslated some segments after referring to a number of English translations and Russian translations.[103]

Ren's understanding of Andersen's tales must therefore have been influenced profoundly by the intermediary translations, most likely the two complete English translations on which his translations are based. According to Ren these two English translations are *The Complete H. C. Andersen Fairy Tales* (1981) edited by Lily Owens and published by Avenel Books, Crown Publishers, N.Y., and *H. C. Andersen, The complete fairy tales and stories* (1974), translated by Eric Christian Haugaard and published by Doubleday, N.Y. According to its preface, most of the tales in *The Complete H. C. Andersen Fairy Tales* were based on the H. B. Paull translations (first published in 1867). In both English versions, Andersen's tales were translated into tales specially for children, which must have affected Ren's understanding of Andersen's language and style.

Ren has expressed his understanding of Andersen's tales mainly in the postscript of his 1996 translation. (This was also used as the postscript for the 2005 version.) Like other contemporaneous translators, he also believes that Andersen's tales can charm both youngsters and adults. In addition, he offers his views on the reasons for the popularity of Andersen's tales among both children and adults. He believes that the interesting and wonderful plots and contents of Andersen's tales are more attractive to the "layman", i.e. including young readers, while the sophisticated writing skills and the deeper nuances of the tales are more relevant to the "professionals" including critics and writers (1995, Vol. 4, p.

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103 I would like to extend my thanks to Zhejiang Juvenile and Children's Publishing House for helping me to contact Ren Rongrong, so that I could get the information concerning the intermediary translations that Ren has used and referred to.

423). Ren believes that these properties have made Andersen's tales enduring and widely welcomed. Ren has also praised the innovative strategies Andersen adopted in the writing of tales and the modernism involved in tales like "Skyggen".

6.3.2.2 His translation principles and strategies

After translating for children for around sixty years, Ren has formed his own style and principles of translation, which have also been applied to his translation of Andersen's tales. In an article entitled《我译儿童文学》(On My Translation of Children's Litearture) in 《一本书一个世界》(A Book and a World) published in 2005 and also in several interviews, Ren discusses his principles of translating children's literature, which can be expressed as four points:

First, in his article published in 《一本书一个世界》(A Book and a World) in 2005, Ren emphasises that the language of translated children's literature should be colloquial and intelligible to children. Ren also mentioned this principle when he was interviewed by Tu Zhigang from《新京报》(Beijing News) in May 2004. At the same time, Ren believes that a translator should choose his or her linguistic style according to the psychological characteristics of his target readers of various ages. Although the readership of translated children's literature is largely children and juveniles, in accordance with their age they can be sub-classified into preschool children, junior class pupils, and senior class pupils. When translating for preschool children, one has to make sure that the language is suitable for reading aloud and easy to remember, whereas when translating for older boys and girls, one has to avoid childish language, which might bore them (Ren, 2005, p.72).

Second, the translator should try his or her best to capture the style of the ST. For Ren, the "translation should follow the ST" because "a translation activity is nothing but telling the TT readers, via the mouth of the translator, the same thing that the author has told the foreign readers (the readers of ST) in another language. Even the tone should be as close (to the ST) as possible" (2005, p.72). He thinks that a translator is like an actor, who is obliged to try to interpret the style of the ST and imitate it in Chinese to the extent that the Chinese reader will get the same reading experience as the reader of the ST.

Third, according to Ren (2005), the wordplay in the STs often resists translation. Ren explains that to attract young readers the author of a children's literary work often likes to play with words in his or her texts. However, as distinct from translations for grown-ups, which often use annotations to explain wordplay in the STs, it is not always appropriate to give too many notes in a translation for children, as they are likely to find them dull and their attention tends to be distracted by the notes. They might then give up reading. The strategy that Ren suggests for dealing with wordplay is to replace it with similar types of wordplay in Chinese. Applying this strategy may violate the principle of "Xin" (faithfulness) but for Ren it can be justified in so far as the translation will retain the soul of the ST and the readers of the target text will get almost the same kind of pleasant experience as the readers of the ST.

For Ren, the translation of wordplay is the most difficult task for a translator of children's literature.

Fourth, when translating a children's poem, he always makes every effort to keep the rhyme scheme and rhythm of the ST, or at least translate it into a rhymed and rhythmical poem while ensuring the Chinese translation is in accordance with Chinese poetic norms (Ren, 2005, p.74).

It is apparent that Ren holds a conservative view on translation. Since the translator is only the mouthpiece of the author, faithfulness has to be a primary principle of translation. The reading experience of the audience - the children - is another priority for Ren's translation. He is a conscious translator in the sense that he always knows for whom he is translating. As we shall see in the following analyses, Ren's principles of translation are readily apparent in his translation of Andersen's tales.

6.3.2.3 His translations of Andersen's tales – facts and specimen studies

Ren's translation of Andersen's tales 《安徒生童话全集》(The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen) was first published in 1996 by Shanghai Translation Publishing House and contains 159 tales.[104] In 2005, on the occasion of the bicentenary celebration of Andersen's birthday, the second version of his translation was published by Zhejiang Juvenile and Children's Publishing House, which contains the same number of tales as the 1996 version. In the preface of the 2005 version, it is claimed that this version is a retranslation done by Ren when he was 82 years old. Compared with the 1996 version, there are indeed several major changes in the 2005 version. For example, the opening part of 《牧人讲的结拜故事》 (The Story about Pledged Brotherhood told by Shepherd) has been revised according to Haugaard's English translation of this tale. There are also some minor linguistic revisions concerning the diction and sentence structure. However, the majority of the texts in this version remain the same as those in the 1996 version. Obviously, the 1996 version is the basis of the 2005 version. Therefore, the 1996 version will be referred to when it comes to the textual comparison and analysis in this part. My observations on Ren's translation are thus also based on this version.

As mentioned above, from the information offered by Ren we can infer that the major sources of his translations are the English translations of Erik Christian Haugaard and Mrs. Paull. However, after comparison and analysis, it appears to me that the primary STs of Ren's translations actually come from *The Complete H. C. Andersen Fairy Tales* edited by Lily Owens. Thus, Mrs. Paull's translations become a major influence on Ren's translations. Actually, Ren's translations of all the tales selected into the corpus of this study are rendered from Mrs. Paull's English version. The following examples from《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》 (Little Claus and Big Claus), and 《坚定的锡兵》(The Steadfast Soldier; it is "The Brave Tin Soldier" in Paull's translation) help to confirm this conclusion.

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104 There will be a table of contents of this translation offered in Appendix 7.

1.《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》(Little Claus and Big Claus)

Der var dækket et stort Bord med Viin og Steg og saadan en deilig Fisk, Bondekonen og Degnen sad til Bords og **ellers slet ingen andre**, og hun skjænkede for ham og **han stak paa** Fisken, for det var noget han holdt af. (Andersen, emphases added)

Gloss: A large table was dressed with wine and roast meat and such a pretty fish. The farmer's wife and the deacon sat at the table and **there was no one else**, and she poured out (wine) for him and **he stuck into** the fish because it was something he liked.

… in which a large table was laid out with wine, roast meat, and a splendid fish. The farmer's wife and the sexton were sitting at the table **together;** and she filled his glass, and **helped him** plenteously to fish, which appeared to be his favorite dish. (Paull, 1981, p.165, emphases added)

厨房里有一张大桌子，上面摆着酒、烤肉和鲜美的鱼。农民的妻子和教堂司事双双坐在桌旁。农民的妻子给教堂司事的酒杯斟满了酒，还夹了许多鱼给他，看来他喜欢吃这道菜。(Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.11)

Gloss: In the kitchen there was a large table, laid with wine, roast and delicious fish. The farmer's wife and the sexton were sitting at the table **together**. The farmer's wife filled the sexton's glass with wine, and **helped him** plenteously to fish, which appeared to be his favorite dish.

2.《坚定的锡兵》(The Brave Tin Soldier)

...midt i det sad en skinnende **Paillette**, lige saa stor som hele hendes Ansigt. (Andersen, emphasis added)

Gloss:…in the middle of it was a shining tinsel **paillette**, as large as her whole face.

In front of these was fixed a glittering tinsel **rose**, as large as her whole face. (Paull, 1981, p. 13, emphasis added)

在缎带上插着一朵用锡纸做的闪光的**玫瑰花**，有她整张脸那么大。(Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.148, emphasis added)

Gloss: On the ribbon fixed a glittering tinsel **rose**, as large as her whole face.

In Appendix 8 there will be more examples showing that Mrs. Paull's translations are the main STs for Ren's Chinese translations. Therefore, Ren's translations have inevitably been coloured with the features of Paull's translations and inherited deviations in them, as "Xin" (faithfulness) is one of Ren's principles of translation.

In his book on the English translations of Andersen's tales, Viggo H. Pedersen has offered his observations on Mrs. Paull's translations. He points out that "Mrs. Paull's text is based on Dulcken's", and "she obviously drew on more than one text", which made her work "not so much a translation as an edited version of older translations" (2004, pp. 187-190). However, since Paull follows Dulcken, who according to Pedersen is generally "a dependable translator"[105](2005, p.171), her version hence follows Andersen fairly closely. In fact, my own impression of Paull's translation is in line with Pedersen's when he claims that "her translations generally do not depart unnecessarily from the original" and her version "is a very reasonable one, in spite of occasional misunderstandings and a tendency to normalise" (2004, p.189). Therefore, Mrs. Paull's translations are reliable STs for Ren's translation. In fact I was somewhat surprised to notice that sometimes Ren's indirect translations based on Paull's translations could even be closer to Andersen's texts than other direct Chinese translations. For example, in "Den lille Havfrue" Andersen writes "Havfruen kyssede hans høie smukke Pande og strøg hans vaade Haar tilbage;…"(The mermaid kissed his tall beautiful forehead and stroked his wet hair back;…). In the direct translation 《小人鱼》(The Little Mermaid) made by Lin Hua, it is translated as "小人鱼亲吻着他的眼、美丽的脸庞，把他的头发朝后掠去" (The little mermaid kissed his eyes, beautiful face, and stroked his hair back). Examining Lin's translation, it is obvious that he must have misread the adjective 'høie' in Andersen's text as the noun 'øjne'. Then he has mis-translated 'pande' (forehead) into '脸庞' (face, 'ansigt' in Danish) and omitted the adjective 'vaade' (wet), which is used to describe the prince's hair, in his Chinese translation. However, Ren followed his ST closely and translated "the mermaid kissed his high, smooth forehead, and stroked back his wet hair;" into "小人鱼吻他高挺光滑的前额，把他的湿头发向后梳抹" (the little mermaid kissed his high, smooth forehead, and stroked back his wet hair). Therefore, despite the fact that the prince's forehead is smooth rather than 'smukke' (beautiful) in Ren's translation, his translation is actually closer to Andersen's text than Lin's translation. This is not a rare exception; there are other examples that support the conclusion. Hence, directness does not guarantee an "accurate" translation whereas indirectness does not necessarily cause deviations from the original text in a translation.

However, we must also bear in mind that "Paull's version is often free as far as details are concerned" and it is not too difficult to find examples of expansion (Pedersen, 2004, pp. 187-189). This feature of Paull's version certainly has its reflections in Ren's Chinese translations. Comparing an example selected from "The Ugly Duckling" and offered in Pedersen's study with Ren's corresponding Chinese translation we can see this influence:

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105 Another critic, Bredsdorff, has also noticed and to some extent agreed that "senere oversættere i udstrakt grad har kunnet benytte Dulckens oversættelse som en slags pålidelig kilde til at forstå, hvad H. C. Andersen egentlig skrev,…"(1954, p.514)[later translators have been able to make extensive use of Dulcken's translation as a kind of reliable source to understand what Hans Christian Andersen actually wrote], although he did not appreciate Dulcken's style.

de andre Ænder holdt mere af at svømme om i Canalerne, end at løbe op og sidde under et Skræppeblad for at snaddre med hende. (Andersen)
Gloss: the other ducks liked much better to swim about in the canal than to run up and sit under a dock leaf to chat with her.

The other ducks liked much better to swim about in the river than to climb **the slippery banks,** and sit under a burdock leaf, to have a gossip with her. (Paull, 1981, p.15, emphasis added)

其他鸭子都宁愿在河里游水，而不愿意爬上**滑溜溜的河岸**，蹲在牛劳叶子底下跟她聊天。(Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.281, emphasis added)
Gloss: the other ducks liked much better to swim in the river, than to climb **the slippery banks,** squat under the burdock leaves and chat with her.

In Andersen's text there is no word about whether the banks are slippery or not whereas Paull has added this message in her translation. According to Pedersen, the intention behind the changes, especially the expansions in Paull's translations is to "achieve an easy and conversational style" (2004, p. 188) although her translation still seems more literary than the Danish original texts. Comparing Ren's translation with Paull's translation and the Danish original text offered above, it is clear that the expansions in Paull's translation have found their way into Ren's Chinese translation and also made Ren's translation conversational and lively. Another example from《小人鱼》(The Little Mermaid) enhances this impression:

Murene ere af Coraller og de lange **spidse** Vinduer af det allerklareste Rav…(Andersen, emphasis added)
Gloss: The walls are made of coral and the long pointed windows are of the clearest amber,…

Its walls are built of coral, and the long, **gothic** windows are of the clearest amber. (Paull, 1981, p.134, emphasis added)

它的墙是用珊瑚砌的，它那些**哥特式**长窗嵌着最明净的琥珀。(Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.76, emphasis added)
Gloss: Its wall(s) is/are built of coral, the long, **gothic** windows are inlaid with the clearest amber.

Andersen does not specify the architectural style of the windows but only tells the readers the shape of them, although the shape naturally reminds the readers of the Gothic style. However, Paull adopted amplifying strategy and translated Andersen's description into

"gothic", which has defined the architectural style of the windows in the sea king's castle. Ren's Chinese translation again has inherited this normalised description from Paull's translation.

In addition, there is an example from 《幸运的套鞋》 (The Galoshes of Fortune) which confirms the influence from Paull's normalised translation:

…, og begge ivrede da mod Ørsteds Ord i Almanaken om gamle og nye Tider, hvori vor Tidsalder i det Væsentlige sættes øverst. Justitsraaden ansaae **Kong Hans's Tid** for den deiligste og allerlykkeligste. (Andersen, emphasis added)
Gloss: …, and both agitated against Oersted's words in the **almanac** about old and new times in which our age is essentially put on top. The Counsellor esteemed **King Hans's time** as the most beautiful and happiest.

…, and both exclaimed against Oersted's Essays on Ancient and Modern Times, in which the preference is given to our own. The counsellor considered **the times of the Danish king**, **Hans**, as the noblest and happiest. (Paull, 1981, p.184, emphasis added)

他们两个反对奥斯忒论古代和现代的文章，这篇文章是偏爱现代的。枢密顾问官认为**丹麦国王汉斯的时代**是最好最幸福的时代。(Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.108-109, emphasis added)
Gloss: They were both against Oersted's Essays on ancient and modern time. In this article preference is given to the modern time. The counsellor considered **the time of the Danish king Hans** as the best and happiest time.

In Andersen's text, he signifies that it is in "Almanaken" (the almanac) that Ørsteds words were printed. However, Paull omitted this source in her version. Then she explanatorily translated "Kong Hans" into "the Danish king, Hans". The result of these changes in Paull's translation seems to be that the "irrelevant" information that the readers don't have to know has been left out and the "necessary" background information has been added in. In a word, Andersen's text has been normalised to be more readable. What is the reason behind Paull's decision? I think that the title of her version, "*Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales. A new translation, by Mrs. Paull. With a special adaptation and arrangement for young people. With illustrations by Mrs. Kemp and Miss Runciman*", reveals the reason. Paull states clearly in the long title that it is "with a special adaptation and arrangement for young people". She further declares in the preface of this version that this complete collection is "carefully translated and revised, with all obscure passages rendered intelligible to the English reader" (Paull, 1867, preface). We can deduce from this information that Paull has normalised her translation for it to be more readable to the young English readers. Therefore, it is natural that some of Ren's translations that are rendered from Paull's version become likewise explicit and definite.

Ren's translations also involve misunderstandings and deviations inherited from Paull's translations, which can readily be found in tales like 《飞箱》 (The Flying Trunk):

Der var engang en Kjøbmand, han var saa riig, at han kunde brolægge den hele Gade og næsten et lille Stræde til med **Sølvpenge**; (Andersen, emphasis added)
Gloss: There was once a merchant, he was so rich that he could have paved a whole street and then a little alley with **silver coins**.

There was once a merchant who was so rich that he could have paved the whole street with **gold**, and would even then have had enough for a small alley. (Paull, 1981, p.202, emphasis added)

从前有一个商人，钱多得可以把整条大街铺成**金的**，还剩下足够的钱把一条小巷也铺成金的. (Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.187, emphasis added)
Gloss: There was once a merchant who was so rich that he could have paved a whole street with **gold**, and would even have enough money left to pave a small alley with gold too.

Apparently, the merchants in Paull and Ren's translations are much richer than the one in Andersen's text. Ren's translation must have inherited this deviation in Paull's translation which probably comes from Dulcken's translation. This deviation has no major impact on the plots of Andersen's tale in these translations, only that the translations have exaggerated the richness of the merchant and therefore created a sharper contrast between the situation the son of the merchant was in before and after the death of his father.

Ren knows clearly how wordplay like puns in the ST can become a challenge for the translator and even resist translation. As an experienced translator, he has found his own solution to these challenges, namely replacing puns with similar types of wordplay in Chinese (Ren, 2005, p.73). For him, allowing Chinese children to share the experience of the ST readers is the primary aim in managing wordplay. Ren's strategy has proved very successful in many of his translations of children's literature. There is an outstanding sample in Ren's 《好心眼的巨人》 (Big Friendly Giant), a translation of Roald Dahl's homonymous fantasy:

"The human bean," the Giant went on, "is coming in dillions of different flavours. For instance, human beans from **Wales** is tasting very whooshey of fish. There is something very fishy about **Wales**."
"You means **whales**," Sophie said. "**Wales** is something quite different."
"**Wales** is **whales**," the Giant said. "Don't gobblefunk around with words….. (Dahl, 1998, p.28, emphases added)

"人豆子吗，"巨人说下去，"有千千万万种不同味道。比方说吧，**维尔京**人

豆子有鱼味道。这和'京'生长在海洋里有很大关系。""你是说**鲸**啊。"索菲说，"这'**京**'不是那'**鲸**'。完全是两码事""反正就是那么个音，"巨人说，"你别咬文嚼字。"（Ren, 2004, p.22, emphases added）

In his translation, Ren translates 'Wales' into '维尔京'(pinyin: wei er jing), which is not the Chinese equivalence of English word 'Wales'. However, by translating 'Wales' into '维尔京', Ren can now play with '京' (pinyin: jing, means 'capital city' in Chinese) and '鲸'(pinyin: jing, means 'whale' in Chinese), two Chinese characters share the same pronunciation and similar appearance but with different meanings, which has represented the pun effect in the ST when Dahl plays with 'Wales' and 'whales', the two homonyms sharing similar spelling and pronunciation. At the same time, Ren has also successfully reproduced the effect of toying with the Giant's clumsy English in his Chinese translation. He has offered an excellent solution here. Actually, Ren's translations of children's literature are highly praised for being able to find apt solutions for the wordplay in STs (see Zhou Xiaofeng, 2010, also Wang Shanshan, 2007).

However, the situation is a bit different with Ren's translations of Andersen's tales. It seems that Ren made no significant effort to express the wordplay in Andersen's tales, although "puns are of great importance to HCA's particular witty ironic or satirical accent" (De Mylius, 1993, p.42.). For example, in Den Flyvende Kuffert (The Flying Trunk), the bundle of matches recall their good old days like this, "Ja, da vi vare paa den grønne Green!" sagde de, "da vare vi rigtignok paa en grøn Green!... " Here Andersen uses a pun about "være på den grønne gren" ('Green' in Andersen's text is a mis-spelling of 'Gren'). As explained in Chapter Four, this idiom is used to indicate that the matches were on the green branches of the fir tree before they were made into matches and at the same time to imply that the matches enjoyed a privileged situation in the past. Nonetheless, the implication of the idiom in the ST has not been transferred into Ren's translation, for he has translated this part into "啊！当时我们在绿枝上生长，绿得和这些绿枝一样；……" (Ah! We used to grow on these green branches, were as green as these green branches;…). The explanation for this loss in translation can be found in the ST on which Ren's translation is based. The implication of the idiom in Andersen's original text has already been lost in Mrs. Paull's translation: "'Ah! then we grew on the green boughs, and were as green as they…"

Therefore, from the examples offered above, it is clear that Ren's translations have been influenced by Mrs Paull's English version in terms of content as well as style.

In addition to the influences from the STs, Ren's own strategies have also influenced his translations. As Ren always took into consideration his target readers' expectations and reading pleasure, his translations are usually very colloquial and readable, especially to young readers. Sometimes, his style is more colloquial than that in the STs, Paull's translations. For example,

"你们以为这就是整个世界吗？"鸭妈妈问道。"等你们看到花园就知道了，它伸展到**老远老远的**地方，一直伸展到牧师的地里去，不过连我自己也**不敢**

去那么远。你们全都出来了吗？' 她一边说一边站起来。 "**我得说**，还没有，最大的那个蛋还在那里**一动不动**。我不知道还得等多久。我真是**厌烦透了**，"她说着又在窝里**蹲下来**。(Ren, Ren, 1996, Vol. 1, p.282, emphases added)

Gloss: "You think this is the whole world?" asked the mother duck. "Wait until you see the garden, it stretches to somewhere **far far away**, all the way to the parson's field, but even I **dare not go that far**. Are you all out?" she said and rose. "**I have to say**, not yet, that largest egg still lying **still** there. I don't know how long I still have to wait. I'm **so fed up**," she said and **squatted down** in her nest.

"Do you imagine this is the whole world?" asked the mother; "Wait till you have seen the garden; it stretches far beyond that to the parson's field, but I **have never ventured to such a distance**. Are you all out?" she continued, rising; "No, **I declare**, the largest egg lies there **still**. **I wonder** how long this is to last, I am **quite tired of it**;" and she **seated herself again** on the nest. (Paull, 1981, p.15, emphases added)

In Ren's translation, the adjective "老远老远的" and the adverb "一动不动" are words that are often used in children's books or when telling stories to children. The reduplicative structure makes these words musical and catchy to children. In addition, phrases like "不敢去那么远", "我得说", "厌烦透了", and "蹲下来" belong to everyday colloquial language. Hence, Ren's translation appears vivid, musical, colloquial and is suitable to read aloud to children whereas words like "stretch", "declare", "venture" etc, and phrases like "such a distance", "I wonder", "quite tired of it", and "seat herself again on the nest", etc. in Paull's English version sound more literary.

There is another example from Ren's translation《小人鱼》(The Little Mermaid) that illustrates my point. In Paull's version when the little mermaid complains that the eight oysters embedded in her tail hurt, her grandmother replies, "pride must suffer pain", which reads in a literary way like an old family motto. Ren followed his principle of being colloquial and translated grandmother's words into "要气派就得吃苦头" (no pain no style), which is a very colloquial way of expressing the message contained in Paull's sentence. Therefore, it seems that Ren's strategy has somehow compensated the defect of Mrs. Paull's translation in being too literary.

In addition, Ren has demonstrated his talent for translating children's poems in his translations of Andersen's tales. As we know, Ren's started his translation career translating children's poems.He is also a well-known author of children's poetry. Therefore, his writing was inspired by his translations and his literary creation also benefited from his translation activity. As a matter of fact, his translations of many poems and songs in Andersen's tales are quite successful, as is shown by the following example drawn from《雪人》(The Snow Man)：

Skyd frem, Skovmærke! frisk og prud,

Hæng, Piil! din uldne Vante ud,

Kom, Kukker, Lærke! syng, vi har

Alt Foraar sidst i Februar!

Jeg synger med, Kukkuk! qvivit!

Kom, kjære Sol, kom saadan tidt! (Andersen)

"Come from your fragrant home, green thyme;

Stretch your soft branches, willow-tree;

The months are bringing the sweet spring-time,

When the lark in the sky sings joyfully.

Come gentle sun, while the cuckoo sings,

And I'll mock his note in my wanderings."(Paull, 1981, p.121)

赶快长出来吧，新鲜而又美丽，车叶草；

柳树，垂下你羊毛般的软枝条；

唱吧，杜鹃，云雀! 高高兴兴!

二月里春天已经来临。

杜鹃! 啾啾，啾啾! 我也来唱!

出来吧，亲爱的太阳，跟你往常一样! 。(Ren, 1996, Vol.3., p.230)

The rhyme scheme of Ren's translation is aabbcc. In this poem '草' (pinyin: cao) rhymes with '条'(pinyin: tiao), '兴' (pinyin: xing) roughly rhymes with '临' (pinyin: lin), and '唱'(pinyin: chang) rhymes with '样'(pinyin: yang). To make the lines rhyme, in his translation Ren has switched the sequences of the third and fourth line as well as the fifth and sixth line in Paull's text. Although the rhyme scheme in Ren's translation (roughly aabbcc – there is a slight dissonance in lines 3 and 4) is not the same as the rhyme scheme in Paull's translation, which is ababcc, it is coincidentally the same as Andersen's rhyme scheme: aabbcc. Ren has therefore successfully translated the lyrics in the ST into a musical and rhymed poem.

Another feature of Ren's translation concerns the paratexts and notes of his translations. Unlike other contemporaneous Chinese complete translations of Andersen's tales like Ye Junjian's 1999 version and Lin Hua's 1995 version, which have long prefaces or postscripts on Andersen's life and the translators' personal interpretations of the tales, in his 1996 version Ren has not written at length about his personal interpretation of Andersen's tales in the postscript. Neither has he provided any comment concerning background information and reading guidance before or after the tales, as Ye and Lin have done. He is even very cautious in offering notes. He seldom adds scholarly notes to his translations except for tales like 《幸运的套鞋》(The Galoshes of Fortune), which include heavy cultural and historical information that is likely to be beyond the knowledge of young Chinese readers. I assume this has to do with the target readers in his mind. As he states in the postscript, he believes that

Andersen's tales can be of interest to both children and adults. Therefore he presumably hopes that his translations will be attractive to both youngsters and to adults. However, he is of the view that reading guidance such as interpretation and comments, as well as scholarly notes and background information, might distract the young reader's attention from the content of the tales and undermine their interest. Therefore, Ren decides not to "interrupt" children with such paratexts and notes but to leave them absorbed by the plots of the tales. On the other hand, for those serious readers who are interested in background information concerning matters such as the intention and the course of Andersen's creation Ren provides Chinese translations of the prefaces and introductions in the original collections of Andersen's tales, following Ren's translations of the tales. These Chinese translations are indirect translations from their intermediary English translations. Because they appear after the translations of tales, they will not disturb young readers. From the previous analyses, it is safe to state that Ren Rongrong took greater account of children's reading pleasure when translating Andersen's tales. I think Pu Manting's comment on Ren's translation of children's literature is also tenable for Ren's translations of Andersen's tales. He remarks that:

> Ren Rongrong's translations have their distinct features. The language is simple and intelligible. The translations are loyal to the spirit and style of the original work, full of the fun and joy of childlike innocence and at the same time accordant with Chinese linguistic norms. His talent is best represented by his translations of children's poems. Not only do they preserve the original content, structure and spirit, they also correspond to Chinese children's tastes. They have become favorites because he makes the verses in his translations rhythmic and catchy" (1991, pp. 375-376).[106]

In conclusion, Ren's translations are successful in the following ways:

First, he created a translation that is friendlier to young readers. Although other Chinese translators before Ren also tried their best to make translations readable to children and all were successful in one sense or another, Ren's version is even more child-friendly for two reasons. First, Ren's version contains a very low level of direction from the translator. One can hardly find any trace of ideology-driven manipulation in his translation. Moreover, as aforementioned, Ren rarely tries to impose his own interpretation of Andersen's tales on his readers through comments, introductions, or overt text manipulation, or to interrupt his readers with too many notes. This approach allows young readers to concentrate on and enjoy the plots of the tales and at the same time leaves more room for readers' own interpretations. Second, Ren's version is suitable for children because the language he has used is simple,

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106 Pu Manting is a prestigious critic of children's literature in China. He made this comment in his monograph 《儿童文学教程》 (A Textbook on Chlidren's Literature).

musical, oral, and occasionally childlike. His translations are usually suitable to read aloud, especially the poems in the tales.

In addition, the Shanghai Translation Publishing House as a professional and preeminent publishing house ensured the quality and efficiency of other relevant elements such as printing, binding, illustration, marketing and circulation, and eventually helped this retranslation become commercially successful and reach more readers. In 2005, a revised version of the 1996 translation was published by Zhejiang Juvenile and Children's Publishing house, which is also a major publishing house in China. The 2005 version was the only Chinese translation which received financial support from the H. C. Andersen 2005 Fonden, which was a fund tasked with organizing and supporting the festivities and memorial events on the occasion of H. C. Andersen's 200th anniversary. This financial support in a sense also lent authority to Ren's translation.

6.4 Shi Qin'e (1936-): the only female translator who made a direct translation

The term "translator's voice" was first used by Venuti (1995) in his book *The Translator's Invisibility*. In "The Translator's Voice in Translated Narrative", Theo Hermans has defined "translator's voice" as an index of the translator's discursive presence (Hermans, 1996, pp.23–48). Mona Baker has also studied the translator's voice by adopting a corpus based approach. In her study, the translator's voice equates to the translator's style. But the definition of "translator's voice" has never been properly clarified. The connotation of this term varies and takes different perspectives in various case studies. In this dissertation, the translator's voice indicates the discursive manifestations that demonstrate the presence of a translator, which are influenced by the translational choices and strategies adopted by the translator. Whether they are consciously or unconsciously adopted choices and strategies will not be the concern of this paper, since it is sometimes impossible to tell one from the other.

There have already been many translation studies focusing on the translator's voice, trying to figure out how a translator "speaks" through his or her translation and what he or she wants to express. Some of these studies have taken stylistics as the toolkit for detecting translators' fingerprints from their translations and analysing them so that their voices can become audible. However, very few studies have really listened to the translators and related their personal statements to scholars' observations and analyses of the translations. On the methodology of identifying the translator's voice, Emer O'Sullivan points out that it can be identified on at least two levels. One of them is that of the implied translator as author of paratextual information such as prefaces or meta-linguistic explanations such as footnotes. The other is on the level of the narration itself (O'Sullivan, 2003, pp. 202-203). However, O'Sullivan has not considered interviews and correspondence with translators as paratextual information. Jiang Chengzhi has also mentioned "two frequently used methods applied to identify/ trace the 'translator's voice', — i.e., text-based and paratext-based" in his article "Rethinking the Translator's Voice" (2012). He specifies that "the paratext-based method

means that documents such as the translator's preface, notes or/and interviews are referenced as information providers to trace the translator's discursive presence in a specific translated text made by a specific translator." Nonetheless, his study does not address the possibility of integrating the two methods for identifying translator's voice, which is the method I want to suggest in this section. I believe that interviews and communication with a translator can be considered as a kind of paratext. Although paratexts like preface, translation reviews, translator's notes, etc., are not always reliable, they do permit the construction of a referential dimension when it relates to the examination of a translator's interpretation of the source text and his or her choices in the process of translation. This referential dimension could help critics to distinguish the translator's voice from other voices in a translation.

I am always interested in a translator's reflections on his or her own works, and I believe it would be sensible to allow translators to speak for themselves before we draw any conclusions concerning their translations. In this section, I will construct a referential dimension from my interview with Shi Qin'e in August, 2012, the correspondence between us, and other paratexts of her translations. The textual analysis and comparisons will then be related to this referential dimension to detect the choices she has made in the translation. Hence, by relating what she has said about her translations with what she has done in her translations, I hope Shi's voice in her translations will become clearer and more distinct.

6.4.1 Her life and career

Shi was born in Shanghai in 1936. Her parents had moved to Shanghai in the 1930s and started a little business there, which was burned down in the 1937 Japanese air attack. Her mother gave birth to eleven children but only three of them were fortunate enough to survive into adulthood. As a girl, she did not get much attention from her family. Nonetheless, her mother insisted that even a girl has to know how to read and write, so Shi was given a chance to receive an education. Nevertheless, she almost had to drop out of school in the last year of high school because her family could no longer afford the cost. Understandably, her parents thought it was more important to support the education of her elder brother, the only male offspring in her family. However, fortune came to her rescue. With the establishment of the PRC, education became free. She graduated from high school and then enrolled at Beijing Foreign Studies University as a recommended student. Established by the communist government in the 1940s, Beijing Foreign Studies University was the first university to specialise in foreign languages. Her undergraduate major was English. It was also at university that she first met her classmate Wang Jianxing (his pen name Si Wen is used in the following section), who later became her husband. After her graduation, Shi and Si Wen were chosen by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sent to Sweden to learn Swedish. After four years of study, they came back to China in 1962. They married that same year.

Si Wen started his career as a professional diplomat, while Shi became a teacher in Beijing Foreign Studies University. In the 1980s, she obtained a position in The Chinese

Academy of Social Sciences and started her career as a translator and a scholar in Scandinavian literature. According to Shi, she started to learn Danish in the 1990s during her stay in Denmark as a visiting scholar. She attended a short Danish Language Module, which lasted for only two weeks. Because she had to attend a conference at the time, she actually took just one week's classes. Thanks to her knowledge of Swedish, which is close to Danish, she still achieved a very good result in the final examination. Therefore, the foreign languages that Shi can read and speak fluently are English and Swedish. And although we do not know the level of her competence in Danish, she must be able to read some Danish.

6.4.2 Her translations

As one of the few scholars of Scandinavian literature in China, Shi has a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of many literary works from this region, including Icelandic sagas, Scandinavian folklore, Ibsen's works, and Scandinavian tales. This broad background knowledge has increased her authority when it relates to translation of Scandinavian literary works. As a translator, Shi has produced a considerable body of work, although some translations are co-translations made jointly with her husband Si Wen. Her translations include《埃达》(Edda), translated from *Edda, a collection of Icelandic poems*,《萨迦》(Saga), translated from *The Sagas of Icelanders*, and《红房间》(The Red Room) translated from *Röda rummet* by Swedish writer Johan August Strindberg. Nevertheless, her most widely read translations are probably translations of children's literature like《尼尔斯骑鹅旅行记》(The Adventures of Nils Riding on A Goose)[107] translated from *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* by Swedish Nobel Prize winner Selma Ottilia Lovisa Lagerlöf,《哈克坡地森林》(Hakke Hillside Woods)[108] translated from *Klatremus og de andre dyrene i Hakkebakkeskogen* by Norwegian writer Thorbjørn Egner, and《安徒生童话与故事全集》（Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen）translated from *Samlede Eventyr og Historier* by H. C. Andersen. In contrast to the scholarly style of her translations of sagas and poems, the style of her translations of children's literature is often vivid and colloquial. It seems that she is very clear that the majority of her readers are children. She tries to make her translations intelligible and attractive to them.

6.4.2.1 Incentives for retranslation

According to Shi, her motive in providing a new translation of all of Andersen's tales into Chinese was mainly that there were very few good direct translations in China. She said in an interview after she was awarded the Dannebrogordenen (The Order of the Dannebrog)

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107 The literal English translation of the title of the Chinese translation offered here is mine. In English translations, the title usually is translated as "The Wonderful Adventures of Nils".

108 The literal English translation of the title of the Chinese translation offered here is mine. In English translations, the title usually is translated as "Climbing-Mouse and Other Animals in the Hunchback Wood".

in 2010: "I read Andersen's tales in my childhood. After learning Danish in Copenhagen, I wanted to see how Andersen tells his stories (in his own language), which must be very interesting. Given the truth that so many Chinese people love him, I felt it was my responsibility to bring 'the original taste and flavour' of Andersen's tales to Chinese readers." She gave a similar answer when I asked about her motives for producing this retranslation in our interview in August 2012.

In addition, Shi's comments on other existing Chinese translations in the preface of 《安徒生童话与故事全集》(Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen), which was published by Yinlin Press in 2005, also express indirectly this sentiment. She points out that before Ye's direct translations appeared in the 1950s, the early translations of Andersen's tales were all indirect translations. She also points out that although a lot of beautifully printed and bound Chinese translations have come into being since the 1990s, they vary significantly in quality of translation. Actually, Ye Junjian and Ren Rongrong's translations are probably the only ones that Shi truly values. She makes no mention in her preface of another direct complete translation by Lin Hua. Therefore, we can see from her above statements that it was through her dissatisfaction with the Andersen translations in China and her own sound understanding of the style and characteristics of Andersen's tales that she decided to retranslate all of Andersen's tales.

6.4.2.2 Her understanding of Andersen's tales

Shi Qin'e has never written any academic article on Andersen's tales and writing style. Her understanding and interpretation of Andersen's tales as well as his writing style are mostly expressed in the long preface to 《安徒生童话与故事全集》(Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen). Some of the points stated in this preface echo with her opinions expressed in our interview.

In the first part of the preface, she gives her readers a complete introduction to Andersen's life and career as a writer. Her account of the historical background of Andersen's time, of his life and career is always accompanied with her own comments and observations. It is obvious that she tries to illuminate the relationship between Andersen's life experience and his literary creation, especially the creation of tales.

In the second part, she continues to point out the originality of Andersen's tales in respect of his departure from the traditional norms of children's literature of his time and his innovative style of writing. In her opinion, in Europe, fairy tales before Andersen's time were often composed with similar writing strategies and were even identical in plot and content. They are full of clichés like moral preaching, religious homily, and formulaic arrangement of plots, while the motifs of Andersen's tales, according to Shi, are praise of beauty, truth, and kindness. And Andersen always tries to break through the traditional formulaic way of writing by adopting techniques used in folklore, saga, allegory, myth, poetry and even

novella to his tale-writing. Thus, "Andersen has successfully raised fairy tales to a new level" regarding the literary merits in his tales.

Shi further analyses the innovative plot arrangements in several of Andersen's most popular tales like "Keiserens nye Klæder" (The Emperor's New Clothes), "Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkerne" (The Little Match Girl), "Den lille Havfrue" (The Little Mermaid) to elucidate her opinion. In addition, Shi has also spoken highly of Andersen's style of writing. She believes that tales like "Skyggen" (The Shadow), and "Lykkens Kalosker" (The Galoshes of Fortune) are tinted with both magical realist and absurdist colours, which flavour his tales with modernism. At the same time, in line with Ye Junjian, Shi thinks that the sentimental atmosphere in some of Andersen's tales expresses the helpless feeling he had when he realized that there was actually not much he could do to improve the life of people from the lower class. Therefore, some of Andersen's tales are still shackled by religious preaching that is often embedded in traditional children's literature, which for Shi is "a flaw in a gem" (Shi, 2005, p.12).

After expressing her own understanding and interpretation of Andersen's tales, she gives a brief retrospect of the history of translating Andersen's tales in China and states her own opinions on dos and don'ts regarding the translation of Andersen's tales. According to her, the language Andersen uses in his tales is usually informal. There are not many lengthy sentences with complex structure. Although the clauses are sometimes loosely arranged, this rarely results in any obstacle to understanding. Shi believes that this is because "these tales are, after all, written for children" (Shi, 2005, p.16). In our interview she also referred to this impression of Andersen's language. Based on her understanding of Andersen's writing style, she draws out some principles for translating Andersen and at the same time, highlights some examples found in other existing Chinese translations which she considers to be unsuccessful solutions. Integrating these with the ones she proposed in our interview and correspondence, we can arrange them here in five principles:

First, since Andersen's tales are written mainly for children, the language in translations should be plain and intelligible. Obscure and over-cultivated language would ruin the colloquial nature of the source text.

Second, since the majority of the readers of Andersen's tales are children, they ought to be translated into standard Chinese that is in conformity with Chinese linguistic norms. Reproducing the syntax and even the rambling and loose sentence structures from the source texts in their Chinese translations is an improper approach to translation since a literal rendering could result in nonstandard Chinese sentences in translations.

This opinion appears in the preface to translation, and Shi also made the point forcefully in our interview. Later, she gave an example to support her view in an email she sent to me. The example is from a translation of "Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkerne" (The Little Match Girl):

Det var saa grueligt koldt; det sneede og det begyndte at blive mørk Aften; det var ogsaa den sidste Aften i Aaret, Nytaarsaften.. (Andersen)

Gloss: It was so terribly cold; it snowed, and it began to become dark evening; it was also the last evening of the year, the New Year's Eve.

天冷得可怕极了:飘着雪，开始黑了下来，夜来到了。这是一年的最后一个晚上，除夕。[109]

Gloss: The weather was so terribly cold: snowing, started to get dark, the night came. This was the last night of the year, the New Year's Eve.

According to Shi, this Chinese translation is a rigid translation that tries to copy the syntax in Andersen's text. As a result, the Chinese translation reads like "Danish Chinese", which is awkward and odd.

Third, as to the idioms and puns in Andersen's tales, as with two-part allegorical sayings in Chinese, they are highly language-bound and culture-bound. Therefore, one should be very careful when translating them, because some are untranslatable. As regards pragmatic particles such as 'saa', 'da', 'vel', 'nok', 'jo', etc., used frequently in Andersen's tales, they often have no definite meaning and are generally used to strengthen the tone or signify the transition of tone. Therefore, the culturally specific idioms and puns, as well as pragmatic particles that are vague or empty in meaning actually defy translation.

Moreover, Shi refers to R. P. Keigwin's opinion stated in the preface to his translations of the first four tales of Andersen's tales, which were published by Cambridge University Press in 1935, to support her opinion on the un-translatable elements in Andersen's tales. One can see clearly Elias Bredsdorff's influence on Shi here. In *Hans Christian Andersen: The Story of His Life and Work 1805-75*, Bredsdorff expresses the same opinion as Shi (Bredsdorff, 1975, p.333). In addition, Shi's quotation of Keigwin's theory on Andersen's style and translation is probably also drawn from Bredsdorff. While pointing out the untranslatable elements in Andersen's tales, Shi Qin'e has also criticized some Chinese translations for their rigid approach to these untranslatable pragmatic particles, which to her are unnecessary and pointless.

It is not to say that Shi has discarded fidelity as a principle of translation. On the contrary, as with other Chinese translators, she considers fidelity as a very important criterion for a good translation. She has specifically pointed out some examples in other Chinese translations that are not faithful and are even mistranslations because of the translator's misinterpretation of the source text or because of improper diction. But she has her own understanding and criteria for "translating faithfully". For her, translating Andersen's tales faithfully involves translating "the messages contained in Andersen's sentences and phrases" completely and correctly into Chinese and rendering the style of Andersen's tales (Shi, Aug.

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109 In her email, Shi didn't mention the translator of this translation. However, a search reveals that this is an excerpt from Lin Hua's translation.

2012, interview). Translating faithfully does not necessarily mean copying Andersen's syntax and translating word for word.

In our interview, Shi also observed that one must be very careful when using Chinese "four-character idiom"[110] in translation, because they often have specific cultural or religious connotations, which may lead Chinese readers to a misunderstanding of Andersen's original texts. She mentioned the translation of the title of "Venskabs-Pagten" (The Bond of Friendship) in a Chinese translation (it is also Lin Hua's translation) to explain the kind of misinterpretation that could be caused by the misuse of the "four-character idiom". This Chinese translation translates the Danish title into 《山盟海誓的友情》 (The Pledge of Friendship Lasts Like Sea and Mountain), in which "山盟海誓" is a Chinese four-character idiom usually indicating a solemn pledge of love between lovers. According to Shi, this translation would probably mislead readers to presume that this tale is about love rather than friendship.

6.4.2.3 Her translations of Andersen's tales - facts and first impressions

In 2005, her complete translation of Andersen's tales《安徒生童话与故事全集》（Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen）was published by Yinlin Press[111]. It encompasses 157 tales that are rendered from *Samlede Eventyr og Historier. Jubilæumsudgave* published by Odense: Flensted in 1991. In recognition of this complete Chinese translation, Shi was awarded the "Hans Christian Andersen Award of Honour" in 2006.[112]

Andersen's tales are famous for their colloquial style. As Andersen himself put it, "Man skulde i Stilen høre Fortælleren, Sproget maatte derfor nærme sig det mundtlige Foredrag; der fortaltes for Børn, men ogsaa den Ældre skulde kunne høre derpaa." [The style should be like listening to a narrator. Therefore the language must be close to that of the oral

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110 Four-character idiom is a type of traditional Chinese idiomatic expression consisting of four characters. It is usually categorized into two types: Chenyu or set phrase and ordinary Chinese phrase with four characters. Four-character idioms were widely used in Classical Chinese and are still common in vernacular Chinese writing and in the spoken language today. The meaning of a four-character idiom usually surpasses the sum of the meanings carried by the four characters and is often intimately linked with a myth, story or historical fact embedded in Chinese ancient literature.

111 There will be a table of contents of this translation offered in Appendix 9.

112 This is not to be confused with "The Hans Christian Andersen Award" issued by The International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY). According to the website of the Danish embassy to Germany, "this award is presented by the H. C. Andersen Committee to organizations, institutions or individuals for promoting and spreading knowledge of the Danish national author and his works since 1996. The Danish Queen Margrethe II received the award in 2004 for her artistic animation in the movie The Snow Queen".
(http://benin.um.dk/da/news/newsdisplaypage/?newsID=A22E3A5C-DF61-471C-925E-0C43FAAA6C5F, last visited in Nov. 2013)

presentation. They (the stories) are told for children, but adults too should be able to listen.] (Andersen, bd 2., 1863, the English translation is mine) As previously mentioned, Shi has noted this feature. She believes that rendering the style of Andersen does not necessarily mean copying Andersen's syntax and translating word for word, but reproducing the colloquial style and vivid imagery as well as the expressions in Andersen's tales. In her translations she has done her best to achieve this end. Clear evidence of this effort can be found in the colloquial language used in her translations. If we take a look at this example taken from 《跳蚤和教授》(The Flea and the Professor):

Leve maatte han, og saa lagde han sig efter **Behændigheds Konster**, og at kunne **tale med Maven**, det kaldes at være Bugtaler. (Andersen, emphases added)
Gloss: He had to live, and then he learned to play artful tricks, and being able to talk with the stomach, this is called being a ventriloquist.

他必须**过日子**，于是他学会了**变戏法**。他的技艺十分娴熟，他能够闭着嘴**让肚子来说话**，这叫做腹语术。(Shi, 2005, Vol. 3, p.417, emphases added)
Gloss: He had to live, then he learned to play magic tricks. He was very skilful, being able to talk with the stomach, which is called ventriloquism.

In Shi's translation"过日子" (live), "变戏法" (magic tricks) , and "让肚子来说话"(let stomach speak) are all colloquial expressions in Chinese which make the style of the whole sentence match with its ST. Another example is taken from 《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》(Little Claus and Great Claus):

»Hvad er det?« sagde Bondemanden og kikkede under Bordet.
»**Hys**!« sagde lille Claus til sin Sæk, men traadte i det samme paa den igjen, saa knirkede det meget høiere end før.
»**Nej**! hvad har du i din Poset« spurgte Bonden igjen.
»**O**, det er en Troldmand!« sagde lille Claus, »han siger, at vi skal ikke spise Grød, han har hexet hele Ovnen fuld af Steg og Fisk og Kage.« (Andersen, emphases added)

"**喂**，那是什么响声？"农夫问道，朝着桌子底下瞅过去。
"**嘘**！"小克劳斯对着自己的口袋嘘了一声，同时却更用力地踩了一下口袋，袋里装的干皮子发出更响的嘎吱声。
"**喂**，你那口袋里装的是什么东西？"农夫又问道。
"**哦**，是个魔法师。"小克劳斯说道，"他在说，我们用不着喝粥，他已经给我们变出了满满一烤炉的烤肉、鲜鱼，还有糕点。"(Shi, 2005, Vol. 1, p.

12, emphases added)[113]

In her preface to the complete translations of Andersen's tales, Shi has quoted Keigwin to support her point that it is not necessary to translate some of the adverbs and interjections with empty meaning in Danish text. For instance, she has not translated any of the four "jo"s in 《安妮·莉丝贝特》 (Anne Lisbeth). However, she has translated all the interjections in the dialogue in Andersen's text listed here respectively into "嘘" (pinyin: xu) and "喂" (pinyin: wei), and even added one "喂" (pinyin: wei), which is not in the ST. These four particles are Chinese interjections without concrete meanings used at the start of a sentence, but do not act as an element of the sentence. It is therefore clear that she wants to recreate a vivid and life-like conversation in her translation.

Comparing against Andersen's texts and other direct Chinese translations, we often find Shi's translations more explicit. Here is a comparison of the beginning of Shi's translation 《雪女王》 (The Snow Queen) and Andersen's "Sneedronningen":

See saa! nu begynde vi. Naar vi ere ved Enden af Historien, veed vi mere, end vi nu vide, for det var en ond Trold! det var een af de allerværste, det var »Dævelen«! Een Dag var han i et rigtigt godt Humeur, thi han havde gjort et Speil, der havde den Egenskab, at alt Godt og Smukt, som speilede sig deri, svandt der sammen til næsten Ingenting, men hvad der ikke duede og tog sig ilde ud, det traadte ret frem og blev endnu værre. De deiligste Landskaber saae ud deri som kogt Spinat, og de bedste Mennesker bleve ækle eller stode paa Hovedet uden Mave, Ansigterne bleve saa fordreiede, at de vare ikke til at kjende, og havde man en Fregne, saa kunde man være saa vis paa, at den løb ud over Næse og Mund.(Andersen)

Gloss: Now then! Now we start. When we are at the end of the story, we understand more than we do now, because it was an evil troll! It was one of the worst, it was "the Devil"! One day, he was in a really good mood, for he had made a mirror, which had the property that all that is good and beautiful, which was mirrored in it, shrinking to almost nothing, but what did not work and was bad stood out and was even worse. The beautiful landscape looked like boiled spinach, and the best men were ugly or standing on their heads without stomach, the faces were so ugly that they were unrecognizable, and if a man had a mole, then one could be so certain that it would run all over nose and mouth.

请仔细听这个故事的开场白！这个故事要一直讲到结尾时我们才能明白过来，原来他是个坏心眼的家伙，是个坏透了的恶人，是个真正的"恶魔"。
有一天，他心里乐滋滋的，因为他做成了一面镜子，这面镜子有一种特

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113 The purpose of this example is to draw readers' attention to Shi's strategy of translating interjections. Therefore, the English gloss of the whole excerpt is not offered.

别奇怪的魔力，就是每一样真善美的东西照出来的时候就会缩小得几乎看不见，而每一样假恶丑的东西照出来都一清二楚，而且比原来更难看。最美丽的风景照出来像是一堆煮糊了的菠菜泥，最善良的好人在这面镜子里看起来都成了丑八怪，要么是双脚踩在脑袋上的倒栽葱却不见了肚皮，要么是面孔的形状变得七歪八扭叫人压根儿认不出来。哪怕一颗小小的雀斑也会看起来鼻子嘴巴上一片都是。(Shi, 2005, Vol.1, p.270)

Gloss: Please listen carefully to this story's beginning! Only when it comes to the end of this story can we understand (that) in fact he is a wicked chap, an unspeakable evil man, a real "devil".

One day, he was quite happy, because he made a mirror, the mirror has a very strange magic power，which is that everything that is true, good and beautiful would be reflected in it shrinking to almost invisible while everything that is false, evil, and ugly would be reflected clearly, and even more ugly than before. The most beautiful landscape was reflected as burnt mashed spinach, even the kindest man looks hideous in this mirror, either being upside down with his feet above his head and the stomach disappeared or with a twisted face that no one could possibly recognize. Even a little mole would look like spreading all over the nose and mouth.

It is obvious that Shi has added her own interpretation of Andersen's text into her translation. She has adopted an explanatory way of translating from the very first sentence. First, she asks her readers to listen carefully to the beginning of this story. Then she continues to tell the readers that the mirror has a "very strange magic", which Andersen didn't specify. And she uses one more adjective "真" (true) and respectively adds one more adjective "假" (false) to modify the things that are "godt og smukt" and "ikke duede og tog sig ilde ud" in Andersen's text. Moreover, the landscape reflected in the mirror becomes even more terrible in Shi's translation. It looks like burnt mashed spinach! I also assume that Shi describes the good man's face in the mirror as "twisted" to make the text more vivid and picturesque. And she must intend to achieve a sharper effect of contrast when she adds "little" in front of "mole", which was apparently not Andersen's intention.

Therefore，when you read her translation you can almost feel her concern about the risk that her readers might not understand the stories properly and comprehensively. Her strategy does of course make her text more intelligible to the child readers, who are probably Shi's expected audience. However, her translations can also sometimes undermine the reproduction of Andersen's style in the sense that those explanations added to her translation make her sentences long and even redundant, and do tend to ruin the continuity and vividness of the text that is always considered such a feature of Andersen's style.

In《会飞的衣箱》(The Flying Trunk), her strategy is even more overt. Andersen's text is a very concise one with not many modifiers, while Shi's translation is evidently longer and more explicit, with more modifiers, manner adjuncts and with amplification.

Saa sad de ved Siden af hinanden, og han fortalte Historier om hendes Øine: de vare de deiligste, mørke Søer, og Tankerne svømmede der som Havfruer; og han fortalte om hendes Pande: den var et Sneebjerg med de prægtigste Sale og Billeder, og han fortalte om Storken, som bringer de søde smaa Børn. (Andersen)

Gloss: Then they sat side by side, and he told stories about her eyes: they were the most beautiful, dark lakes, and thoughts swam about like mermaids; and he told about her forehead: it was a snow mountain with the most splendid halls and pictures, and he told about the stork that brings cute little children.

他们两人并肩坐在一起，他陪她聊天。他赞美她的一双眼睛，说她的那双眼睛美得不得了，好似两个**深邃莫测**的黑水湖，而思想就如同两个小美人鱼那样在**波光粼粼**的水面上游来游去。他又赞美她的前额，说她的前额有如一座雪山，山巅上建造了**金碧辉煌**的殿堂，而殿堂里收藏着天下最美丽的图画。他又向她讲起鹳鸟送子的故事，说世上那些最可爱的婴儿全是鹳鸟叼在嘴里送来的。(Shi, 2005, p. 169, emphases added)

Gloss: They sat side by side, he kept her company and chatted with her. He praised her pair of eyes, saying that her eyes were the most gorgeous, like two deep, **unfathomable** and dark lakes, while the thoughts like two little mermaids swimming around in the water **shining with crystalline light**. He then praised her forehead, saying that her forehead was like a snow mountain with **resplendent and magnificent** palace on top, and the palace had the most beautiful pictures collected in it. He then told her about the story of stork sending children, saying that all the loveliest babies in the world are sent by the stork with its beak holding them.[114]

Moreover, in this example, we can also observe that Shi is actually very fond of using four-character idioms in her translation, although she has pointed out that one must be very careful to avoid the misuse of four-character idiom in the Chinese translation. In the above example, she uses two four-character idioms, "深邃莫测"(unfathomable) and "波光粼粼" (shining with crystalline light) to modify "the lakes" which is the vehicle of the tenor "the princess's eyes". She then uses "金碧辉煌"(resplendent and magnificent), another four-character idiom to modify "the palace" on top of "the snow mountain". These four-character idioms contain rich connotations and are usually employed for rhetoric effects like intensification, overstatement, sense of rhythm, etc. In this excerpt, the three four-character idioms have added poetic beauty to the translation in that they make the text more picturesque and rhythmical.

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114 It is difficult to transfer the cultural connotation and style contained in a Chinese four-character idiom into English and keep its concise morphological structure in English at the same time. Therefore, the gloss in English here is offered for reference to those who cannot read Chinese; it is not an attempt to represent the style of Shi's translation.

Still in this tale,《会飞的衣箱》(The Flying Trunk), in the first paragraph, Shi describes the old merchant's death as "寿终正寝", which is also a four-character idiom. It is derived from《封神演义》(The Investiture of the Gods), a novel from the Ming Dynasty, (1388-1641) meaning "die at a very old age in one's master room". Obviously, this translation specifies the situation in which the old merchant died. Moreover, the two four-character idioms she uses in the next paragraph have actually enhanced the image of the merchant's son as a spendthrift. She uses "寻欢作乐" (indulgently seeking pleasure) and "挥霍无度" (spending with no constraint) to describe the young heir's way of life after his father's death, which form a more vivid image than the one created by Andersen's plain words "han levede lystigt".

As we know, Andersen is not renowned for rich vocabulary and rhetoric. Thus it is obvious that the four-character idioms used in Shi Qin'e's translations make her translations much more ornamental and endow them with rhetorical effects and connotations that the source texts do not have. And as those examples show, they not infrequently add meanings to Andersen's tales. There are more examples offered in Appendix 10.

Let us now take a look at another example from《奥勒·鲁克奥伊》(Ole Lukøje) which presents another strategy that Shi tends to use in her translation:

Saasnart Hjalmar var i Seng, rørte Ole Lukøie med sin lille Troldsprøite ved alle Møblerne i Stuen og strax begyndte de at snakke, og Allesammen snakkede de om dem selv, undtagen Spyttebakken, den stod taus og ærgrede sig over, at de kunde være saa forfængelige, kun at tale om dem selv, kun at tænke paa dem selv og slet ikke at have Tanke for den, der dog stod saa beskeden i Krogen og lod sig spytte paa.（Andersen）

Gloss: As soon as Hjalmar was in bed, Ole Lukøie touched with his little magic sprayer all the furniture in the room and they immediately began to talk, and everybody talked about themselves, except spittoon, it was silent and was annoyed that they could be so vain, only to talk about themselves, think of themselves and not to have thought of it, it however, stood so modestly in the corner and let itself be spit on.

亚玛尔一上床，奥勒·鲁克奥伊马上掏出具有魔力的小喷壶，朝房间里的家具上喷了一遍，于是所有的家具立刻会张嘴说话了。

它们**叽叽喳喳**地交谈起来，所有的家具都在**喋喋不休**地夸耀自己，唯独那只痰盂没有挤进来凑热闹。它一声不吭地站在墙角落里生闷气，心里在捉摸：怎么这些家伙虚荣心那么厉害，一个个只是**滔滔不绝**地**自吹自擂，时时刻刻**只替自己着想，压根儿想不起来站在墙角落里让人把痰吐到里面的痰盂呢？(Shi, 2005, Vol.1, p.210, emphases added)

Gloss：As soon as Hjalmar was in bed, Ole Lukøie took out the little sprayer that has magic power, sprayed on all furniture in the room, hence all furniture could

speak outright.

They started to chat **chirpily**, all pieces of furniture were **incessantly** boasting about themselves, except the spittoon, which didn't push itself into this chatter. It was standing in the corner, silent and annoyed, (and) thinking how vain these creatures are; everyone kept **boasting about** themselves **ceaselessly**, thought **at every moment** only about themselves, (and) had totally forgotten the spittoon standing at corner and letting itself be spit on.

Again, Shi has inserted her own interpretations into her translation and added several four-character idioms too. Four of them are adjuncts describing the manner in which the furniture talks and thinks, and one is a verb containing manner, which also represents the way the furniture talks. As has been stated above, these four-character idioms have reinforced certain features of the characters in Andersen's tales. In this translation, the furniture appears even more self-centered and vain than in Andersen's tales. Moreover, what is equally obvious is that Shi has rearranged the syntactic structure of Andersen's text. In this example, the ST by Andersen is a long sentence with a loose and simple structure, which is also a feature of his style of writing for tales. Shi has divided this long sentence in the ST into several sense groups and then translated with several short sentences. This is because a Chinese sentence usually cannot contain as many sense groups as a sentence in a Germanic language, such as Danish, English, or German. Although in the process of Europeanization, Chinese sentences tend to become longer and more structurally complicated, a Chinese sentence that incorporates too many sense groups with complicated logical inter-relations will still feel abnormal. Besides, Shi has changed "troldsprøite", a Danish compound noun with an "adjective+noun" structure, into "sprayer that has magic power", a "noun + objective clause" structure. As she expressed in our interview and in her preface to her complete translation, she believes that Chinese translations should be "in accord with Chinese linguistic norms" and not read like "Danish-Chinese". This would be the reason why she often rearrange the sentences in the Danish text in her translation.

Shi is also cautious about annotations. In an email I asked about her approach to annotation, having established that in contrast to Lin Hua, who is disposed to annotate in detail for nearly every cultural, geographic, and religious bond phrase or term in the ST, Shi's translations contain few notes. She explained her approach in her reply:

I try to apply the principle of adding fewer notes, or even no notes to my translation, unless they are necessary. I believe what my readers want to read is the original author's work. Thus, it is better if a translator does not add too many notes to the translation. Otherwise, like putting the cart before the horse, the notes will distract readers and undermine their reading experience. Nonetheless, because the original text has its origins in a different culture and in different social conventions, some parts of the original text might appear unintelligible to target readers. I will then add notes to help my readers understand the original text. All in all, I think neither

too many nor too few annotations are good for a translation.

This principle of annotation is manifested distinctly in 《接骨木妈妈》(The Elder-Tree Mother), her translation of "Hyldermor". In Lin Hua's translation 《接骨木妈妈》(The Elder-Tree Mother), there are 5 notes besides the caption to the title offering the background to the creation of the tale. Four of them explain cultural and religious specific terms like 'Dryade', 'Guldbryllup', 'confirmerede', 'det røde Flag med det hvide Kors', and one note is about 'Rundetårn', a historical site in Copenhagen. However, there is no annotation in Shi's translation of *Hyldemor*. Instead, she has employed the approach of amplification and translated 'Dryade' into "'德里亚德'，这是树精的意思" ('Dryade', which means tree elf), translated 'Rundetårn' into "高高的圆塔" (high round tower) and translated 'det røde Flag med det hvide Kors' into "红底白十字的丹麦国旗" (The Danish national flag which has a white cross on the red background). For "Guldbryllup" ("金婚" in her translation) and "confirmerede" ("坚信礼" (Confirmation) in her translation), she has not given any explanation. The reason for this might be that Shi assumes that her readers will already be familiar with these two terms given the fact that Western cultures and religions have become increasingly well-known to Chinese people since the opening up of China in the 1980s. All in all, this annotation strategy reflects Shi's concern about the potential distractive effect of too many annotations in translation. She has tried to offer her readers a more fluent translation with as few notes as possible.

Looking through the annotations in Shi's translations, they could be categorized into three types: first, annotations of personal names, especially names of important figures in European history or culture who might be unfamiliar to Chinese readers; second, annotations of historical events that are unfamiliar to Chinese readers but relevant to the comprehension of Andersen's tales; third, annotations of specific cultural and religious terms that are relevant to the understanding of Andersen's tales. Therefore, there tend to be more annotations in translations of tales like "幸运的套鞋"(The Galoshes of Fortune), "小图克" (Little Tuk), and "丹麦人霍尔格" (Holger the Dane), which contain more information about European or Danish culture, religion, and history than other tales.

In Andersen's tales there are nouns denoting personal names and geographical, topographical, and historical phenomena, which according to Pedersen could be a challenge for translators (1993, 198).[115] Translating Andersen's tales into Chinese also inevitably involves dealing with these difficulties. Examining Shi's translations reveals her strategies for rendering nouns without exact equivalents in Chinese. For example, she transliterates "Ole

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115 In "A Wonderful Story of a True Soldier and a Real Princess, Problems in connection with the Rendition of Hans Andersen's Vocabulary in English", Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen lists six categories of vocabulary in Andersen's tales that have caused problems in English translations. Proper nouns without exact equivalents (personal names, geographical, topographical and historical phenomena) form one of these categories. (Pedersen, 1993, pp.197-209)

Lukøie" into "奥勒·鲁克奥伊", some Chinese characters with similar phonetic effect with the pronunciation of "Ole Lukøie" in Danish. In 《幸运的套鞋》 (The Galoshes of Fortune), she transliterates most of the names of the places in Copenhagen as well, sometimes together with a note, sometime with an explanation after the transliteration. For example, in "罗斯基尔特或者是林斯德特这两座古城", "罗斯基尔特" and "林斯德特" are transliterations of "Roskilde" and "Ringsted", while "这两座古城" is a geographical explanation. For "holsteenske", Shi chooses to add a note to give readers some topographical information. However, there are also a few exceptions: "Kongens Nytorv" has been translated as "皇家新市场" (New Royal Market), which is a literal translation; "Østerport" has been translated into "东城门" (East City Gate), which is also a literal translation. As for personal names, Shi is also apt to use phonetic translation and annotation in her translations. She often adds notes to famous historical figures and names that are vital for the comprehension of tales to offer readers necessary background information. For instance, in《幸运的套鞋》(The Galoshes of Fortune), she has added three notes to 'Kong Hans', 'Ørsted', 'Heiberg' to explain who they are. In addition, she has transliterated the full names of 'Ørsteds' and 'Heiberg' in her translation. For other personal names, like the names of characters in the tales, she always transliterates them into approximate phonetic equivalents in Chinese.

I will not conclude this section by labelling Shi's style of translation as foreignization, which often incorporates fewer interventions from translator, or domestication, which is often characterized by transparency and fluency (Venuti 1995). Instead, I want to draw my readers' attention to how the skopos of translation and the translator's interpretations of Andersen's tales and style of writing have influenced the translational choices, which represent the translator's presence - the translator's voice at the same time. In Shi's case, the reader's experience is obviously one of her priorities. That is why she tries to keep a balance between too many and too few annotations. This also explains why she tends to adopt an explanatory manner of translating and embed her interpretations into her translations. She wants to make sure that her readers have a pleasant reading experience and understand Andersen completely, although this strategy means that the style of TT will occasionally deviate from the ST and there will be frequent amplifications in the TT. At the same time, it is also apparent that Shi has made an effort to reproduce Andersen's style in her translation by composing her translation in a colloquial style, which is also guided by her appreciation of Andersenian style.

Chapter Seven
Conclusion

After narrating the history of the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales from the perspective of the course of canonization and studying some representative translators and translations in various phases, this chapter will first discuss some translation phenomena relevant to the history. After that some suggestions for further research will be proposed on the basis of the reflections in this study. The two sections will together function as a conclusion to this dissertation.

7.1 Translation Phenomena in the history of the Chinese translation of Andersen's Tales

In the history of Andersen translation in China there are two noticeable phenomena. One is that a large percentage of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales are indirect translations. Moreover, most Chinese criticisms of Andersen's tales are based either on indirect impressions obtained from English criticisms, originally in English or translated into English, or on the reading experience of English or Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. Indirect Chinese translations and second-hand impressions eventually influenced the translated images of Andersen's tales in China. The other notable phenomenon is retranslation. Thanks to the ongoing popularity of Andersen's tales in China and because of the lack of good domestic children's literature, at least 156 of Andersen's tales have been translated more than once. Some of these tales have even been translated dozens of times. The retranslations have enriched the interpretation of Andersen's tales and consolidated their status as canons of the Chinese literary polysystem.

What is also worthy of note after discussing ITr and retranslation of Andersen's tales in China is the involvement of the human factor, namely translators, patrons, and readers, in both ITr and retranslation. Following the historical retrospective of the canonization of Andersen's tales in China, this section will focus on these two translation phenomena and on the human factors involved in translation so as to offer another perspective to the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales.

7.1.1 Indirectness in the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales

As Dollerup (2000, p.21) has pointed out, ITr is "indeed so common that, in literary studies, for instance, it is hardly noted at all." Indeed, indirectness is not a rare phenomenon in the history of the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales either. As has already been mentioned, translations prior to Ye Junjian's 1958 translation were all rendered indirectly. Most of them were translated from English intermediate

translations. Even after the appearance of three direct translations in 1958 (Ye Junjian), 1995 (Lin Hua) and 2005 (Shi Qin'e), various indirect translations such as Ren Rongrong's complete translation (2005) continued to appear. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the sales of these Chinese translations. However, from customers' comments on Amazon (http://www.amazon.cn) and Dangdang (http://www.dangdang.com), the two major online bookstores in China, it is apparent that Chinese readers are more concerned with the literary qualities of the TTs, the printing and design, and the quality of the paper, than whether translations are rendered directly from the Danish texts. It is normal that readers - especially ordinary readers - of a translated literary work read it as if it is a work written in their native language. Therefore, the target text is of more importance to them. However, professional readers like the critics of translated literature are more concerned with such issues as how the indirectness has influenced the TT, and furthermore the image of the ST in the TC, which is one of the topics of this study. The following section will discuss indirectness in the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales in details.

7.1.1.1 Identification of MTs

Scholars like Frank (2004), Pięta (2012), and Ringmar (2007) have already realized that the identification of the MT is always challenging in studies on indirect translation. This is because of "the fact that a text is an ITr is often concealed" (Ringmar, 2007, p.9). Moreover, it is also due to a "spectrum of ternary translation situations" with "a translator using only one translation into the third language as the source text for a translation" at one extreme and "the use of such an intermediate […] translation merely as a control" at the other extreme (Frank, 2004, p.806). In the latter situation, several MTs, in the same language or in different languages, are used alternately or simultaneously. The situations of the indirect translation of Andersen's tales in China cover almost the whole spectrum. Very few indirect translations provide information concerning their MTs. In addition, some translators very likely referred to more than one MT when translating.

When work started on this study there were not many existing studies on methods of identification of the MT for indirect translations. I had no pattern for study either. My belief in the importance of ST in translation studies produced my determination to identify the STs for the Chinese translations I would deal with. It was much easier to identify the STs for the direct translations, as in all three direct English translations there is information about the STs they are rendered from and there are not many significant differences between the various Danish versions of Andersen's tales. As mentioned above, the challenge rested in the identification of the MTs for the indirect translations. Given the fact that indirectness was the standard mode for Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, I felt obliged to find a logical and repeatable

way to determine the MTs for the respective Chinese translations in each temporal period in order to build a solid basis for explaining how the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales came into being. This descriptive method, which involves three steps, was developed gradually to meet the needs of my research.

The first step is creating a biographical profile for the translator of the TT under study. This profile will help determining the foreign languages a certain translator could read and the levels he/she reached.

The second step is going through the paratexts (Genette, 1991) around the TT under study. The paratexts include peritexts (Genette, 1991) such as the introduction/preface, front cover, postscript, and illustrations attached to the main text of this translation as well as epitexts (Genette, 1991), denoting the public or private elements such as interviews, reviews, correspondence, diaries, which are outside the published translation. Sometimes the information about the exact MT can be directly identified in this step; more often than not only clues to the MT will be revealed by these texts. For example, if a Chinese translation involves the same illustrations as an English translation, there is a possibility that the Chinese translation is translated from this English translation. In any case, hypotheses about the possible MT(s) can then be proposed on the basis of these clues.

In the final step, the MT(s) is/are to be determined with the help of comparison among OT, TT, and the possible MT(s). The comparisons include surface-level comparison of titles, paragraph division, and notes, as well as deeper-level comparison of the main texts. If certain possible ST(s) share the same title, and/or paragraph division, and/or notes with the TT, this may suggest its/their identity(ies) as the ST(s) of the TT - the more similarities, the higher the possibility. In the second level of comparison, the deviations from the OT that are shared by the TT and the possible MT(s) are considered as the most reliable evidence for identifying the MT(s).

The identification of the STs of the Chinese indirect translations of Andersen's tales follows this three-step method. As this study was approaching completion in late 2013, I realized that another scholar, Hanna Pięta, has adopted a similar method of ST identification in her research on the history of Portuguese translations of Polish literature which was explained in her article published in 2012. This coincidence may suggest that this method is repeatable in ITr studies.

7.1.1.2 The reasons for indirect translation

Ringmar has mentioned that "the most obvious, but certainly not the only, reason for ITr is a lack of competence in the (original) SL" (2007, p.1). This also applies to Andersen translations in China before the 1950s. Contacts between China and the western countries, especially small countries like Denmark and Norway, were not so close. Hence, there were very few Chinese who could read minor languages like

Danish. A detour, translating indirectly from MTs was the only way that Andersen's tales could get to China. Although there were debates on whether indirectness was necessary and acceptable among Chinese translators and critics in the 1920s, the indirect translation was ultimately legitimised by necessity and reality. As Lu Xun stressed, without relay translation Chinese readers could never enjoy Ibsen's works, Cervantes's works and H. C. Andersen's tales (Lu, 1934/1984, p.238). Hence the "absolute lack" (Ringmar, 2007, p.6) of any competent translator was the reason for the ITr before the 1950s. Although Ye Junjian translated Andersen's tales directly from the Danish texts in the late 1950s, there were still very few Chinese people who could read Danish at that time. The Chinese government began to send a few students to Scandinavian countries like Denmark and Sweden to learn Scandinavian languages from the 1960s. Later, Lin did the second direct translation in 1995 after his retirement. Thanks to her knowledge of Swedish, Shi learned to read Danish very quickly during her stay in Denmark, and produced the third direct translation in 2005. However, since no university or school in China offered a Danish program until 2008, when Beijing Foreign Studies University launched the first program on Danish language and literature, most of the Chinese who could speak and read Danish were diplomats or people who had studied in Denmark as foreign students. Hardly any Chinese had majored in Danish language and literature, and there were few experienced translators who could read Danish. As a result, the "relative lack" (Ringmar, 2007, p.6) of available translators who knew the SL remained the reason for indirectness in the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales after the 1950s.

Another reason, closely related to the first reason, was "the power relations between cultures/languages" (Ringmar, 2007, p.1). It is assumed that the ITr takes place when "the SL and the TL are small/dominated languages, whereas the ML is a dominant language" (Ringmar, 2007, p.5). This explains well the indirectness in the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales. Accompanied with the expansion of the British Empire, English became the dominant language in the world, whereas the influence of Chinese has never reached beyond Asia and Danish has remained as an important language only within Scandinavia. Hence, compared with English, both Chinese and Danish are semi-peripheral and dominated languages. Based on his observations of Polish literature and its translation, Piotr Wilczek has stated that "The literatures of smaller nations have a chance to begin to function in the "universal" canon only if they are published in English translation" (2012, p.1687). Although this opinion applies more closely to the situation after English became the lingua franca, the translation of Andersen's tales in China echoes with Wilczek's view. Without the English mediating translations Andersen could not have become one of the first foreign writers known to Chinese readers and attain canonical status in China.

7.1.1.3 The influences of indirectness

There are two main influences of indirectness on Andersen translation in China.

First, English criticisms as mediating sources of interpretation have influenced the Chinese interpretation and translation of Andersen's tales. As aforementioned, the interpretation and criticism of Andersen's tales in the early stage of Andersen translation in China was influenced by foreign criticism, mainly reviews, originally in English or translated into English, by critics like Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Georg Brandes, Sir Edmund William Gosse, and H. C. Scudder. Chinese interpretations and impressions of Andersen's tales were based partially on these English criticisms and partially on the reading experience of the English translations of Andersen's tales, which were all second-hand experiences. However, these indirect experiences ultimately defined some basic norms of Andersen translation in China and the elementary image of Andersen and his tales in China. For example, one of the primary norms of Andersen translation is translating in colloquial style and simple language which is friendly to children readers, which obviously originated in the view that the most outstanding literary merits of Andersen's tales are that they are rendered in colloquial style and narrated from the child's perspective. This interpretation, as analyzed in Chapter Three, was derived from Gosse and Boyesen's reviews.

In addition, it is also noticeable that the esteem placed on Andersen's tales and the negative comments on Andersen's other works in these western references probably influenced Chinese professional readers' views on Andersen's works as well. They suggest the reason why Andersen has always been considered as a classical fairy tales writer in China and his works other than fairy tales have very rarely been translated into Chinese.

Second, the MTs, namely the English translations, have influenced the TTs, namely the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. As discussed in Chapter Three and Four, in the early stages the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales were based mainly on English translations by E.V. Lucas (1899), H. B. Paull (1867), Caroline Peachey (1908), Horace E. Scudder (1891), and W. A. & J. K. Craigie (1914). From the analysis and comparisons in Chapter Five, one can tell that the version translated by Lucas and Paull (1945) was the ST for Cheng Jingrong's Chinese translations, and The Craigie translation was the ST for Ye Junjian's translations published from 1953 to 1954. In addition, Erik Christian Haugaard (1974) and Paull's translations were the major STs for Ren Rongrong's 1996 translation. These English translations became an important influence on the Chinese translations and eventually the translated images of Andersen's tales in China. From the specimen studies offered in the previous chapters, it is apparent that the Chinese translations have inherited deviations from the MTs.

In addition, the diction in these Chinese TTs is impacted by their MTs, and the syntax of the language in these Chinese TTs is also characterized with English rather than Danish syntactic characteristics. Moreover, the tendency of normalisation in the English translations has not infrequently made the respective Chinese translations more international than Andersen's tales. For example, following Paull's translation, in Ren Rongrong's translation 《打火匣》 (The Tinder Box), the third dog's eyes are "大得像座塔" (as big as a tower). However, in Andersen's text, this dog's eyes are as big as "Rundetaarn" (the Round Tower), which is a landmark in Copenhagen. It is apparent that Ren's translation has become normalised and internationalized because of the intermediating process.

7.1.1.4 A prevailing hypothesis on indirect translation

Indirect translation is also known as second-hand translation (Aranda, 2007), suggestive of the prevailing negative attitudes towards indirect translation. As quoted by Ringmar in his article, a general rule advocated by UNSECO is that "a translation should be made from the original work" (as quoted in Ringmar, 2007, p.2). In China, although indirect translation is too common to be even remarked upon, many Chinese scholars hold sceptical views on indirect translation. As discussed in Chapter Three, there were debates on whether indirectness was necessary and acceptable among Chinese translators and critics in the 1920s. Many intellectuals considered that translating indirectly is dangerous and will risk the fidelity of translation (Zheng, 1921/1998, pp. 62-76). Although indirect translation was legitimised because of the lack of translators with a good command of foreign languages other than Japanese, English, Russian, German, and French before the 1950s, it was still considered as a reluctant choice. Hence, it is as if both the western and the Chinese views agree that indirect translation carries an inherent flaw. A text rendered indirectly will inherit the mistakes in the MT(s). If there is any element of an MT that deviates from the OT, then the deviation will be multiplied in a text that is rendered from this MT. Translating indirectly "will inevitably produce differences that more often than not increase the distance from the ST" (Ringmar, 2007, p.10) and an indirect translation is thus two steps away from the OT.

Surprisingly, the indirect Chinese translations of Andersen's tales are not always further away from the Danish texts than the direct Chinese translations. As examples drawn from Ren Rongrong's indirect translations showed in Chapter Six, sometimes Ren's indirect translations can be closer to the Danish texts than some direct Chinese translations. Although this may happen only occasionally, it indicates that indirectness does not necessarily lead to inferior quality of translation. At the same time, the direct Chinese translations are not always closer to the Danish texts than the indirect translations in terms of their solutions to some of the "general problems" (Pedersen,

2004) in translating Andersen. Pedersen lists the general problems in Andersen translation in his monograph on the English translations of Andersen's tales. These problems fall into two categories: syntax, and vocabulary and phraseology.

In the category involving syntactical problems, Pedersen (2004) discusses syntax, paragraphs, sentences, clauses and infinitive equivalents, rhythm and sound effects. I will take the reproduction of the rhyme and sound effect as an example. In "Ole Lukøie" there is a verse in 'Fredag'. The comparison of indirect translations and direct translation will illustrate my point. The pinyin for the last character of each Chinese line is provided for the convenience of analysing the rhyme scheme.

Vor Sang skal komme, som en Vind
Til Brudeparret i Stuen ind;
De kneise begge, som en Pind,
De ere gjort' af Handskeskind!
;: Hurra, Hurra! for Pind og Skind!
Det synge vi høit i Veir og Vind!;
—— Andersen

我们的歌声好像劲风吹，(chui)
吹到了屋里新婚夫妇面前。(qian)
他们俩拘束、矜持、痴呆呆，(dai)
一动不动活像两根木头签。(qian)
他们俩装聋作哑不吭声，(sheng)
原来是用缝手套的皮子做成的。(de)
泰喜，恭喜呀，木头签子，(zi)
恭喜，恭喜呀，手套皮子，(zi)
哪怕刮风下雨天公不作美，(mei)
我们仍热烈祝贺，齐声高唱。(chang)
—— Shi

风中洋溢着多么快乐的歌声，(sheng)
结婚仪式正在举行；(xing)
文静和美丽的一对新人，(ren)
他们由柔软和洁白的小羊皮制成！(cheng)
万岁！尽管他们不看不听，(ting)
尽管天气不好，我们高歌欢庆。(qing)
—— Ren

Since examining the rhyme scheme is the main aim of the comparison of these texts, the English glosses will not be offered. Only the rhyme scheme will be

explained here. In Andersen's text, the verse consists of 6 lines and the rhyme scheme is (aaaaaa). Shi's translation, which is a direct one, translates Andersen's verse into 10 lines, which somehow has ruined the concise style of Andersen's verse. In addition, the verse in Shi's translations is hardly rhymed. However, in Ren's translation, which is an indirect translation from English MT, the verse is kept as a sestet stanza as Andersen's verse and the rhyme scheme is roughly (aabaaa)[116]. Obviously, Ren's translation has reproduced the rhythm and sound effects more satisfactorily than Shi's translation.

In the category involving vocabulary and phraseology, Pedersen lists problems concerning the rendition of cultural specific terms, idioms, proper nouns, small words (prepositions, modal adverbs and particles), and puns, nonce-formation and allusions, and taboo. I expected that direct translations would perform better than indirect translations in solving these problems because culture-specific features are apt to be lost in the process of translation. My understanding is that the more steps the translation process involves, the more cultural elements tend to be lost or normalised. However, textual comparisons again challenge this hypothesis.

As shown in the previous Chapters, the direct translations do not always do a better job in terms of the translation of puns and the cultural allusions in Andersen's text. Most of the pragmatic effects of puns and allusions in the tales under observation have been lost in the Chinese translations, whether direct or indirect. Pedersen observes that in most English translations, the cultural allusion involved in the word "Dyrehavstiden" has been lost (2004, p. 320). "Dyrehavstiden" appears in "Den grimme Ælling" (The Ugly Duckling) and literally means "deer park's time". It refers to "the period in the summer when the 'Deer Park' north of Copenhagen and its amusements are open, and hence had come to mean 'a short time'" (Pedersen, 2004, p.320). Naturally, the Chinese indirect translations based on the English mediating translations will inherit this loss. However, the three direct Chinese translations by Ye, Lin, and Shi have not rendered the cultural allusion either. Ye translates it into "一个星期" (a week). Lin uses "些时候" (a little while) to translate. Shi translates it into "几天" (a few days). Although Lin adds an adverb "当玩似地" (for fun) to

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116 Strictly speaking, the rhyme scheme of Ren's verse is "abcabb". However, in Chinese poetry, there are several degrees of rhyming. As Cai Zongqi explains in his book "rhyme in Chinese does not necessarily require the matching of identical vowels; sometimes vowels of similar phonetic value suffice" (2013, p.6). Another Chinese scholar He Peisen also points out that the Chinese rhyming system is quite complicated in terms of the different grouping methods. The two widely used ones are "十八韵" (eighteen yun) and "十三辙" (thirteen zhe). Some different vowels, such as "eng", "ing", "ueng", "ong" and "iong" are considered in one rhyming group (He, 2004, pp. 97-103). Therefore, the verse in Ren's translation could also be considered as having a rhyme scheme "aabaaa".

compensate the lost cultural allusion, none of the direct translations are a better solution than Ren's "几天" (a few days).

Hence, my study shows that although indirectness does increase the chance of deviating from the original text, it does not always lead to a translation which is further away from the OT than a direct translation. Sometimes an adequate and accurate mediating text is more reliable than a fallible direct translator, especially when the SC and SL are not familiar to both the direct and indirect translators.

7.2.2 Retranslation

Retranslation is another standard process in the history of literary translation. What is more, as we can see from the history of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, retranslation is also an important path through which a translated literary work can achieve canonized status. All of Andersen's tales have been translated "two or more times from the original or from the translated versions of the original" (Xu, 2003, p.193) into Chinese and therefore can be categorized into two types: direct and indirect retranslations (Xu, 2003, p.193). In addition, these retranslations of Andersen's tales can also be categorized into "Passive retranslations" (i.e. first + subsequent translations) and "Active retranslations" - contemporary retranslations sharing virtually the same cultural location or generation (Pym, 1998).

As stated in Chapter Four, retranslation became more and more popular in the 1930s, accompanied by fierce debates on the necessity of retranslation. Some critics like Zou Taofen (1920) and Mu Mutian (1934) were against retranslation and considered it as inefficient. They urged translators to direct their attention to as yet un-translated literary works, whereas Mao Dun (1937) and Liang Shiqiu (1928) believed that retranslation could improve the quality of translation. Lu Xun's views were in line with Mao and Liang; he pointed out that retranslation is necessary because previous translations need to be updated according to new linguistic norms. Finally, the side represented by Lu Xun won the majority support among critics and translators and retranslation became a common practice in Chinese literary translation. Retranslations of Andersen's tales began to follow shortly after the first translations appeared in the 1910s and 1920s. Through continuous retranslation over the course of one hundred years, Andersen's tales gained wide recognition among Chinese readers.

7.2.2.1 The reasons for retranslation

There have been extensive discussions on the reasons for retranslating. Generally speaking, the reasons are as follows:

Scholars like Mark Pieters (2004) and Douglas Robinson (2009) claim that after a certain period a translation can be considered obsolete and becomes outdated. They

believe that because of this, earlier translations need to be updated in both form and content so as to follow linguistic evolution as well as new social and ideological norms. In addition, retranslation can aim at correcting and improving previous translations. Moreover, sometimes retranslations can be stimulated by the intention to seek or establish authority in a certain research field. St. André declares that retranslation is a way of assuming authority and canonicity by challenging previous translations. At the same time, Myriam Salama-Carr (2000) holds that retranslations of literary works are results of "plural reading" (p.13). This view has its origins in the belief that a canonical literary work can inspire limitless interpretations. Retranslations then are corollaries of these new interpretations of the ST. Besides, Susam-Sarajeva asserts that retranslation "may also emerge as a result of a synchronous struggle in the receiving system" (2003, p.5). These "active retranslations" (Pym, 1998) are often produced because of the "disagreements over translation strategies" (Ibid, p.82) and aim at competing with synchronous translations for authority. Venuti also considers retranslation as a way to "challenge a previous version of the foreign text" (2003, p.32). Nike K. Pokorn (2012) recently pointed out that "often the unacceptability of the pre-war translator to the new political position led to new translations" (pp. 48-49), indicating that retranslation can also be triggered by ideological and political factors. From the previous studies and discussions it is evident that the reasons for retranslation are diverse. Every element involved in translation practice, such as translators, patrons, readers, ideology and economy, can trigger retranslation.

Observing the history of Andersen translation in China, the main grounds for retranslation are:

- First, the evolution of the Chinese language. As previously discussed, literary Chinese experienced a reform during the May Fourth Movement. During this period vernacular Chinese gradually replaced classical Chinese as the literary language. Hence, the first translations of Andersen's tales in classical Chinese were out of date. Andersen's tales needed to be retranslated into vernacular Chinese. However, some syntax and vocabulary of classical Chinese still remained in the early vernacular translations of Andersen's tales. The retranslation of these early vernacular translations then took place in the 1940s and 1950s.

- Second, correcting or improving previous translations was another motive for retranslating Andersen's tales. Translators like Zhao Jingshen and Ye Junjian stated clearly in their prefaces or in their articles that it was through dissatisfaction with previous translations that they decided to retranslate Andersen's tales.

- Third, the capacity to stimulate multiple interpretations was another reason for the retranslation of Andersen's tales. As canonical literary

works, Andersen's tales always invite new interpretations. In the preface of his translation, Lin Hua offered interpretations of Andersen's tales which are slightly different from the traditional ones. He also encouraged his readers to note other characteristics of Andersen's tales.

- Fourth, there have been "active retranslations" of Andersen's tales in most phases of the translation history as well. Some of these were produced under the demand or advocacy of patrons like publishing houses and editors or critics as readers. Some of them were probably produced as a result of competing norms of translation, while some were produced because they catered to the expectations and the tastes of the readers during a certain period. According to Zhang Zhongliang (2005), some tales were translated more frequently than others during the May Fourth period.[117] The reason, he believes, is that "perhaps people (including translators) were more willing to see the unique qualities of children as reflected in Andersen's tales" (Zhang, 2005, p.231).[118] However, there is no direct evidence to prove that these active retranslations were produced for ideological reasons.

- Finally, my study also shows that economic reasons have also motivated retranslation of Andersen's tales, especially after the 1980s when China began to operate a market economy and the state-owned publishing houses gradually became commercial publishing houses. The classical status enjoyed by Andersen's tales in China helped to guarantee the profit. Therefore publishing houses were interested in retranslating Andersen's tales.

7.2.2.2 Hypotheses on retranslation

As summarized in Palokoski and Koskinen's article (2004), hypotheses on retranslation were first raised by Paul Bensimon and Antoine Berman in the special edition of *Palimpsestes* (1990). According to Bensimon, first translations are often

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117 According to Zhang, these tales are "Princess on the Pea" (6 versions), "Daisy" (4 versions), A Rose from Homer's Grave (3 versions), "Tinder Box" (3 versions), "The Little Mermaid" (3 versions), "The Happy Family" (3 versions), "The Swineherd" (3 versions), "The Needle" (3 versions), "Thumbelina" (2 versions), "The Emperor's New Clothes" (2 versions), "Little Claus and Big Claus" (2 versions), "The Rose Elf" (2 versions), "The Flying Trunk" (2 versions), and "The Shepherdess and Chimney Sweeper" (2 versions).

118 The original text is in Chinese. The quotation here is my translation.

"naturalization of foreign works" (Bensimon, 1990, ix-x).[119] As introductions, first translations need to integrate into the TC, while later translations of the same originals do not have this responsibility. Deriving from this view, retranslations are considered to be closer to the ST than the first translation and tend to be more foreignized. Another contributor to this edition, Antoine Berman, believes that "the possibility of an accomplished translation emerges only after the initial blind and hesitant translation" (Berman, 1990, p.5 as cited in Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p.136). Therefore, later translations are always more satisfactory than earlier ones. Phillip E. Lewis also claims that "The closer a translation of a monumental text (…) is to the original's date of publication, the more likely it is to be unduly deficient" (Lewis, 1985, p.59-60). However, these hypotheses were actually based on studies that were conducted in a defined or ideal situation when the retranslations under study were translated from the same ST and appeared in succession. The translation history of a literary work, especially a literary canon, tends to be more complex than this.

Since the hypotheses of retranslation were first proposed, scholars like Palokoski & Koskinen (2004), Brownlie (2006), Desmit (2009), and Deane (2011) have tried to assess their validity. Their studies have shown that the retranslation hypotheses are of limited validity. There is no universal about retranslation. My study confirms that in the history of Chinese translation of Andersen's tales there is no persistent and linear progress from domesticated translations to foreignized translations, or from unsatisfactory initial translations to accomplished retranslations. In addition, if we try to categorise retranslation according to the dichotomous divisions suggested by Xu (indirect vs. direct retranslation) and Pym (passive vs. active retranslation) and consider that a Chinese retranslation of an Andersen tale is not infrequently from a ST/MT other than the ST/MT of the previous Chinese translation, and that the same translator might have translated a tale from different ST(s)/ MT(s) twice or more, there will be numerous categories of Chinese retranslations of Andersen's tales.

For example, there will be direct retranslations by the same translator of the earlier translation from the same ST, direct retranslations by the same translator of the earlier translation from a different ST, indirect retranslations by the same translator of the earlier translation from the same ST… the list could be very long. Thus, the retranslation phenomenon is itself very complex. Indirect/direct, passive/active, and translating from the same ST or a different ST bestow an individual retranslation with its own unique characteristics rather than any universal feature. The retranslation hypotheses that are based on the generalization of the universality of retranslation activity are not   universally applicable.

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119 The original text is "naturalisation de l'oeuvre étrangère". The quotation here is a translation by Palokoski and Koskinen (2004, p. 27).

7.2.3 Human factors in Andersen translation

Anthony Pym advocates humanizing translation history and claims that "we must also be able to portray active people in the picture, and some kind of human interaction at work, particularly the kind of interaction that can string the isolated data into meaningful progressions" (2008, p.23). In addition to the social-historical environment which to a great extent defined the purposes of introducing and translating Andersen's tales in China, human factors, namely patrons, translators and readers, also wielded a crucial influence on the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales and very much determined the images of Andersen's tales in China.

7.2.3.1 Patrons

Patrons have played an important role in the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales. In the introductory stage, patrons were mostly prestigious new intellectuals who had experienced an overseas education. By introducing foreign literary works for children, they hoped to reform the traditional Confucian attitude towards children and childhood. As classical fairy tales that appreciate the independent spiritual world of children, Andersen's tales take the perspective and are written with the language of the child, and were chosen to enlighten Chinese writers and adults. Starting by introducing Andersen's life and foreign criticism on Andersen's tales, the early patrons launched a fashion of translating and introducing Andersen's tales in China. Moreover, influential intellectuals like Zheng Zhenduo, Zhou Zuoren, and Sun Yuxiu promoted Andersen's tales by dedicating special editions of the literary journals they edited to Andersen studies and translation, by establishing a literary society for studies of children's literature, and by encouraging young translators to engage in Andersen studies and translations. In the 1930s the publishing houses became the most important support for translation of Andersen's tales, and through libraries of translations of Children's literature more and more young readers got to know Andersen's tales.

After the establishment of the PRC, the state-owned publishing houses became the patrons for the translation of Andersen's tales, along with the government and education institutions. From the 1950s, several of Ye Junjian's translations of Andersen's tales were selected for inclusion in Chinese text books, which ensured the canonical status of Andersen's tales. Moreover, as we know from Chapter Five, Mao Zedong, the highest leader of China at the time, was very likely a patron of Andersen as well. Mao's approval certainly added to the popularity and legitimacy of Andersen's tales in the newly established communist China.

Since the 1980s, the commercial publishing houses have become the main patrons for the translation of Andersen's tales in China. As Andersen's reputation has

been a guarantee for profit, almost every major publishing house has published translations of Andersen's tales. While a large percentage of these translations are reprints of Ye Junjian's translations, some new translations, direct ones as well as indirect ones, have also appeared since the 1990s. The interest of the publishing houses also brought a boom in 2005, on the occasion of the bicentenary of the birth of Andersen.

Hence, patrons have always been an important factor in the Chinese translation of Andersen's tales.

7.2.3.2 Translators

Another crucial factor is the Chinese Andersen translators. Andersen has been very fortunate in that his tales have always been treated seriously by the Chinese translators. The early translators, as aforementioned, were mostly influential literati of their time and often had multiple identities as translators, patrons and critics of Andersen's tales as well as authors. Their talents in literature helped to secure the literary status of their translations and their reputations made their criticism the norms of Andersen translation. As most translators agreed on the principle of faithfulness, their translations followed the STs very closely in the sense that alterations and omissions were rare in these translations. Moreover, the early translators of Andersen's tales were often related by kinship, marriage or friendship. They became a strong influence which was able to initiate a trend of translating and promoting Andersen's tales in the Chinese literary system.

Some active translators in the 1920s continued their translation of Andersen's tales in the 1930s. Retranslation of Andersen's tales with the aim of promoting the quality of the previous translations was also very popular during this period. For example, Zhao Jingshen retranslated several of his early translations in the 1930s from the Craigie version and had them republished in a new collection of tales. Moreover, translators started to treat young readers as their major target readership. Their principles of using colloquial style and childlike language became the norms for Andersen translations in China. These self-conscious translators helped to shape Andersen's image as a classical fairy tale writer in China.

Ye Junjian and Chen Jingrong were the major Andersen translators in the 1950s. Chen's translations were not influenced by the political environment of her time, and providing children with beautiful and imaginative tales was her most important objective. She contributed to Andersen translation by offering non-mainstream translations. Ye Junjian, on the other hand, adapted his translations smoothly to the political and ideological environment. Without amending the content and the main texts of his translations, he chose to guide his readers to interpret Andersen's tales in a 'correct' and critical way that was accordant with proletarian aesthetics. He

accomplished the first complete direct translation of Andersen's tales in China, which was published in 1958. As his translations began to feature in Chinese text books for primary pupils and middle school students in the 1950s, they became classical translations of Andersen's tales in China. The reputation of Andersen's tales also reached another peak in China.

Ye Junjian's translations remained as the most popular and even the only available translations of Andersen's tales in the Chinese book market through the 1980s. More translators and translations have appeared only since the 1990s. Lin Hua finished his complete translation rendered directly from the Danish texts in 1995. Ren Rongrong rendered a complete indirect translation in 1996. In 2005, the third direct translation of Andersen's tales by Shi Qin'e appeared on the market. Other translators have also provided indirect renderings of Andersen's tales. These translators have made a wider choice available to Chinese readers. Moreover, they have also brought diversity to Chinese translations and offered multiple interpretations of Andersen's tales.

Therefore, serious translators in different periods have invested great effort in reproducing the 'real' Andersen style according to their interpretation and their translations, and they have supplied Chinese readers with complete and close translations of Andersen's tales. Faithfulness is the supreme norm that most Chinese translators adhere to when translating Andersen's tales. In addition, through their translations, poetic beauty, rich imagination, childlike language, and an oral quality have become the characteristics of Andersen's tales familiar to Chinese readers.

7.2.3.3 Readers

As the target of the translations, readers have also cast their influence on the translation and reception of Andersen's tales. What is worth emphasising here is the influence of professional readers like critics, writers and sometimes also translators, on the reception and translation of Andersen's tales. The early readers, as discussed in Chapter Three, were unique in the following ways. First, most readers were intellectuals whom I would categorize as "professional readers". Some of these professional readers, like Zhou Zuoren, Zheng Zhenduo, etc, were at the same time the patrons as well as translators of the translation of Andersen's tales. Secondly, as mentioned in Chapter Three, most of these readers got to know Andersen's tales through English translations. Third, the professional readership's understanding of Andersen's tales influenced Andersen translation in Chinese. As the colloquial style, the imaginative fantasy, and the child's point of view were the features that the professional readership valued most in Andersen's tales during the early stage, they went on to become norms for Andersen translations and for Chinese children's literature. Therefore, the readers of the Chinese translations of Andersen's tales before

the 1930s helped to shape the image of Andersen's tales as romantic and beautiful literary fairy tales.

From the late 1930s, some critics started to suspect that Andersen's tales were like a narcotic which would encourage children to escape to the illusions Andersen created in his fairy tales. They worried that children would forget about the Japanese invasion under which China was suffering if they indulged themselves in tales about fairy lands and swans. Hence, as professional readers, they started to criticise Andersen for the fantasies involved in his tales. Andersen was too romantic to be healthy for Chinese children. As has been shown in Chapter Four, the translation of Andersen's tales declined during this period.

In the 1950s, professional readers started to interpret Andersen's tales in the light of proletarian aesthetics. As is shown in Chapter Five, Andersen was interpreted as a writer from the people, of the people and for the people. The political suitability of Andersen's tales, according to critics, rested on his satires on the rich and the ruling class as well as his sympathy with the poor people involved in his tales. The world created in Andersen's tales was considered as a mirror of reality, namely the corrupt capitalist society of Denmark. However, Andersen was also criticised for his limitations as a man who lacked revolutionary spirit and believed in God's mercy. Hence, his tales were interpreted as critical realist works, a type of literature that was welcomed by socialist countries at that time. This interpretation also became the prevailing view of Andersen's tales among ordinary readers and was taught to pupils in Chinese classes from the 1950s. I still remember how lucky I felt to be a girl born in new China when my teacher told me that there were girls like the one in《卖火柴的小女孩》(The Little Match Girl) in many capitalist countries.

This political reading of Andersen's tales began to fall out of fashion in the 1990s. Critics began to direct their attention to other merits and other possible interpretations of Andersen's tales. Discussions on topics like the religious metaphors involved in Andersen's tales, the differences between the styles of his early tales and late tales, and the female figures in his tales started to become the themes of critical reviews and articles. However, Andersen's tales are still mostly considered as classical fairy tales and literature for children, although a few critics have tried to switch readers' attention to the content directed towards adults. Unlike a hundred years ago, Andersen's tales are part of a wide range of children's literary works now available to children in China, but they remain on their list of must-have books, which very much resembles the situation in Denmark. As a result, his popularity among readers has stimulated continuing translations of Andersen's tales in China.

7.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Looking through the history of Chinese translation of Andersen's tales, I find it inspiring in several ways.

First, an indirect translation is not necessarily poorer than a direct translation in terms of the reproduction of the style and content of the OT. The studies on both indirect translations and direct translations of Andersen's tales leave an impression that a translator who is familiar with the literary genre he is dealing with and has a degree of writing experience is likely to produce an indirect translation of better literary quality than a direct translation produced by a translator of limited writing experience. This leads to a hypothesis concerning the requirement of a translator: could it be that when translating a literary work a translator's literary competence is more important than his or her linguistic competence?

In addition, this study also reveals that an indirect translation can be closer to the style and content of the OT than a direct translation if the indirect translation is based on a reliable MT and if the translator of the direct translation has failed to understand the OT text accurately and comprehensively. Does this mean that when the SC is unfamiliar to the target readers, including the translators, translating indirectly from a reliable MT could be a legitimate method and even a more appropriate method to introduce key cultural texts like Andersen's tales? Or as Ye Junjian's success might enlighten us, could "support translation" (Dollerup, 2000) be an even better method under such conditions? In an article for *Translation in Context* edited by Chesterman, Dollerup defines support translation as "the strategy in which, translating a given source text, translators check translations into languages other than their own target language in order to see whether colleagues have found satisfactory solutions to certain problems" (pp.23-24). As we have already seen, Ye's direct translations of Andersen's tales rely heavily on his indirect translations based on the Craigie English version. Moreover, as it is noted in Chapter Five, he has probably also referred to French and German translations. According to Dollerup's definition, Ye's direct translations of Andersen's tales are therefore "support translations". When he later retranslated Andersen's tales directly from OTs, he did manage to correct some of the deviations in his earlier indirect translation, as with 《卖火柴的小女孩儿》 (The Little Match Girl), and to polish the style and language, as with 《小克劳斯和大克劳斯》 (Little Claus and Big Claus) and 《影子》 (The Shadow), but the English mediating texts Ye used when doing indirect translation must have helped him to understand the Danish texts better.

Besides, looking at the history of translation and reception of Andersen's tales in China, it seems that when English functions as the lingua franca, a detour through English translation is essential for a literary work from a minor culture to become known to another minor culture, although this process of internationalisation often

means normalisation. As both Chinese culture and Danish culture are minor cultures, how much indirectness can we tolerate if we want our culture and literature to become known to each other and to other minor cultures? Is there any method that could help us achieve better control of this process and ensure that the right messages are properly transferred?

Further studies on these hypotheses must be of interest and referential to policy making in cultural, commercial, and political promotion. First of all, based on the historical overview of the Chinese translation and reception of Andersen's tales, the preliminary findings on the style of different versions of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales, and the referential information offered by this study, further studies could start by analysing the inter-textual relations among the Danish texts, the Chinese translations, and the English mediating texts thoroughly with the assistance of multilingual comparable corpora. On the basis of this analysis, the degree of indirectness in the indirect translations and in the direct translations with indirect support can probably be measured and the influences of indirectness on these Chinese translations can be determined. The proximity to the Danish texts of the direct translations, the indirect translations, and the direct translations with indirect support can also be measured. In addition, a reception study based on field research and survey research could also be launched to study the reception of Andersen's tales in China. Questions such as which translation enjoys the most popularity among readers, which tales are the most read and widely-known, and which Danish cultural phenomena have been transferred to and accepted by Chinese readers through the Chinese translations, might find answers through such a study. Combining the reception study with the corpus study, we might be able to see whether direct translation, indirect translation, or support translation is a better approach for translating key cultural text like Andersen's tales, and which element(s) make translation practice more efficient as a channel of cultural communication.

Appendix 1

The articles and translations in the two special issues of 《小说月报》（**The Short Story Magazine**）

Volume 16, Issue 8.

Title	Translator	Author
《安徒生传》 Biography of Andersen		顾均正 Gu Junzheng
《安徒生评传》 An Critical Biography of Andersen	张友松 Zhang Yousong	Hjorth Hjalmar Boyessen[120]
《安徒生逸事（四则）》 Four Anecdotes of Andersen		赵景深 Zhao Jingshen
《牧豕人》 The Swineherd[121]	徐调孚 Xu Diaofu	H. C. Andersen
《火绒箱》 The Tinderbox	徐调孚 Xu Diaofu	H. C. Andersen
《幸运的套鞋》 The Magic Galoshes	傅东华 Fu Donghua	H. C. Andersen
《豌豆上的公主》 The Princess and the Pea	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	H. C. Andersen
《牧羊女和打扫烟囱者》 The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	H. C. Andersen
《锁眼阿来》 The Sandman	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	H. C. Andersen
《孩子们的闲谈》	西谛（郑振	H. C. Andersen

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120 Gu did not mention in which book he found this original text written by Boyessen. However, after some comparison between Gu's Chinese translation and potential original texts, it should be safe to deduce that the original text must be a chapter in Boyessen, H. H. (1895)'s Essays on Scandinavia Literature.

121 The English titles of Andersen's tales in this table are translations by W.A. and J. K. Craigie.

	铎） Zheng Zhenduo	
Children's Prattle		
《小绿虫》 The Little Green Ones	岑麒祥 Cen Qixiang	H. C. Andersen
《老人做的总不错》 What Father Does is Always Right	顾均正 Gu Junzheng	H. C. Andersen
《烛》 The Candles	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	H. C. Andersen
《安徒生的作品及关于安徒生的参考书籍》 Andersen's Works and Andersen Bibliography		西谛（郑振铎） Zheng Zhenduo
《我做童话的来源和经过》 The Sources and Course of My Fairy Tales Creation	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	H. C. Andersen (An excerpt from *The Story of My Life*)
《天鹅》（童话剧） The Swan (Fairy Tale Drama)	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	An Adaption from the English translation of H. C. Andersen's "Wild Swan"

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Title	Translator	Author
《乐园》 The Garden of Paradise	顾均正 Gu Junzheng	H. C. Andersen
《一个大悲哀》 A Great Grief	顾均正 Gu Junzheng	H. C. Andersen
《七曜日》 The Days of the Week	顾均正 Gu Junzheng	H. C. Andersen
《千年之后》 In a Thousand Years	西谛（郑振铎） Zheng Zhenduo	H. C. Andersen

《扑满》 The Money-Pig	西谛（郑振铎） Zheng Zhenduo	H. C. Andersen
《凤鸟》 The Phoenix Bird	西谛（郑振铎） Zheng Zhenduo	H. C. Andersen
《妖山》 The Elf-Hill	季赞育 Ji Zanyu	H. C. Andersen
《践蹈在面包上的女孩子》 The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf	胡愈之 Hu Yuzhi	H. C. Andersen
《茶壶》 The Tea-pot	樊仲云 Fan Zhongyun	H. C. Andersen
《雪人》 The Snow Man	沈志坚 Shen Zhijian	H. C. Andersen
《红鞋》 The Red Shoes	梁指南 Liang Zhinan	H. C. Andersen
《安徒生及其出生地奥顿瑟》 Andersen and His Birthplace　Odense	后觉 Hou Jue	Christian. M. R. Petersen
《安徒生的童年》[122] Andersen's Childhood	焦菊隐 Jiao Juyin	H. C. Andersen
《安徒生童话的艺术》[123] The Art of Andersen's Tales	赵景深 Zhao Jingshen	Georg Brands

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[122] The Chinese subtitle of Jiao Juyin's translation is "我的一生的童话第一章", meaning "the first chapter from The Fairy Tale of My life". The textual comparison reveals that this translation was made from The Story of My life published by Houghton Mifflin in Boston, which is an English translation of Andersen's autobiography Mit Livs Eventyr and translated by Horace Scudder. In addition, Zhao Jingshen's translation《我做童话的来源和经过》 is most likely also translated from pages 202 to 206 in this English version.

[123] This translation is translated from the first Chapter of "Hans Christian Andersen" (p.62-76), which is the second part (pp.61-121) in Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century: Literary Portraits. This English mediating text is translated by Rasmus B. Andersen from Brandes' Det moderne Gjennembruds Mænd. En Række Portræter.

《"即兴诗人"》[124] The Improvisatore	顾均正	H. C. Andersen
《安徒生童话的来源和系统》[125] The Origin and Succession of Andersen's Fairy Tales	张友松	Horace Elisha Scudder
《安徒生年谱》 Annals of Andersen		顾均正、徐调孚 Gu Junzheng & Xu Diaofu

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124 At the end of his translation, Gu signified that the American press Houghton Mifflin had published the English version from which he worked. According to this information and my textual comparison, we can establish that the source text of Gu's translation is from page 341 in The Improvisatore translated by Mary Botham Howitt and published by Houghton, Mifflin &Co. in 1894.

125 In common with his contemporaries, Zhang Yousong also mentioned nothing about the source text of his translation. However, from the English Translations of Andersen's tales listed in Zheng's article 《安徒生的作品及关于安徒生的参考书籍》"Andersen's Works and Andersen Bibliography", I found a clue that the source text of Zhang's translation might be an excerpt from the "Stories and Tales" published by Houghton Mifflin Company in 1870. After comparing the content and language of the English text and Zhang's Chinese text, I am convinced that Zhang's translation must be rendered from pages i to xix in the "Advertisement", which is composed by Horace Elisha Scudder.

Appendix 2

Chen (1950), Lucas & Paull (1945), Andersen

天使/ The Angel/ Engelen

"每当一个好的小孩死去的时候，就有一个上帝的天使从天上下来，把这个死去的小孩抱在他的怀里，然后展开他的大的白翅膀，带着这个小孩飞过他在生前曾经喜爱过的一切地方。于是他便采一大把的花带给全能的上帝，他们在天上要比在地上开得更灿烂美丽。全能的上帝把那些花儿紧抱在胸前，但他只亲吻那最使他喜欢的一朵，那花儿便有了声音，能够去参与极乐园的合唱队了。(Chen, 1950, p.15)

Back translation: "Whenever a good child dies, an angel of God comes down from heaven, takes the dead child in his arms, then spreads out his big white wings, flies with the child over all the places that he loved during his life. Then, he picks a large handful of flowers and brings them to the Almighty, they bloom more brightly and beautifully in heaven than they do on earth. The Almighty presses the flowers to his heart, but he kisses only the flower that pleases him best, and it receives voice, and is able to join the song of the chorus of paradise."

"Whenever a good child dies, an angel of God comes down from heaven, takes the dead child in his arms, spreads out his great white wings, and flies with him over all the places, which the child had loved during his life. Then he gathers a large handful of flowers, which he carries up to the Almighty, that they may bloom more brightly in heaven than they do on earth. And the Almighty presses the flowers to His heart, but He kisses the flower that pleases Him best, and it receives a voice, and is able to join the song of the chorus of bliss." (Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.239)

»Hver Gang et godt Barn døer, kommer der en Guds Engel ned til Jorden, tager det døde Barn paa sine Arme, breder de store hvide Vinger ud, flyver hen over alle de Steder, Barnet har holdt af, og plukker en heel Haandfuld Blomster, som de bringe op til Gud for der at blomstre endnu smukkere end paa Jorden. Den gode Gud trykker alle Blomsterne til sit Hjerte, men den Blomst, som er ham kjærest, giver han et Kys, og da faaer den Stemme og kan synge med i den store Lyksalighed!« (Andersen)

Gloss: Every time a good child dies, there will be a God's angel down to earth, takes the dead child in his arms, spreads out his great white wings, flying over all the places the child had loved and pick a whole handful of flowers, which he brings to God for they bloom more beautifully than on earth. The good God presses the flowers to his heart; but to the flower, which is dearest to him, he will give him a kiss,

and then he receives a voice and can sing along in (the chorus of) the great bliss!

小丁妮/Little Tiny/ Tommelise

1. 从前有一个妇人，非常想有一个孩子，可是她不能达到她的愿望。最后她跑到一位仙女那儿去，说道："我多么希望有一个小孩子。你能告诉我到哪儿去找一个吗？"(Chen, 1950, p.41)

Back Translation: There was once a woman who wished very much to have a child, but she could not obtain her wish. At last she ran to a fairy, and said, "I wish so very much to have a little child. Can you tell me where to find one?"

There was once a woman who wished very much to have a little child, but she could not obtain her wish. At last she went to a fairy, and said, "I should so very much like to have a little child; can you tell me where I can find one?"(Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.20)

Der var engang en Kone, som saa gjerne vilde have sig et lille bitte Barn, men hun vidste slet ikke, hvor hun skulde faae et fra; saa gik hun hen til en gammel Hex og sagde til hende: »Jeg vilde saa inderlig gjerne have et lille Barn, vil Du ikke sige mig, hvor jeg dog skal faae et fra?« (Andersen)

Gloss: There was once a wife, who wished very much to have a little child of her own, but she did not know, where would she find one; so she went to an old witch and said, " I would so very much like to have a child, will you not tell me, where will I find one? "

2. 最后他们来到一个蓝色的湖上，在最绿的树木掩映的湖边，立着一栋用白得耀眼的大理石造的宫殿，是古时候修建的。(Chen, 1950, p.55)

Back Translation：At last they came to a blue lake, shaded by the greenest trees, (where) stood a palace built by dazzling white marble, (which was) built in ancient times.

At last they came to a blue lake, and by the side of it, shaded by trees of the deepest green, stood a palace of dazzling white marble, built in the olden times. (Paull and Lucas, 1945, p.32)

Under de deiligste grønne Træer ved den blaa Søe, stod et skinnende hvidt Marmorslot, fra de gamle Tider,...(Andersen)

Gloss: Under the most beautiful green trees beside the blue sea, stood a dazzling white marble palace from ancient time,...

Appendix 3

《安徒生童话选集》(The Selected Fairy Tales of Andersen) by Ye Junjian (1953-54)[1]

Volume 1 《没有画的画册》 A Picture Book without Pictures

《没有画的画册》　A Picture Book without Pictures

Volume 2 《海的女儿》The Daughter of the Sea

打火匣	The Tinder Box
两个同名字的邻居	Two Neighbours with the Same Name
公主的皮肤	The Princess's Skin
蔼达的花儿	Ida's Flower
玛娅	Maia
陌路朋友	Strange Friends
皇上的新装	The Emperor's New Clothes
坚韧的洋铁兵	The Steadfast Tin Soldier
没有家的天鹅	The Homeless Swans
海的女儿	The Daughter of the Sea

Volume 3 《夜莺》The Nightingale

顽皮孩子	The Naughty Child
幸运的套鞋	The Galoshes of Good Luck
雏菊	The Daisy
天国花园	The Garden of Paradise
飞箱	The Flying Trunk
鹳鸟	The Storks
铜猪	The Bronze Pig
梦之神	The God of Dream
夜莺	The Nightingale

Volume 4 《梦》Dream

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[1]All the English titles in this table of contents are literal translations of my own, which will enable my readers to sense the differences among the titles in various Chinese translations.

永恒的友谊	The Eternal Friendship
荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰	A Rose from Homer's Grave
牧猪人	The Swineherd
丑陋的小鸭	The Ugly Duckling
荞麦	The Buckwheat
青春	The Youth
恋人	The Lovers
雪后	The Snow Queen
补针	The Darning Needle
祖母	Grandmother
梦	Dream

Volume 5　《母亲的故事》The Story of a Mother

红鞋	Red Shoes
跳高比赛	The Jumping Competition
牧羊女和扫烟囱的人	The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep
丹麦人荷尔格	Holger the Dane
卖火柴的小女孩	The Little Match-selling Girl
狱中片刻	A Moment in Jail
窗前	By the Window
老路灯	The Old Street Lamp
邻居们	The Neighbours
一场梦	A Dream
影子	The Shadow
一本不说话的书	A Silent Book
老房子	The Old House
一滴水	A Drop of Water
幸福的家庭	The Happy Family
衬衫领子	The Shirt Collar
亚麻	The Flax
凤凰	The Phoenix
母亲的故事	The Story of a Mother

Volume 6　《笨汉》The Dolt

区别	There is a Difference
老墓碑	The Old Gravestone
一年的故事	The Year's Story
真事	A True Story

我的故事	My Story
一件巨大的悲哀	A Great Grief
各得其所	Everything in Its Right Place
小鬼和小商人	The Goblin and the Merchant
柳树下的梦	A Dream Under the Willow Tree
她是一个废物	She is of no good
两个姑娘	Two Maidens
钱猪	The Money Pig
依卜和克丽斯汀	Ib and Little Christina
瓶颈	The Bottle-neck
笨汉	The Dolt

Volume 7 《美神》Charming

老单身汉的睡帽	The Old Bachelor's Nightcap
小小的绿东西	The Little Green Ones
一块银毫	A Silver Shilling
蜗牛和玫瑰树	The Snail and the Rose Tree
两只公鸡	Two cocks
门钥匙	The Door-Key
金黄的宝贝	The Golden Treasure
风暴把招牌换了	The Storm Shifts the Signs
雪人	The Snow Man
波尔格龙的主教和他的亲族	The Bishop of Borglum and His Kinsmen
老头子做的事儿总是对的	What the Old Man Does is Always Right
甲虫	The Beetle
回忆	The Teapot
美神	God of Beauty

Volume 8 《沼泽王的女儿》The Marsh King's Daughter

老槲树最后的梦	The Last Dream of the Old Oak Tree
沉钟	The Bell
踩着面包走的女孩儿	The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf
孩子们的闲话	Children's Prattle
一个贵族和他的女儿们	A Noble Man and His Daughters
恶毒的王子	The Wicked Prince
一个豆荚里的五粒豆	Five Peas in a Pod
笔和墨水壶	The Pen and Inkstand

鬼火进城里来了	The Will-O'-the-Wisps Are in the Town
蝴蝶	The Butterfly
沼泽王的女儿	The Marsh King' s Daughter

Volume 9 《沙丘上的人们》A Story from the Sand-Dunes

香肠拴做的汤	The Soup Made with A Sausage-Peg
创造	What One Can Invent
谁是最幸运的	Who is the Luckiest
跳蚤和教授	The Flea and the Professor
老约翰娜讲的故事	The Story Told by Old Johanna
看门人的儿子	The Porter's Son
太阳光的故事	Sunshine's Stories
沙丘上的人们	People on the Sand-Dunes

Appendix 4

《安徒生童话全集》 (The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen) by Ye Junjian (1958)[1]

Volume 1，海的女儿 (The Daughter of the Sea)

打火匣	The Tinder-Box
小克劳斯和大克劳斯	Little Claus and Great Claus
豌豆上的公主	The Princess on the Pea
小意达的花儿	Little Ida's Flowers
拇指姑娘	The Thumb Girl
顽皮孩子	The Naughty Child
旅伴	The Travelling Companion
海的女儿	The Daughter of the Sea

Volume 2《天国花园》(The Garden of Paradise)

皇帝的新装	The Emperor's New Clothes
幸运的套鞋	The Galoshes of Fortune
雏菊	The Daisy
坚定的锡兵	The Steadfast Tin Soldier
野天鹅	The Wild Swans
天国花园	The Garden of Paradise

Volume 3《夜莺》(The Nightingale)

飞箱	The Flying Trunk
鹳鸟	The Storks
铜猪	The Metal Pig
永恒的友情	The Eternal Friendship
荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰	A Rose from the Grave of Homer
梦神	The God of Dream
玫瑰花精	The Rose-Elf
牧猪人	The Swineherd
荞麦	The Buckwheat
安琪儿	The Angel
夜莺	The Nightingale

Volume 4《祖母》(Grandmother)

恋人	The Lovers

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1 All the English titles in this table of contents are literal translations of my own, which will enable my readers to sense the differences among the titles in various Chinese translations.

丑小鸭	The Ugly Duckling
枞树	The Fir Tree
白雪皇后	The Snow Queen
接骨木树妈妈	The Elder Tree Mother
织补针	The Darning-Needle
钟声	The Ring of Bell
妖山	The Elf-Hill
祖母	Grandmother

Volume 5 《母亲的故事》(The Story of A Mother)

红鞋	The Red Shoes
跳高者	The Jumper
牧羊女和扫烟囱的人	The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweeper
丹麦人荷尔格	Holger the Dane
卖火柴的小女孩	The Little Match-selling Girl
城堡上的一幅画	A Picture from the Fortress Wall
瓦尔都窗前的一瞥	By the Almshouse Window
老路灯	The Old Street Lamp
邻居们	The Neighbouring Families
小杜克	Little Tuk
影子	The Shadow
老房子	The Old House
一滴水	A Drop of Water
幸福的家庭	The Happy Family
母亲的故事	The Story of A Mother

Volume 6 《柳树下的梦》(The Dream Under the Willow Tree)

衬衫领子	The Shirt Collar
亚麻	The Flax
凤凰	The Phoenix Bird
一个故事	A Story
一本不说话的书	The Dumb Book
区别	"There Is a Difference"
老墓碑	The Old Gravestone
世上最美丽的一朵玫瑰花	The Loveliest Rose in the World
一年的故事	The Story of the Year
最后的一天	On the Last Day
完全是真的	"It's Quite True!"
天鹅的窠	The Swan's Nest

好心境	Good Humour
伤心事	A Grief
各得其所	Everything in Its Right Place
小鬼和小商人	The Goblin and the Little Merchant
一千年之内	In a Thousand Years
柳树下的梦	The Dream Under the Willow Tree

Volume 7《聪明人的宝石》(The Stone of the Wise Man)

一个豆荚里的五粒豆	Five Peas in One Pod
天上落下来的一片叶子	A Leaf from the Sky
她是一个废物	She was Good for Nothing
最后的珠子	The Last Pearl
两个姑娘	Two Maidens
在辽远的海极	In the Uttermost Parts of the Sea
钱猪	The Money-Pig
依卜和小克丽斯玎	Ib and Christine
笨汉汉斯	Clumsy Hans
光荣的荆棘路	The Thorny Road of Honor
犹太女子	The Jewish Girl
瓶颈	The Bottle-Neck
聪明人的宝石	The Stone of the Wise Men

Volume 8《老栎树的梦》(The Last Dream of the Old Oak Tree)

没有画的画册	A Picture Book Without Pictures
香肠栓熬的汤	The Soup Made with a Sausage-Peg
单身汉的睡帽	The Old Bachelor's Nightcap
一点成绩	A Little Achievement
识字课本	The A.B.C. Book
老栎树的梦	The Last Dream of the Old Oak Tree

Volume 9《踩着面包走的女孩》(The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf)

沼泽王的女儿	The Marsh King's Daughter
赛跑者	The Racers
钟渊	The Bell-Deep
恶毒的王子	The Wicked Prince
一个贵族和他的女儿们	A Noble Man and His Daughters
踩着面包走的女孩	The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf

Volume 10《沙丘的故事》(A Story from the Sand-Dunes)

| 守塔人奥列 | Ole the Tower-Keeper |

安妮·莉斯贝	Anne Lisbeth
孩子们的闲话	Children's Prattle
一串珍珠	A String of Pearls
笔和墨水壶	The Pen and Inkstand
墓里的孩子	The Child in the Grave
两只公鸡	Two Cocks
"美"	Charming
沙丘的故事	A Story from the Sand-Dunes

Volume 11 《冰姑娘》(The Ice Maiden)

演木偶戏的人	The Puppet Showman
两兄弟	Two Brothers
古教堂的钟	The Old Church Bell
乘邮车来的十二位旅客	Twelve Passengers Came by the Mail Couch
甲虫	The Beetle
老头子做事总不会错	What the Old Man Does Is Never Wrong
雪人	The Snow Man
在养鸭场里	In the Duck-Yard
新世纪的女神	The Goddess of the New Century
冰姑娘	The Ice Maiden

Volume 12 《小鬼和太太》

蝴蝶	The Butterfly
素琪	The Psyche
蜗牛和玫瑰树	The Snail and the Rose Tree
鬼火进城了	The Will-O'-the-Wisps Are in the Town
风车	The Windmill
一块银毫	A Silver Shilling
波尔格龙的主教和他的亲族	The Bishop of Borglum and His Kinsmen
在小宝宝的房间里	In the Nursery
金黄的宝贝	The Golden Treasure
风暴把招牌换了	The Storm Shifts the Signs
茶壶	The Tea-Pot
民歌的鸟儿	The Bird of Popular Song
小小的绿东西	The Little Green Ones
小鬼和太太	The Brownie and the Dame

Volume 13 《干爸爸的画册》(Godfather's Picture-Book)

贝脱、比脱和比尔	Peter, Pete and Peterkin
藏着并不等于遗忘	Hidden Is Not Forgotten
看门人的儿子	The Porter's Son
迁居的日子	The Removing-Day
夏日痴	The Summer-Geck
姑妈	Auntie
癞蛤蟆	The Toad
干爸爸的画册	Godfather's Picture-Book

Volume 14《曾祖父》(Great- Grandfather)

烂布片	The Rags
两个海岛	Two Islands
谁是最幸运的	Who is the Luckiest
树精	The Dryad
家禽格丽德的一家	Poultry Meg's Family
蓟的遭遇	The Thistle's Experiences
创造	What One Can Invent
幸运可能就在一根棒上	Good Luck Can Lie in a Pin
彗星	The Comet
一星期的日子	The Days of A Week
阳光的故事	Sunshine's Stories
曾祖父	Great-Grandfather

Volume 15《园丁和主人》 (The Gardener and the Master)

烛	The Candles
最难使人相信的爱情	The Most Incredible Love
全家人讲的话	What the Whole Family Said
舞吧，舞吧，我的玩偶	Dance, Dance, Doll of Mine
请你去问亚玛加的女人	Ask the Woman from Jamaica
海蟒	The Great Sea-Serpent
跳蚤和教授	The Flea and the Professor
老约翰妮讲的故事	The Story Told by Old Johanna
开门的钥匙	The Door-Key
跛子	The Cripple
牙痛姑妈	Auntie Toothache
老上帝还没有灭亡	The Old God Has not Die
神方	The Talisman
寓言说这就是你呀	This Fable is Intended for You
哇哇报	Croak!
书法家	The Calligrapher

纸牌   The Court Cards
园丁和主人   The Gardener and the Family

Volume 16《幸运的贝尔》(Lucky Peer)
幸运的贝尔   Lucky Peer

Appendix 5

Ye (1953), Ye (1958), The Craigies (1914), Andersen

1. 打火匣/ The Tinder Box/ Fyrtøiet

如果你想得到金子铸的钱的话，你也可以达到目的—— 事实上，你要有多少就可以得多少——假如你到第三个房间里去的话。不过坐在那儿钱箱上一只狗儿的眼睛，可是有**哥本哈根的圆塔**那么大。(Ye, 1954, Vol. 2, p.4, emphasis added)

Gloss: If you want coins made of gold, you can have that too — in fact, as much as you want — if you go into the third chamber. But the dog that sits on the money-chest there has a pair of eyes as big as **the round tower of Copenhagen**.

And if you want gold, you can have that too — in fact, as much as you can carry — if you go into the third chamber. But the dog that sits on the money-chest there has two eyes as big as **the round tower of Copenhagen**. (The Craigies, 1914, p.2, emphasis added)

可是，如果你想得到金子铸的钱，你也可以达到目的。你拿得动多少就可以拿多少——假如你到第三个房间里去的话。不过坐在这儿钱箱上的那只狗的一对眼睛，可有**'圆塔'**①那么大啦。

① 这是指哥本哈根的有名的"圆塔"；它原先是一个天文台。（Ye, 1958, p.3, emphasis added）

Gloss: If you want coins made of gold, you can have that too. You can take as much as you can carry — if you go into the third chamber. But the dog that sits on the money-chest there has a pair of eyes as big as **the Round Tower**①.

① It indicates the famous Round Tower in Copenhagen; it was originally an observatory.

Vil Du derimod have Guld, det kan Du ogsaa faae, og det saa meget, Du vil bære, naar Du gaaer ind i det tredie Kammer. Men Hunden, som sidder paa Pengekisten, har her to Øine, hvert saa stort som **Rundetaarn**. (Andersen, emphasis added)

Gloss: If you would rather have gold, you can also get, and as much as you want, if you go into the third chamber. But the dog who sits on the money chest has two eyes, each as large as the Round Tower. It's a real dog, you can imagine! But you should not care about it!

2. 玫瑰花精/ The Rose-elf/ Rosen- Alfen

"但是我们不得不分开！"那个年轻人说，"你的哥哥不喜欢我们俩，所以他要我翻山过**海**，到一个遥远的地方去办一件差事。再会吧，我亲爱的新嫁娘——**因为你不久就是我的新嫁娘了！**"(Ye, 1958, Vol. 3, p.94, emphases added)

Gloss: "Yet we must part!" said the young man. "Your brother does not like us, therefore he asks me to go over mountains and **seas**, and to a remote place for an errand. Farewell, my sweet bride —— **for that you shall be!**"

"Yet we must part!" said the young man. "Your brother does not like us, therefore he sends me away on an errand so far over mountains and **seas**. Farewell, my sweet bride, **for that you shall be!**" (the Carigies, 1914, pp.212-213, emphases added)

»Dog maae vi skilles!« sagde den unge Mand; »Din Broder er os ikke god, derfor sender han mig i et Ærinde saa langt bort over Bjerge og **Søer**! Farvel min søde Brud, for det er Du mig dog!« (Andersen)

"However, we must part!" said the young man; "Your brother does not like us, therefore he sends me on an errand so far away over mountains and **lakes**! Farewell my sweet bride, **for it is you that I wish (to have as my bride)!**"

影子/ The Shadow/ Skygeen
于是他把挂在表上的一串**护身符**① 摇了一下，然后把手伸到颈项上戴着的一个很粗的金项链上去。
① 在欧洲，特别是在民间，人们常常在身边带些小玩意儿，迷信地认为它们可以带来好运。(Ye, 1958, p.95, emphasis added)

Gloss: And he rattled a strand of charms, which hung by his watch, and put his hand upon the thick gold chain he wore round his neck. ①
① In Europe, especially among the folks, people often bring some adornments with them, superficially believing that they can bring them good luck.

And he rattled a number of valuable **charms**, which hung by his watch, and put his hand upon the thick gold chain he wore round his neck; (The Craigies, 1914, p.373, emphasis added)

og saa raslede han med et heelt Bundt kostbare **Signeter**, som hang ved Uhret, og han stak sin Haand ind i den tykke Guldkjæde, han bar om Halsen; (Andersen, emphasis added)

Glossary: and then he rattled a whole specter of costly **stamps,** which hung with his watch, and he put his hand into the thick gold chain he wore around his neck;

Appendix 6

《安徒生童话故事全集（新译本）》(The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen (New Translations)) by Lin Hua (1995)[1]

Volume 1

丑小鸭	The Ugly Duckling
打火匣	The Tinder-Box
小克劳斯和大克劳斯	Great Claus and Little Claus
豌豆上的公主	The Princess on the Pea
小伊达的花儿	Little Ida's Flowers
拇指姑娘	Thumb Girl
淘气的小男孩	The Little Naughty Boy
旅伴	The Travelling Companion
小人鱼	The Little Mermaid
皇帝的新装	The Emperor's New Clothes
幸运女神的套鞋	The Galoshes of Fortune
春黄菊	The Daisy
坚定的锡兵	The Steadfast Tin Soldier
野天鹅	The Wild Swans
极乐园	The Garden of Paradise
飞箱	The Flying Trunk
鹳	The Storks
铜猪	The Metal Pig
山盟海誓的友情	The Pledge of Friendship Lasts Like Sea and Mountain
荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰	A Rose from the Grave of Homer
奥勒·鲁克傲依	Ole Luk-Oie
玫瑰花精	The Rose-Elf

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1 All the English titles in this table of contents are literal translations of my own, which will enable my readers to sense the differences among the titles in various Chinese translations.

Appendix 7

《安徒生童话全集》(The Complete Fairy Tales of Andersen) by Ren Rongrong (1996)[1]

Volume 1

打火盒	The Tinder-Box
小克劳斯和大克劳斯	Little Claus and Great Claus
豌豆上的公主	The Princess on the Pea
小伊达的花	Little Ida's Flowers
拇指姑娘	Thumb Girl
调皮的孩子	The Naughty Child
旅伴	The Travelling Companion
小人鱼	The Little Mermaid
皇帝的新装	The Emperor's New Clothes
幸运的套鞋	The Galoshes of Fortune
雏菊	The Daisy
坚定的锡兵	The Steadfast Tin Soldier
野天鹅	The Wild Swans
天国花园	The Garden of Paradise
飞箱	The Flying Trunk
鹳鸟	The Storks
铜猪	The Metal Pig
牧人讲的结拜故事	The Story about Pledged Brotherhood told by Shepherd
荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰花	A Rose from the Grave of Homer
梦神	The God of Dream
玫瑰小精灵	The Rose-Elf
猪倌	The Swineherd
荞麦	The Buckwheat
天使	The Angel
夜莺	The Nightingale
情人	The Lovers
丑小鸭	The Ugly Duckling
枞树	The Fir Tree
雪女王	The Snow Queen
小接骨木树妈妈	The Elder Tree Mother
织补针	The Darning-Needle

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1 All the English titles in this table of contents are literal translations of my own, which will enable my readers to sense the differences among the titles in various Chinese translations.

钟声	The Ring of Bell
妖山	The Elf-Hill
祖母	Grandmother

Volume 2

红鞋子	The Red Shoes
跳高名手	The Jumper
牧羊女和扫烟囱的人	The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweeper
丹麦人霍尔格	Holger the Dane
卖火柴的小女孩	The Little Match-selling Girl
城堡墙头看到的画面	A Picture from the Fortress Wall
在养老院的窗前	By the Almshouse Window
老路灯	The Old Street Lamp
邻居	The Neighbouring Families
小土克	Little Tuk
影子	The Shadow
老房子	The Old House
一滴水	A Drop of Water
幸福的家庭	The Happy Family
母亲的故事	The Story of A Mother
衬衫硬领	The Shirt Collar
亚麻	The Flax
凤凰	The Phoenix Bird
一个故事	A Story
一本不说话的书	The Dumb Book
自高自大的苹果枝	"There Is a Difference"
老墓碑	The Old Gravestone
世界上最美丽的玫瑰花	The Loveliest Rose in the World
一年的故事	The Story of the Year
审判日	On the Last Day
"这是千真万确的"	"It's Quite True!"
天鹅窠	The Swan's Nest
好心情	Good Humour
伤心事	A Grief
样样东西要各得其所	Everything in Its Right Place
小妖精和小商人	The Goblin and the Huckster
在一千年里	In a Thousand Years
在柳树下	Under the Willow Tree
一个豆荚里的五颗豆	Five Peas in One Pod

老头子做的事总是对的	What the Old Man Does Is Always Right
雪人	The Snow Man
在养鸭场里	In the Duck-Yard
新世纪的女神	The Goddess of the New Century
冰姑娘	The Ice Maiden
蝴蝶	The Butterfly
普赛克	The Psyche
蜗牛和玫瑰树	The Snail and the Rose Tree
鬼火在城里了,是沼泽女人说的	"The Will-O'-the-Wisps Are in the Town," Says the Moor-Woman
风车房	The Windmill
一个银币	A Silver Shilling
博格勒姆主教和他的武士	The Bishop of Borglum and His Kinsmen
在儿童室里	In the Nursery
金宝贝	The Golden Treasure
风暴摇撼招牌	The Storm Shifts the Signs
茶壶	The Tea-Pot
民歌之鸟	The Bird of Popular Song
绿色小东西	The Little Green Ones
小妖精和太太	Brownie and the Dame

Volume 4

佩特、彼得和佩尔	Peter, Pete, and Peterkin
"隐藏着但没有被忘记"	Hidden Is Not Forgotten
看门人的儿子	The Porter's Son
搬家日	The Removing-Day
雪花莲	The Summer-Geck
我们的姑妈	Auntie
癞蛤蟆	The Toad
教父的画册	Godfather's Picture-Book
烂布片	The Rags
两个海岛	Two Islands
谁最幸福	Who is the Happiest
树神	The Dryad
家禽格丽特的家族	Poultry Meg's Family
蓟的经历	The Thistle's Experiences
一个人能够想象出什么来	What One Can Invent
幸运可能在一根小木扦里	Good Luck Can Lie in a Pin
彗星	The Comet
一星期的七天	The Seven Days of a Week

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Appendix 8

Ren, Lin, Paull (in Lily Owens Eds. 1981), Andersen

打火盒/The Tinder Box/Fyrtøiet

1. 公路上有一个大兵，正迈着大步走来："左，右—左，右。" (Ren, 1996, Vol.1, p.1)

Gloss: On the road came a soldier marching along: "Left, right— left, right."

A soldier came marching along the high road: "Left, right—left, right." (Paull, 1981, p.348)

Der kom en Soldat marcherende henad Landeveien: een, to! een, to! (Andersen)

Gloss: There came a soldier marching along the high road: one, two! one, two!

2. 蹲在这个箱子上的狗非常可怕；它的眼睛大得像座塔，但是别理它。(Ren, 1996, Vol.1, p.2)

Gloss: The dog who sits on this chest is very dreadful; his eyes are as big as a tower, but don't mind him.

The dog who sits on this chest is very dreadful; his eyes are as big as a tower, but do not mind him. (Paull, 1981, p.350)

Men Hunden, som sidder paa Pengekisten, har her to Øine, hvert saa stort som Rundetaarn. Det er en rigtig Hund, kan Du troe! men det skal Du ikke bryde dig noget om! (Andersen)

Gloss: But the dog who sits on the money chest has two eyes, each as large as the Round Tower. It's a real dog, you can imagine! But you should not care about it!

小人鱼/ The Little Mermaid/ Den lille Havfrue

我们千万不要以为海底什么也没有，光有一些黄沙。(Ren, 1996. Vol. 1, p. 76)

Gloss: We must not think that there is nothing at the bottom of the sea, but bare yellow sand.

We must not imagine that there is nothing at the bottom of the sea but bare yellow

sand. (Paull, 1981, p.134)

Nu maa man slet ikke troe, at der kun er den nøgne hvide Sandbund. (Andersen)
Gloss: Now one must not believe that there is only the bare white sand bottom.

小伊达的花/The Little Ida's Flowers/ Den lille Idas Blomster
……，那些花一听到钥匙哐啷哐啷响，都跑到长帘子后面躲起来，站在那里一动不动，只把头探出来偷看。(Ren, 1996, Vol.1, p. 30)
Gloss: …, as soon as the flowers hear the keys rattle, they run hiding behind the long curtains and standing still, just peeping their heads out.
…, and as soon as the flowers hear the keys rattle, they run and hide themselves behind the long curtains, and stand quite still, just peeping their heads out. (Paull, 1981, p.22)
…, men saasnart Blomsterne høre Nøglerne rasle, saa blive de ganske stille, skjule sig bag ved de lange Gardiner og stikke Hovedet frem. (Andersen)
Gloss: but as soon as the flowers hear the keys rattle, they become quite silent, hiding behind the long curtains and poking the heads forward.

Ren and Lin[1]
"这价钱未免太大了，"老太婆很古怪地点着头说。她看上去根本不想给他那些蕨梗子。但是断了一条腿躺在那里也不是回事儿，因此她还是只好把它们给了他；而药膏是如此之灵，用来把她的腿一搽，这位老太太已经站起来，走起路来甚至比原先还利索。但是这种了不起的药膏是药房里买不到的。
"你要那三根蕨梗子来干什么呢？"约翰问他的旅伴。（Ren, 1996, Vol.1, p.61）

"你得的报酬还真不少！"老妇人说道，神奇地点了点头。她很舍不得她那三根枝条，可是腿断了躺在那儿也不好受，于是她把枝子送给了他，而他刚把药膏敷在她的腿上，老妇人立刻站了起来，比以前更稳健地走了。这种药膏就这么灵，不过，在药店里是买不到的。
"你拿这些枝子干什么用？"后来，约翰内斯问他的旅伴。（Lin, 1996, Vol., p.87）

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1 The two examples are listed for comparing the colloquial linguistic styles in Ren and Lin's translations. Since it is hardly possibly to represent the subtle stylistic differences between these two Chinese translations with English glosses, they will not be offered for this pair of examples.

Appendix 9

《安徒生童话与故事全集》(Complete Fairy Tales and Stories of Andersen）by Shi Qin'e (2005)[2]

Volume 1

火绒盒	The Tinder-Box
小克劳斯和大克劳斯	Little Claus and Great Claus
豌豆上的公主	The Princess on the Pea
小伊达的花	Little Ida's Flowers
拇指姑娘	Thumb Girl
淘气的小男孩	The Naughty Boy
旅伴	The Travelling Companion
小美人鱼	The Little Sea Maid
皇帝的新衣	The Emperor's New Clothes
幸运的套鞋	The Galoshes of Fortune
春黄菊	The Yellow Daisy
坚定的锡兵	The Steadfast Tin Soldier
野天鹅	The Wild Swans
天堂乐园	The Garden of Paradise
会飞的衣箱	The Trunk That Can Fly
鹳鸟	The Storks
铜猪	The Metal Pig
结拜之交	The Pledged Friendship
荷马墓上的一朵玫瑰花	A Rose from the Grave of Homer
奥勒·洛克奥依	Ole Luk-Oie
玫瑰花的小精灵	The Rose-Elf
小猪倌儿	The Swineherd
荞麦	The Buckwheat
天使	The Angel
夜莺	The Nightingale
情人	The Lovers
丑小鸭	The Ugly Duckling
枞树	The Fir Tree
雪女王	The Snow Queen

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[2] All the English titles in this table of contents are literal translations of my own, which will enable my readers to sense the differences among the titles in various Chinese translations.

接骨木妈妈	The Elder Tree Mother
织补针	The Darning-Needle
钟声	The Ring of Bell
祖母	Grandmother
精灵的山丘	The Elf-Hill
红鞋子	The Red Shoes
跳高能手	The Jumper
牧羊女和烟囱清扫夫	The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweeper
丹麦人霍尔格	Holger the Dane
卖火柴的小女孩	The Little Match-selling Girl
城堡围墙上见到的画面	A Picture from the Fortress Wall
在瓦托弗养老院窗前	By the Almshouse Window
老街灯	The Old Street Lamp
邻居们	The Neighbouring Families
小图克	Little Tuk
影子	The Shadow
老房子	The Old House
一滴水	A Drop of Water
幸福的家庭	The Happy Family
一个母亲的故事	The Story of A Mother
衬衫硬领	The Shirt Collar

Volume 2

亚麻	The Flax
凤凰	The Phoenix Bird
一个故事	A Story
无声的书	The Dumb Book
大有差别	"There Is a Great Difference"
古老的墓碑	The Old Gravestone
世上最美的玫瑰	The Loveliest Rose in the World
一年的故事	The Story of the Year
临终的那一天	On the Last Day
这是千真万确的	"It's Quite True!"
天鹅的巢	The Swan's Nest
好心情	Good Humour
伤心事	A Grief
各得其所	Everything in Its Right Place
住在饰品店老板家的小精灵	The Goblin in the Huckster's House
在新的千年里	In a Thousand Years

在柳树下	Under the Willow Tree
一个豌豆荚里的五粒豆子	Five Peas in One Pod
天上掉下来的一片叶子	A Leaf from the Sky
她真是一个窝囊废	She was Really Good for Nothing
最后一颗珍珠	The Last Pearl
两个姑娘	Two Maidens
在大海之极	In the Uttermost Parts of the Sea
小猪存钱罐	The Money-Pig
伊勃和小克里斯蒂妮	Ib and Christine
笨蛋汉斯	Clumsy Hans
荆棘丛生的通向荣誉之路	The Thorny Road to Honour
犹太姑娘	The Jewish Girl
瓶颈	The Bottle-Neck
智者的宝石	The Stone of the Wise Men
没有图画的画册	A Picture Book Without Pictures
肉肠扦子汤	The Soup Made with a Sausage-Peg
单身汉的睡帽	The Old Bachelor's Nightcap
干出点名堂来	Something
老橡树的最后一梦	The Last Dream of the Old Oak Tree
识字课本	The A.B.C. Book
沼泽王的女儿	The Marsh King's Daughter
赛跑者	The Racers
钟的深渊	The Bell-Deep
歹毒的王子	The Wicked Prince
风儿讲述的瓦尔德马•多伊和他的女儿们的故事	The Wind Tells About Waldemar Daa and His Daughters
踩踏面包的姑娘	The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf
守塔人奥勒	Ole the Tower-Keeper
安妮•莉丝贝特	Anne Lisbeth
孩子话	Children's Prattle
一串珍珠	A String of Pearls
笔和墨水瓶	The Pen and Inkstand
坟墓里的孩子	The Child in the Grave
家养公鸡和风信公鸡	The Farm-Yard Cock and Weathercock
真美丽	So Beautiful
来自沙冈那边的一个故事	A Story from the Sand-Dunes
演木偶戏的艺人	The Puppet Showman
两兄弟	Two Brothers

Volume 3

Appendix 10

Andersen, Shi

Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkerne/卖火柴的小女孩儿

Det var så grueligt koldt; det sneede, og det begyndte at blive mørk aften; det var også den sidste aften i året, nytårsaften. (Andersen)

Gloss: It was so terribly cold; it snowed, and it began to become dark evening; it was also the last evening of the year, the New Year's Eve.

大年三十晚上，下着鹅毛大雪，天已经黑了，天寒地冻，冷得叫人受不了。这是一年当中的最后一个夜晚。(Shi, 2005, p.349)

Gloss: On the Chinese New Year's Eve, it was snowing in great flakes, the sky was already dark, the weather was cold and the ground was frozen, which was unbearable. This was the last night of the year.

Venskabs-Pagten/ The Pledged Friendship

Vi have nylig gjort en lille Reise og hige alt efter en større. Hvorhen? Til Sparta! til Mycene! til Delphi! der ere hundrede Steder, ved hvis Navne Hjertet slaaer af Reise-Lyst. Det gaaer til Hest, op ad Bjergstier, hen over Krat og Buske; den enkelte Reisende kommer frem som en heel Karavane. Selv rider han forud med sin Argojat, en Pakhest bærer Koffert, Telt og Proviant, et Par Soldater følge efter til hans Beskyttelse;...(Andersen)

Gloss: We have recently made a small trip and desire eagerly to a greater (one). Where? To Sparta! To Mycene! To Delphi! There are hundreds of places for which names the heart beats because of the desire of traveling. It goes on horseback, up the mountain trails, across the thicket and bushes; the individual traveler appears as a whole caravan. He rides ahead with his Argojat, a pack horse carries trunk, tent and provisions, a couple of soldiers follow for his protection;…

不久前，我们一起出门旅游了一趟，走的并不远，所以我们想要再做一次路程更远的旅行。那么去哪里好呢？去斯巴达、美锡尼、还是德尔斐？足足有上百个旅游胜地，这些名字一听就叫人心驰神往，激起了旅游的欲望。最令人向往的旅行莫过于骑马上山，在高山之间曲折的小径上按辔徐行，在蓬蒿和灌木丛中踩出道

路向前奋进。虽说只是一个旅行者，但行进起来也颇有声势，就像整整一个商队。旅游者自己骑着马同雇来当向导的当地老乡走在最前面，紧随在它们身后的是驮着衣箱、帐篷和食品的驮马，走在最后面保护他们的是两个士兵。（Shi, 2005, p.195-196）

Gloss: Not long ago, we went out for a trip, not far away, so we want to make another trip that has a longer distance to go. Then where to? To Sparta! To Mycene! To Delphi! There are a fully hundred of tourist attractions, only the names of them would be very attractive and stimulate the desire of traveling. The most attractive must be riding up the mountain on horseback, riding leisurely on winding trails, treading out a way across the bushes and thicket. Although is the only traveler, (he) proceeds in a vigorous manner, like a whole caravan. The traveler is riding a horse ahead with a local guide; following them are the pack horses carrying trunk, tent and provisions, walking at the end of the rank are two soldiers for their protection.

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