

Nominalization in the Translation of Literary Prose from  
Chinese into English  
(Based on the Three English Versions of *Hong Lou Meng*)

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## **DECLARATION**

I certify that the information contained in this dissertation is the result of research work conducted under the supervision of Associate Professor Ilija Casule, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Human Sciences, Macquarie University.

I certify that the research described in this dissertation has never been submitted to any other institution for an academic degree.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge all sources used and any help received in producing this dissertation have been acknowledged.

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## ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate the use of nominalization in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese into English. Following the definition of English nominalization as a nominalized transform of a finite verbal form and based on complex condensation, this study describes English nominalization as adverbial and in the position of subject and object, condensing finite clausal structures.

Explicitation in translation, as a potential candidate for the status of translation universal, is currently claimed as one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in translation studies. However, there is less research on implicitation in translation as a main objective of study. Therefore, this research project decides on implicitation in translation as a direct point of departure. Since English nominalization condenses finite clausal structures, this justifies its analysis in translation as a manifestation of implicitation.

Based on the use of nominalization mainly in the three English versions of the eighteenth century Chinese classical novel *Hong Lou Meng* (or *Dream of the Red Chamber*), and in the English versions of some other Chinese (classical and modern) novels, this study concludes that nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English is predominantly used as adverbial, in the form of gerundive nominal, and in narrative. This study also concludes that the use of nominalization in literary prose translation from Chinese into English is potentially triggered by various factors including the grammatical characteristics of the Chinese language, lexicalization, the context and co-text of Chinese source texts, the translator's stylistic considerations, the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy, social and cultural factors, and the content of the Chinese source texts.

**Keywords:** English nominalization; complex condensation; implicitation in translation; translation of Chinese literary prose into English; the English versions of *Hong Lou Meng*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A:	Adverb
ADJ:	Adjective
AM:	Aspect Marker
ATM:	Attributive Marker
C:	Complement
CF:	Classifier
CM:	Complement Marker
COS:	Coverb Structure
DN:	Derived Nominal
DO:	Direct Object
E:	Exclamation
EFS	Explicit Finite Structure
GN:	Gerundive Nominal
IO:	Indirect Object
NEB:	New Encyclopedia Britannica
NOM:	Nominal
O:	Object
P:	Preposition
PA:	Particle
PAM:	Passive Marker
PP:	Prepositional Phrase
PRO:	Pronoun
Q:	Quantifier
QM:	Question Marker
RP:	Reflective Pronoun
S:	Subject
Sub:	Subordinating particle
V:	Verb
VN:	Verbal Noun
VP:	Verbal Phrase
ZN:	Zero-derived Nominal

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# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Overview

The present research undertakes to make a linguistic, descriptive and explanatory study of nominalization in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese into English (based on the first 56 chapters of the three English complete versions of the eighteenth century Chinese 120-chapter novel *Hong Lou Meng* (红楼梦) (literally translated as *Red Chamber Dream*) (to be abbreviated as *HLM* hereinafter). The study follows the definition of English nominalization by Lees (1963) as a nominalized transform of a finite verbal form and focuses on three categories of the nominal (NOM) as a representative of the process of nominalization (i.e., Gerundive NOM, Derived NOM, and Zero-derived NOM). This study regards nominalization in translation as one of the manifestations of implicitation in translation.

## 1.1 Research rationale

This study chooses nominalization in translation as a direct point of departure in view of the unbalanced state of affairs in the study of explicitation in translation as opposed to the study of implicitation in translation. Explicitation, as a potential candidate for the status of translation universal, is claimed as ‘one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in translation studies’ (Perego, 2003, p.68; Gumul, 2006, p.171). On the other hand, ‘the international body of literature on explicitation far outweighs the literature on implicitation’ (Klaudy & Karoly, 2005, p.13). ‘Implicitation is treated as a stepbrother of explicitation: it is generally mentioned merely incidentally’ (ibid). In addition, there is much research that has been done with explicitation as a main object of study but less research that has focused on implicitation as a direct point of departure. Under such circumstances, this study departs

directly from nominalization in translation as one of the manifestations of implicitation in translation in an effort to narrow down this research gap (see Chapter 4 as to how nominalization in translation manifests implicitation).

This study chooses to investigate English nominalization in literary translation on the basis of the hypothesis that English nominalization should also be more prevalent in translated functional text types since it is more characteristic of some functional text types from the perspective of systemic-functional linguistics. According to Radovanovic (2001, pp.43-44), ‘it is a general characteristic of [English] nominalizations that they appear more often as a standard feature of some special functional styles/registers of language use, particularly of those *like political, legal, administrative, journalistic, and scientific*’. Based on this hypothesis, this study, instead of investigating English nominalization in translated functional text types, chooses to examine it in literary translation.

Finally, there is no study of nominalization that has been conducted in relation to a translator’s style, although there have been a number of studies carried out to date for investigating a literary translator’s style following Baker (2000). Before Baker (2000, p.241), ‘little or no attention has been paid so far to the possibility of describing the style of a translator or group of translators in terms of what might be distinctive about the language they use’<sup>1</sup>. This is because translation has been traditionally viewed as a derivative rather than creative activity and due to the fact that the notion of style is very difficult to define even in established disciplines such as literary criticism and stylistics. At the end of Baker’s article, she also suggests methodologically to compare different translations of the same source text into the same target language, by different translators, thus keeping the variables of author and

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<sup>1</sup> Efforts closest to the idea of studying the style of a translator have been made by e.g., Lawrence Venuti (1995) who argues against the translator’s invisibility from an ideological point of view, and Theo Hermans (1996) who advocates that there is a presence of the translator’s voice in translated narrative.

source language constant. This proposed methodology ‘avoids the typical shortcomings of studies based on parallel corpora only, namely the lack of reference data in the target language, and the shortcomings of analyses based solely on comparable corpora, namely the unavailability of the source text as a source of explanations’ (Winters, 2009, pp.79-80). Under the initial inspiration of Baker (2000), quite a lot of target-text-oriented studies of translator’s style have been conducted under a corpus-based approach or a corpus-based and corpus-driven approach (e.g., Malmkjaer, 2003, 2004; Bosseaux, 2004; Marco, 2004; Saldanha, 2005; Winters, 2007, 2009). However, none of them have touched on nominalization in relation to a translator’s style.

## **1.2 Research objectives and questions**

### **1.2.1 Research objectives**

This study aims to examine the relationship between English nominalization and a translator’s style on the one hand, and to investigate how English nominalization is used in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese on the other hand. In order to examine the relationship, we chose the three English versions of the Chinese novel *Hong Lou Meng* as data. There are two reasons for our choice. First, the novel *HLM* as the most famous Chinese literary work is authentic and authoritative. Second, its three English versions allow a maximal examination of the relationship from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective as one of the versions was produced at a different period of time from the other two versions.

### **1.2.2 Research questions**

Based on the above research objectives, the following research questions are raised.

- (1) How is nominalization used in the three English versions of *HLM*?
- (2) What are the potential factors triggering English nominalization in *HLM* translation?

(3) How is nominalization used in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English?

(4) What are the potential factors triggering nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English?

### **1.3 *Hong Lou Meng* and its English complete versions**

#### **1.3.1 *HLM* and its story**

The eighteenth century semi-vernacular and semi-classical Chinese novel *HLM* is generally considered to be ‘the greatest of all Chinese novels’ (*NEB*, 1994, p.218). Its greatness stands out above all the other works of Chinese literature in that ‘none is as complex as Cao Xueqin’s masterpiece in literary and linguistic terms, and none is comparable to it in scope’ (Wong, 1992, p.7). As far as its literary values are concerned, the novel is unparalleled in ‘psychological penetration, lifelike characterization, subtle narrative techniques, superb descriptive power, intricate structure, and close-knit symbols’ (*ibid*). In terms of its linguistic values, the novel is just like a language treasury full of a wide variety of idioms, proverbs, common sayings, and collocations. By right of its authority, the dominant source of famous Chinese scholar Wang Li’s canonical *Modern Chinese Language Grammar* with respect to lexis, semantics, and grammar comes from the novel. With regard to the scope of this 120-chapter novel of nearly one million words, there is no exaggeration to compare it to a Chinese encyclopedia as it involves a dazzling range of knowledge such as ‘mythology, religion, superstition, customs, medicine, literature, textile industry’ (*ibid*).

Generally regarded as a semi-autobiographical description of the author’s own family life, the novel mainly centers on the noble Jia family, consisting of two branches of Rongguo mansion and Ningguo mansion. Although the novel describes in great detail the Jias’ wealth

and influential status, as well as their fall, it primarily focuses on the ill-fated love story between the main male character Baoyu Jia (whose given name literally means ‘precious jade’) as an adolescent heir of the family and his two beautiful and intelligent cousins, i.e. the unconventional and emotionally fragile Daiyu Lin, and the sensible and tactful Baochai Xue.

Commonly titled *Hong Lou Meng* (红楼梦), the novel refers to a dream that Baoyu has in a red chamber where the fates of many of the female characters are foreshadowed. Due to the large scale of ‘楼’, ‘chamber’ is also translated as ‘mansion’ as the Yangs (2003) have done. Due to the ‘karmic relation’ of a magic stone to the hero Baoyu – ‘of which he is an incarnation, and with which he was born’ – the novel is also rendered into *The Story of the Stone* as Hawkes (1973) has done (Liu, 2006, p.19).

### **1.3.2 The three English complete versions**

Simultaneous with enjoying widespread popularity in China, the novel has been spread rapidly throughout the world in forms of literary criticism and translation studies. With translations into twenty-three different languages, in seventy-nine (selected, abridged, and complete) versions up to 2006 according to Wang (2006), it is fair to say that *HLM* is the only Chinese literary work that has enjoyed such an international reputation.

Since this study is concerned with a comparison of the three English complete versions of the novel, a brief introduction of them will be presented. While the term ‘version’ is qualified synonymously as ‘translation’, it is necessary to define what is termed as an abridged version in relation to a complete version. While an abridged version is one that is made by the translator based on a shortened version of the original and under his/her conscious and purposeful choice, a complete translation refers to one that completely transplants the original work including content and form for the full representation of its features. This distinction is

absolutely necessary because otherwise it will be meaningless to make a quantitative comparison of nominalization used in an abridged version and nominalization used in a complete version.

### 1.3.2.1 Joly's version

The first attempt at a full translation of *HLM* bore fruit when the first 56 chapters with the title *The Dream of the Red Chamber* were published in two volumes in 1892 and 1893 in Hong Kong. This translation was done by Bencraft Joly (1857-1898), the then British vice-Consul in Macao. According to Joly (1892, Preface), his translation effort 'was suggested not by any pretensions to range [himself] among the ranks of the body of sinologues, but by the perplexities and difficulties experienced by [him] as a student in Peking, when at the completion of *Tzu Erh Chi*, [he] had to plunge in the maze of *Hung Lou Meng*.' In other words, his decision was made purely out of his personal interests. According to Minford (Joly, 2010, xxii), Joly's translation can 'only be described as meticulous' since 'his use of the English language [didn't] mask the intricacies of the use of language in the original Chinese'.

Joly's version is the first extensive English translation of the novel 'with many qualities characteristic of a trailblazer; the examples it set whether good or bad, must have shaped the course which many other translations were to take in the years that followed' (Wong, 1992, p.492). In this sense, it should suffice to say that his version 'represents the highest achievement in the English translation of *HLM* in the nineteenth century' (Hu, 1993, p.130). Unfortunately, despite his ambitious intention of 'affording a helping hand to present and future students of the Chinese languages' (Joly, 1892, Preface), he failed to present a full picture of the 120-chapter *HLM* story for the English readership to appreciate, which might be due to his early death at the age of 41.



### 1.3.2.2 The Yangs' version

The Yangs' complete version *HLM* under the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* was published in three volumes in 1978-1980. This version comes into being from the cooperative endeavor of the Chinese scholar and translator Xianyi Yang (1915-2009) and his British wife Gladys Yang (1919-1999). They 'started to translate it and finished a rough draft of one hundred chapters by 1964, but then [were] told to stop. The work only resumed in 1972 after [they] were released from jail, with the whole translation finished in 1974' (Yang, 2002, p.215).

Working for the Foreign Language Press as a Chinese government-funded publisher whose main responsibility is to spread Chinese literary and cultural legacies abroad, the husband and wife team has produced millions of words of translation, including Chinese classical works into English such as *Elegy of Chu*, *Mr. Decadent: Notes Taken in an Outing*, *Selected Works of Xun Lu*, *Selections from the Records of the Historian*, *Selections from the Book of Odes*, and classics from other languages into Chinese such as *Odyssey*, Aristophanes' *Ornites*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*.

Under their cooperative efforts, the first drafts of their translated works were mainly prepared by Xianyi Yang, to be polished by his wife in consultation with him or independently, for this is generally considered to be the most practicable and efficient approach when two or more people are involved in the translation process. As Xianyi Yang mentioned in his autobiography, 'All these translations, and many more, were done with the help of my wife Gladys. Without her, I could not have rendered them into good English' (Yang, 2002, p.202).

In translation, the Yangs claim to be strictly committed to both the meaning and form of the original, and insist that 'a translation is a translation', 'entailing no superfluous

explanation or explication’ (Ren, 1993, p.35). Therefore, they are strongly opposed to the ‘adaptive practice whereby either the meaning or the form of the ST is sacrificed so as to conform to the form of the TL’ (Liu, 2006, p.26).

### **1.3.2.3 Hawkes and Minford’s version**

David Hawkes (1923-2009) undertook seven years to have the first eighty chapters translated in three volumes and published in 1973, 1977, and 1980. He holds the view that the remaining forty chapters of the novel were written not by Xuexin Cao but ‘by an anonymous reader’ (Hawkes, 1973, p.18). In order to devote himself wholeheartedly to the translation of *HLM*, he resigned from the post of professor of Chinese studies at Oxford University. It is his son-in-law John Minford who resumed his undertaking by rendering the last forty chapters into English, and had them published in two volumes in 1982 and 1986.

Hawkes, whose English version of *HLM* is credited as one of the great translations of this [twentieth] century’ (Yang, 1980, p.621), strongly believes that everything produced by the author in the novel has its own value. Based on this belief, he set himself several strict or even rigorous standards in producing a satisfactory translation, as evidenced by what he (Hawkes, 1973, p.46) had to say:

My one abiding principle has been to translate *everything* – even puns. For...this was written by a great artist with his very lifeblood. I have therefore assumed that whatever I find in it is there for a purpose and must be dealt with somehow or other. I cannot pretend always to have done so successfully, but if I can convey to the reader even a fraction of the pleasure this Chinese novel has given me, I shall not have lived in vain.

John Minford, as Hawkes’ co-translator, is also worth mentioning in several words. As professor of Chinese language at Australian National University, his main areas of research are Chinese literature and poetry, and literary translation. In terms of the approach adopted in translating *HLM*, Minford is very similar to Hawkes, which can be seen in his translating of

‘chapter headings’, his dealing with the ‘conventions of story-telling’, his handling of ‘problems arising from cultural differences’, as well as his use of ‘Latin’ (Wong, 1992, p.12).

#### **1.3.2.4 Summary**

As Joly’s version is a first 56-chapter complete version, this study decides to investigate nominalization in *HLM* translation based on the first 56 chapters of these three versions, from which we think it is sufficient to elicit the translators’ styles in using nominalization. Due to some complicated reasons, the Chinese novel has various master copies and editions. According to the textual research of Wang (2007), Joly conducted his translation mainly based on the edition of Xilian Wang with his comments. According to Liu and Tan (2010), the Yangs conducted their translation of the first 80 chapters on the basis of the edition published by Shanghai Youzheng Publishing House in 1911-12 and of the remaining 40 chapters on the basis of the edition published by The People’s Literature Publishing House in 1959. In contrast, Hawkes conducts his translation in a more complex way, as he (Hawkes, 1973, pp.45-46) said,

In translating this novel, I have felt unable to stick faithfully to any single text. I have mainly followed Gao E’s version of the first chapter as being more consistent, though less interesting than the other ones; but I have frequently followed a manuscript reading in subsequent chapters, and in a few, rare instances I have made small emendations of my own.

Although the translators base their translation on different editions of the original novel, these editions, with a limited difference in some of their chapters, share the vast majority of their content (which can be seen from the numerous examples given in Chapter 5). Thus, this slight difference merely has a small effect on the comparative study of these three versions. For the sake of convenience, we choose in our study the Chinese-English edition of the original novel, titled *A Dream of Red Mansions* and published by the (Chinese) Foreign Languages Press in

2003, and translated by the Yangs.

## **1.4 Outline**

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. Chapter 2 is a review of the literature on explicitation and implicitation in translation, from their definitions and hypotheses to the latest empirical studies on them. The purpose of this review is to show that implicitation in translation (with nominalization as one of its manifestations) needs to receive more attention in comparison with explicitation as its opposite process in translation.

Chapter 3 is a review of the literature of nominalization in both English and Chinese. The purpose of the review of nominalization in English is to show its gradual development in different linguistic schools from transformational-generative linguistics, the Prague linguistic school, cognitive linguistics, to systemic-functional linguistics, and to lay a theoretical foundation for the definition of English nominalization in this study. The review of nominalization in Chinese comes from an original intention of contrastive analysis of nominalization in both the source text of *HLM* and its three versions and from an assumption that nominalization in Chinese might constitute one of the potential factors triggering nominalization in the process of translation.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the research methodology of the study, which contains three frameworks. While the theoretical framework involves the definition of English nominalization, the descriptive framework is concerned with how to make a comprehensive description of the use of nominalization in English. In the analytical framework, three analytical tools are introduced: the grammatical characteristics of the Chinese language, stylistic/discourse effects of nominalization in English, and English nominalization as part of the translator's individual style.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a comprehensive description and contextual analysis of how the NOM is used based on the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*. This comprehensive description involves how the NOM is used in terms of syntactic category as adverbial, subject and object. The contextual analysis mainly deals with the potential factors triggering the use of the NOM and its stylistic effects. In the process of analysis, we also bring to light the translators' stylistic features in various other aspects.

Chapter 6 includes findings and discussion. It starts with a summary of the characteristic use of the NOM in the first 56 chapters of the three English versions and a general evaluation of the three translators' individual styles, followed by a generalization of the potential factors triggering the NOM in *HLM* translations. This chapter ends with a discussion of the use of the NOM in the English translation of some other Chinese literary prose works.

In Chapter 7, we make a final conclusion regarding the four research questions, discuss the implications of the whole research, as well as point out possible areas in which future research can be conducted.

# CHAPTER 2 EXPLICITATION AND IMPLICITATION IN TRANSLATION

## 2.0 Overview

Since the 1990s translation scholars and researchers have embarked on using techniques and tools of corpus linguistics to study translation, thus gradually but steadily ushering translation studies into a corpus-based new phase. As a consequence, corpus-based translation studies has come into being, exploring the act of translation as a variety of language behaviour. While corpus linguistics pays attention to concrete forms and patterns of a language itself, corpus-based translation studies focuses on abstract and global notions such as explicitation and simplification.

One of the most prominent contributions to corpus-based translation studies is the study of what Vanderauwera (1985) initially identified as ‘translation universals’, the idea of which has found a place at the centre of discussion of translation studies’ (Mauranen & Kujamaki, 2004, p.1). The notion of translation universals, as Baker (1993, p.243) points out, refers to linguistic ‘features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems’. These linguistic features involve ‘explicitation’, ‘simplification’, ‘normalization/conservatism’, and ‘leveling out’ (Baker, 1996, pp.180-185).

It was not, however, until 2004 that a more detailed and insightful discussion was spearheaded by Chesterman (2004), who classifies translation universals into ‘universal prescriptions’ and ‘descriptive universals’ (pp.3-7). While the former relate to what translations should or should not be, the latter are concerned with what translations (typically)

are. At present, what translation scholars and researchers seem to be more interested in are the following two concepts within the descriptive approach: potential s-universals and potential t-universals. Specifically, an s-universal is ‘about the relation between translations and source texts (i.e., the equivalence relation)’ (e.g., Blum-Kulka’s explication hypothesis in 1986; Toury’s law of interference in 1995), whereas a t-universal is ‘about the relation between translations and comparable non-translations in the target language’ (i.e., the relation of textual fit) (e.g., Baker’s conventionalization in 1993) (Chesterman, 2004, p.1).

With these studies carried out to corner-stone corpus-based translation studies, the explication hypothesis is not only established, but also incorporated into the scope of the study of translation universals. In fact, explication, as a potential candidate for the status of translation universal, is currently claimed as ‘one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in translation studies’ (Perego, 2003, p.68; Gumul, 2006, p.171). In what follows, explication and implicitation in translation will be reviewed, ranging from their definitions, their relevant hypotheses to the outcomes of their latest empirical studies, before their features and shortcomings are reflected upon. The main purposes of the literature review in this chapter intend to demonstrate the under-researched workings of implicitation in translation and to find a niche for my current research of implicitation in translation. More importantly, this chapter of literature review, together with the literature reivew in the next chapter, lays a solid foundation for the theoretical framework of nominalization, implicitation and condensation applied in the current research and data analysis.

## **2.1 Explication and implicitation in translation**

### **2.1.1 Definitions of explication and implicitation**

It was Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) who first introduced the concepts of explication and

implication. Explicitation is defined as ‘a stylistic technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation’ (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p.342). As a twin concept of explicitation, implication is defined as ‘a stylistic technique which consists of making what is explicit in the source language implicit in the target language, relying on the context for conveying the meaning’ (ibid).

### **2.1.2 Explicitation hypothesis**

The first study of explicitation was conducted by Blum-Kulka (2004, p.292) in 1986 based upon her well-known explicitation hypothesis:

The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text. This argument may be stated as the explicitation hypothesis, which postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved. It follows that explicitness is viewed here as inherent in the process of translation.

The description of her hypothesis manifests two dimensions of the issue. First, what she explores is explicitation on the discourse level, that is, ‘explicitation connected with shifts of cohesion and coherence (overt and covert textual markers) in translation’ (Klaudy, 2008, p.81). Second, what she claims as explicitation results mostly from the translator’s interpretation of the translation process itself, not from any specific differences between different language pairs (e.g., different grammatical systems, different stylistic preferences). Since it was proposed, the hypothesis seems to have been corroborated and confirmed by many empirical studies on explicitation (e.g., Overas, 1998; Olohan & Baker, 2000).

Despite the formulation of Blum-Kulka’s explicitation hypothesis, many translation theorists and researchers are in disagreement with her definition of explicitation. Among them,



the most prominent figures are Seguinot (1988), Pym (2005), and Becher (2010).

According to Seguinot, although the main hypothetical theme is correct, namely the process of translation consists of a process of explicitation, the hypothesis is rather narrow in scope in that ‘explicitness does not necessarily mean redundancy’ (1988, p.108). She shows that ‘the greater number of words in French translation, for example, can be explained by well-documented differences in the stylistics of English and French’ (p.107). In her opinion, explicitation therefore should be reserved for ‘addition which cannot be explained by structural, stylistic or rhetorical differences between two languages, and addition is not the only device of explicitation’ (p.108). Eventually, explicitation, as she argues pragmatically, takes place not only when ‘something is expressed in the translation which was not in the original’, but also in cases where ‘something which was implied or understood through presupposition in the source text is overtly expressed in the translation, or an element in the source text is given greater importance in the translation through focus, emphasis, or lexical choice’ (p.108).

Pym (2005, p.3) comes up with a similar negative view on the scope of the hypothesis delimited by Seguinot in that Blum-Kulka’s observation is simply ‘restricted to cohesive explicitness’, and her hypothesis ‘does not strictly concern all those uses of language that refer to things beyond a text or parts of a text in a conversation’, not to mention ‘cultural references’. In addition, the hypothesis only focuses on ‘unnecessary repetition of cohesive markers/pointers’ from the source language text, but not on the complete process of information or message turning from implicit to explicit (ibid).

Becher (2010, p.1) argues that ‘the explicitation hypothesis strictly speaking does not even qualify as a scientific hypothesis, since it is unmotivated, unparsimonious and vaguely

formulated'. Based on his argument, Becher (2010, p.8) suggests that 'Blum-Kulka's Explicitation Hypothesis should be abandoned entirely and no longer investigated, at least not in its present form'.

### **2.1.3 Asymmetry hypothesis**

While the above three scholars argue against the hypothesis, some other translation theorists shift their attention to broadening the field of explicitation beyond the confinement of redundancy and intangible cohesive pointers. Klaudy (2005), perhaps one of the most proactive theorists in favor of such an expansion, looks on implicitation as an integral part of her study on explicitation.

In order to investigate whether or not the relationship between explicitation and implicitation falls into the scope of translation universals (i.e., universal features of translated texts regardless of language pair and direction of translation), Klaudy (2001, cited in Klaudy & Karoly, 2005) analyzes literary works translated from Hungarian into English and several other languages and vice versa. Based on her analysis, she initiates an 'asymmetry hypothesis', postulating that 'explicitations in the L1→L2 direction are not always counterbalanced by implicitations in the L2→L1 direction' (p.14). Klaudy attributes this potential imbalance to the preference of the translator to 'use operations involving explicitation operations, and often fail to perform optional implicitation' (p.14). Her proposition of the asymmetry hypothesis is of significance in that, through looking at the extent to which explicitation and implicitation are balanced as two opposite processes in translation rather than merely confining the investigation to explicitation alone, Klaudy has offered us another new perspective to (in)validate explicitation as a translation universal. Of course, the hypothesis still needs improvement in the sense that a larger number of languages

instead of merely a given pair of languages should be tested and corroborated so as to expect a language-pair-independent universal feature of translator behavior. On the other hand, Becher (2010) suggests that the asymmetry hypothesis still needs to properly explain the motivations behind it: compensating for cultural distance between (SL) author and (TL) reader and avoiding risk.

Although Vinay and Darbelnet first introduce as two stylistic translation techniques the notions of explicitation and implicitation, it is Klaudy (2001) who, illuminated by Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis, proposes her asymmetry hypothesis based on their asymmetrical operations at both the lexical level and the grammatical level. This proposition is of great significance in that it develops and enriches the study of explicitation by exploring not only 'translation directionality and processes of implicitation' (Pym, 2005, p.1), but also the asymmetrical relationship between explicitation and implicitation from a higher level of translation universal. As a consequence of the hypothesis, 'we can now distinguish between explicitation required by language systems... and explicitation as a feature of the translation situation itself...' (Pym, 2005, p.1).

#### **2.1.4 Types of explicitation**

In addition to the asymmetry hypothesis, Klaudy (2008, pp.82-83) has made another theoretically significant contribution to explicitation in translation, that is, her systematic division of explicitation into four categories: 'obligatory', 'optional', 'pragmatic', and 'translation-inherent'.

Obligatory explicitations are necessitated by 'differences in the syntactic and semantic structure of languages' (p.82). In other words, syntactic and semantic explicitations are made necessary in terms of the grammaticity of the target language sentences. There are two

sources, as Klaudy (p.82) points out, that may lead to obligatory explicitation. One is 'language typology', and the other is 'missing categories'. With regard to the former source, since there is no definite article in Russian, for example, translating from Russian into English will definitely involve many additions of definite article. As for the latter source, it often takes place in predominantly paratactic languages such as Chinese because grammatical meanings and logical relations between clauses or sentences in these languages are more often juxtaposed without connectives (e.g., *The rain fell; the river flooded; the house washed away.*), whereas in hypotactic languages such as English, coordinate or subordinate clauses have to be linked by connectives in order to convey their grammatical meanings and logical relations (e.g., *I will be very happy if you come with me.*). While syntactic explicitations are evidenced by the above two examples, semantic explicitations can only be attested by selecting 'more specific words in the target text' (p.82). For example, there is only one superordinate word for 'uncle' or 'aunt' in English, while there are many co-hyponyms for these two kinship terms in Chinese. Naturally, the translator into Chinese has greater freedom in making the lexical expression more specific or explicit.

Optional explicitations, necessitated by 'differences in text-building strategies and stylistic preferences between languages', may induce the translator to employ more explicit means of grammatical expression. They consist of the addition of 'connective elements to strengthen cohesive links, the use of relative clauses instead of long, left branching nominal constructions, and the addition of emphasizees to clarify sentence perspectives, among others' (p.83). They are optional or not obligatory in the sense that 'grammatically correct sentences can be made without their application in the target language' (p.83), although the whole text may seem to be somewhat unnatural and clumsy.

Pragmatic explicitations are caused by ‘anticipated difficulties for the TL reader to understand the text which a SL reader can be expected to understand, due to differences in culture and world knowledge’ (Englund-Dimitrova, 2005, p.37). In other words, those aspects of what is considered general or common knowledge by the SL readers such as culture-specific concepts and geographic names may not be shared by the TL readers and thus have to be clarified and explicitated by the translator in order to fill in the communicative gap and facilitate their comprehension.

Translation-inherent explicitations are ‘attributed to the nature of translation itself’, not to ‘structural, formal or stylistic differences between SL and TL’ (Perego, 2003, p.70) because the reprocessing and reformulation in TL of the thoughts and ideas conceived in SL may significantly affect the length of TT. In this sense, the presence of explicitations is ‘an inevitable result of the act of mediation’ (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1997, p.55).

Against Klaudy’s distinction between obligatory and optional explicitations, Englund-Dimitrova argues that ‘the borderline between what is obligatory and what is optional can be fluid’ (2005, p.36), since they both involve the ‘insertion of linguistic elements as a result of the concretization, separation and addition of lexical or grammatical items’ (Perego, 2003, p.70). In line with this argument, despite Klaudy’s salutary attempt to hypothesize her various observations on explicitation under a single united framework, its operation becomes difficult since it is ‘built partly on different criteria (i.e., hypothetical cause versus linguistic realization)’ (Englund-Dimitrova, 2005, p.38).

## **2.2 Latest empirical studies of explicitation and implicitation in translation**

Listed in this section are some of the major studies on explicitation and implicitation in translation (including subtitling and simultaneous interpreting) published since the year 2000.

In some studies, only explicitation is examined; in others, both explicitation and implicitation are investigated at the same time. Whatever their focal points, a majority of these studies share a common objective of validating the explicitation hypothesis, namely translated texts are more explicit than their source texts on the one hand, and display a higher degree of explicitness than non-translated texts of the same target language on the other hand.

Olohan and Baker (2000) have made a quantitative comparison of patterns of use of optional *that* with reporting verbs of *say* and *tell* (i.e., *say* + *that/zero*, and *tell* + *that/zero*) in the Translational English Corpus (TEC) and those patterns in the British National Corpus (BNC). The theoretical assumption their research was based on is that if explicitation is truly an inherent feature of translation, translated texts are expected to register ‘a higher frequency of the use of optional syntactic elements’ (e.g., *that*-connective) than original texts (2000, p.142). In line with the hypothesis, they eventually discover that, on the one hand, *that*-connective as opposed to *zero*-connective is far more frequently used in translated English than in original English; on the other hand, *zero*-connective occurs far more frequently in original English than in translated English. Later on, Olohan (2001), in the light of Dixon’s omission conventions for English, further tests the above hypothesis, presenting further analysis of optional syntactic features in English and their respective occurrences in both TEC and BNC.

Wang (2003), based on a bi-directional comparable corpus of Chinese and English, taking as two variants direction of translation and text type (i.e., literary works and non-literary works), finds that TL texts increase in the number of words in comparison with their SL texts, and the extent to which they increase varies, depending upon different text types.

Englund-Dimitrova (2003), by dint of think-aloud-protocols (TAPs) and computer

logging, investigates the addition of adversative conjunctions in translation from Russian into Swedish as one of the manifestations of optional explicitation. While TAPs enable the researcher to analyze the motivation verbalized by the subject behind his/her addition or non-addition of a connective, computer logging allows the researcher to locate where and when explicitation is carried out in an overall translation process, and whether a connective is first added and subsequently deleted. Her finding is that professional translators prefer explicitation, and they show more confidence in the process of handling implicit contrasts than students.

He (2003), in his analysis of a Chinese translation of O. Henry's *The last Leaf*, finds that a remarkable tendency of explicitation occurs in the translation in that the translator has 79 sentences translated explicitly out of the 134-sentence source text, accounting for 59% of the total number of the ST sentences. The explicit devices the translator has applied consist of increasing the number of words, substituting for more specific words, changing person, regrouping sentences and passages, and transforming images and rhetoric devices, and so on.

Perego (2003), in his comparison of two films in Hungarian and their respective subtitles in Italian, validates in a preliminary manner that in addition to implicitation, dialogue condensation, and textual reduction, explicitation also occurs in film subtitles. In terms of form, he divides explicitation into addition and specification. While the former refers to inserting in the TT extra linguistic (grammatical, lexical or syntactic) elements, the latter refers to replacing a general and wide-ranging word with a more specific or/and narrower one. In terms of category, he categorizes explicitation into cultural explicitation, channel-based explicitation, and reduction-based explicitation.

Puurtinen (2003) applies to translation some ideas from critical discourse analysis (CDA)

and sets out to investigate whether translation solutions have effects on the ideological content of texts. Ideology in her research is referred to as the ways in which linguistic choices made by the writer or translator of a text may, first, produce a particular perspective on the event described, second, reflect the writer's opinions and attitudes, and third, be used to influence readers' opinions. Her investigation focuses on the use of explicating and implicating strategies made by translation students in their Finnish translations of English magazine articles. While their use of the explicating strategy involves replacing source-text nominalizations with Finnish verbal phrases and making clausal relations explicit by adding connectives, their use of the implicating strategy concerns replacing verbal phrases with nominalizations and replacing relative clauses with complex pre-modified noun phrases. Her finding is that the students use implicitation much more frequently than explicitation. However, the finding fails to establish a cause-effect relationship between this pair of translation strategies and their ideologically-motivated use since the students do not employ them systematically.

Papai (2004) conducts a corpus-based research of explicitation, which is generally referred to as one of the assumed universals of translation. In order to validate the explicitation hypothesis, she examines a combination of parallel and comparable corpora of Hungarian and English literary and non-literary texts. First, her examination of translators' shifts reveals a series of explicitation strategies on different linguistic levels such as logical-visual, lexical-grammatical, syntactic, and textual. Then, she further examines these strategies in a comparable Hungarian corpus. The result supports the above hypothesis. That being said, the quantitative data refute the hypothesis that scientific texts are more explicit than literary texts.



Puurtinen (2004) reports a corpus-based research of the relative frequencies of a number of clausal connectives (conjunctions, adverbs, relative pronouns) in children's books written in original Finnish and those translated from English. The theoretical assumption of the research is that a frequent use of clausal connectives in translation, as an explicit signal of clausal relations, should manifest explicitation. However, the research findings have failed to support the explicitation hypothesis because no clear overall tendency is identified of either translated or non-translated Finnish literature using connectives more frequently.

Klaudy and Karoly (2005), in an empirical research designed to verify the asymmetry hypothesis, explore the behavior of reporting verbs in a small bidirectional corpus. Their methodology is to compare 100 randomly selected reporting verbs from each of three novels and their respective Hungarian/English translations from two angles: (1) the ratio of type (i.e., the number of different reporting verbs) vs. token (i.e., the total number of reporting verbs), and (2) the ratio of the number of reporting verbs occurring only once vs. the total number of reporting verbs. Based on the finding that the translators tend to prefer explicit forms to implicit forms in both directions, they assume that semantic explicitation is also a universal translation strategy.

Englund-Dimitrova (2005) examines the explicitation of implicit logical links by translators with different levels of expertise. Results show that professional translators apply explicitation in a standardized way without employing much of their cognitive capacity while language students explicitate without any regular pattern whenever they need to solve problems in the translation process. Translation students are situated between the language students and the professional translators in respect of the way they apply explicitation.

Ke (2005), in his analysis of the data from a bi-directional parallel corpus of English and

Chinese, claims that explicitation/implication in translation is caused by many factors such as language differences, translators, social and cultural differences, as well as text types. First, explicitation/implication as well as explicitness/implicitness in translation might have some relation with the linguistic formalization of a given pair of languages and directionality in translation; second, a responsible translator will try to make up for the loss of information in the process of communication; third, the bigger the gap is between the two languages in culture and society, the more necessary semantic explicitation might be. Last but not least, there might be a difference in explicitness/implicitness among different text types.

Pym (2005) makes a qualitative-introspective analysis of a translation from German into English. In order to provide a rational explanation, he delves into explicitation in translation from quite a variety of perspectives such as prudence, Gricean cooperation, relevance to a new reception situation, the ethics of service, and damage control or remedy. More specifically, as Pym has discovered, since translation involves communication into a context with fewer shared cultural references, translators often need to provide more clues for readers so as to achieve a successful communication. Further, translators are broadly seen as being in a subservient position, with less power than their communicative partners, thus more ready to work so that their partners do not have to work. Taking these traits into account, Pym incorporates the above elements into his own hypothetical model of risk management as a general explanation for explicitation. To sum up, translation into a context with fewer shared references involves greater risks than non-translation. Where there are greater risks, translators are more inclined to minimize them.

Gumul (2006) focuses her study on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting, where the information processing is constantly under time constraint, with an aim to investigate the

causes triggering shifts leading to greater explicitness of the target texts. The analysis of both product data from syntactic, lexical and pragmatic angles as well as process data (retrospective comments) demonstrates that explicitation in most cases seems to be a subconscious behavior of interpreters rather than their consciously adopted strategy. Even though, as Gumul (2006, p.187) admits, the findings fail to support fully the hypothesis of explicitation needed as a strategy to circumvent linguistic and socio-cultural differences, she suggests a variety of possible causes triggering the sub-consciousness of using explicitation. Interestingly, one of them is likely associated with automaticity interpreters have gained either in terms of employment of different strategies for different situations or as part of their procedural knowledge. To use her language, it might be due to the fully automated use of interpreting strategies, automated norm-governed behavior, highly automated discourse processing, or deverbalization achieved in the process of comprehension and in interpretation.

Konsalova (2007) aims to test the explicitation hypothesis on the morpho-syntactic level. A bi-directional comparable corpus of popular texts on history and German and Czech parallel corpora are used to investigate the tendency in translations to use more explicit modes of expression rather than syntactic condensation devices. The study is conducted in three stages. First, the frequencies of finite verbs in main and subordinate clauses, participial phrases and infinitive constructions, and deverbative nouns and adjectives in original Czech and German texts are contrasted. Results show that Czech prefers more verbal/explicit modes of expression as opposed to the more nominal/implicit German style. Second, explicating and implicitating shifts are examined in both German-to-Czech and Czech-to-German translations, with the result fully confirming the explicitation hypothesis. At last, translations are subjected to the same quantitative analysis as is conducted at stage one on original texts.

The frequency revealed in translations is then compared with those obtained from original target language texts. The finding is that the German comparable corpus demonstrates a higher degree of explicitness in translations while the Czech comparable corpus does not reveal any clear-cut explicitness in translations. The results of this study not only confirm the explicitation hypothesis but also confirm the asymmetry hypothesis as translators in both directions tend to explicitate rather than implicate.

Huang (2007), inspired by Ke (2005), aims to test a hypothesis that linguistic formalization constitutes a fundamental reason for explicitation in translation. To test such a hypothesis, taking as two variables directionality of translation (i.e., Chinese-English vs. English-Chinese) and genre (i.e., literary texts vs. non-literary texts), he makes an investigation into the renderings of (conditional, causal, and adversative) conjunctions and personal pronoun subjects. His findings prove the existence of this cause-effect relationship between linguistic formalization on the sentential composition level and explicitation in translation. Besides, Huang also provides some substantial evidence about explicitation from other language pairs like Hungarian and English, Norwegian and English, Portuguese and English.

Kamenicka (2008) presents the explicitation/implication profile of two Czech translators in a pilot study for a dissertation exploring explicitation and implication in translations of literary prose as a phenomenon potentially differentiating individual translators and contributing to the translator's style. She only considers translation-inherent (resulting from the process of translation itself) explicitation (and implication), which is further categorized into ideational (further split into experiential and logical), interpersonal, and textual types. For the pilot study, translations of two English novels, one by each translator,

are selected. She analyzes the occurrences of explicitation and implicitation at the level of the above four functions from three samples of 5,000 running words each, from different parts of both novels and their translations (the word count refers to the translations). The result shows that the two translators do not differ in their approach to explicitation as much as in their approach to implicitation. However, they are found to differ in their use of experiential and interpersonal explicitation and implicitation in textual segments attributable to narrator and character's discourse.

Shih (2008) investigates the differences in explicitation between English-to-Chinese literature translations for children and for adults. Her investigation has shown in terms of noun density, added connectives, and added notes that literature translation for children shows a higher percentage of explicitation than for adults since children require an explicitly-presented logical context and repetitive lexical items for easy comprehension and easy memorization. She relates her research finding with Vermeer's (1989) skopos theory and Zohar Shavit's (1986) poetics of children's literature that explicitation degree varies when target language audience and translation purposes change.

Dai and Xiao (2010) also conduct their study of explicitation through using three types of corpora: Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC), The Zhejiang University Corpus of Translated Chinese (ZCTC), and a self-built bi-directional Chinese and English parallel corpus. Their study has testified Wang's (2003) research finding: in both directions of translation, texts in the target language of Chinese/English increase in the number of words in comparison with their source language texts. In addition, they also investigate various manifestations of explicitation in translation from English into Chinese at the level of parts of speech, such as the collocation of demonstrative pronoun + numeral + categorical

word/attributive word, the addition to conceptual words with abstract meaning of categorical words/attributive words, the addition to personal names of explanative elements, and the co-occurrence of aspectual markers with some adverbs of time.

### **2.3 Discussion of the empirical studies**

It is found from the above empirical studies that over half of them are conducted in a (parallel and/or comparable) corpus-based approach. This remarkable feature could be attributable to the fact that explicitation was initially proposed under the rubric of one of the translation universals, which entail a large quantity of data to in/validate. Undeniably, corpus tools lend themselves to a quicker and more comprehensive retrieval of huge amount of data. However, explicitation, 'if applied without further focus,' might lose the 'status of concepts triggering specific hypotheses and being amenable to empirical testing' (Steiner, 2005, p.8). Thus, the key to corpus-based study on explicitation is how to yield from such a high-level concept low-level data applicable to corpus retrieval.

In addition, apart from those empirical studies aiming to prove the explicitation hypothesis, some other studies attempt to explain why explicitation takes place in translation from various perspectives such as ideology (Puurтинен, 2003), the translator's expertise (Englund-Dimitrova, 2005), linguistic formalization (Huang, 2007), cognitively related to linguistic explicitness (Espunya, 2007), and the translator's style (Kamenicka, 2008). In addition, Weissbrod (1992) and Overas (1998) also investigate the correlation between explicitation and translation norm.

Moreover, the studies on explicitation in translation show that it has been extended to target text explicitness. In other words, explicitation can occur in relation to other less explicit options in the target text, even when there is no clear shift from an implicit expression in the

source text to an explicit expression in the target text. Olohan and Baker's (2000) investigation of the use of the optional connective *that* after the reporting verbs *say* and *tell* is a clear example of explicitation in relation to the target texts since not all instances where the optional *that* has been spelled out in the translation are instances where there is implicitation in the source texts.

Furthermore, the number of studies on explicitation in translation far exceeds that on implicitation in translation. This outstanding imbalance has drawn due attention of Klaudy and Karoly (2005, p.13) as they rightly assert that implicitation is unfairly 'treated as a stepbrother of explicitation', and only incidentally mentioned. The reason is that implicitation has always been studied indirectly (rather than directly or as a direct starting point) to validate or refute the explicitation hypothesis.

Finally, there is little research about explicitation and implicitation that has been carried out in relation to a translator's style through comparing translation versions, namely 'comparing different translations of the same source text into the same target language, by different translators, thus keeping the variables of author and source language constant (Baker, 2000, p.261). This approach not only allows the interlingual study and comparison of translators' styles of explicitation or implicitation, but also allows the intralingual comparison of which translation version is more explicit or implicit, namely the degree of explicitness or implicitness. In addition, this approach is more advantageous in helping explore the individual translators' motivations in making explicitation and/or implicitation. What is more, this approach may also allow a diachronic investigation of their explicitation and implicitation styles if their versions are produced in different periods of time.

In view of the state of affairs of the studies on explicitation and implicitation in

translation summarized above, especially the highly unbalanced treatment that implicitation has received, the present study intends to take implicitation in translation as the main object of study. In the study, we will choose to investigate one remarkable manifestation of implicitation in translation, namely nominalization in translation. Although nominalization in translation may have already been examined to some extent (e.g., Puurtinen (2003); Konsalova (2007)), there has been, to our knowledge, no study of nominalization in relation to a translator's style in literary translation and with the purpose of investigating in a comprehensive manner what potential factors trigger its use.



## **CHAPTER 3 NOMINALIZATION – LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1 English nominalization**

English nominalization has become a widely studied linguistic phenomenon. Its theoretical development, to some extent, informs the whole process of the development of English linguistics. In this section, we will review its development in the different linguistic schools ranging from structural linguistics, transformational-generative linguistics, systemic-functional linguistics, to cognitive linguistics. In the end, a summary will be made which serves as the theoretical basis of the present study. In the next section, Chinese nominalization will be briefly introduced.

#### **3.1.1 English nominalization and Jespersen's nexus-substantive**

Jespersen is highly praised as 'one great traditional grammarian who gave attention to the general framework of grammar and made considerable innovations' (Gleason, 1965, p.77). He is 'a distinguished representative of an older school of grammarians standing between the traditional and the modern approaches to grammatical analysis' (Lyons, 1968, p.134). In the evaluation of Ren (2000), Jespersen is a successor of the academic tradition of Wilhelm Humboldt in terms of language and linguistic theories; on the other hand, his grammatical outlook to a certain extent lays a foundation for Chomsky's transformational grammar, and some of his function-oriented linguistic ideas and proposals seem to have been adopted by Halliday. Thus, it is not easy to clearly characterize his grammatical theory as formal or functional.

Jespersen (1933, p.316) terms the substantives implying predication as 'nexus-substantives'. They are categorized into verbal and predicative nexus-substantives. In

the first category, action verbs are at the basis as predicates (e.g., coming = the act of coming, arrival = the act of arriving, rest = the act of resting). In the second category, adjectives or substantives are at the basis as predicates (e.g., cleverness = being clever, wisdom = being wise, candidacy = being a candidate, heroism = being a hero).

By nexus, Jespersen means ‘a combination implying predication and as a rule containing a subject and either a verb or a predicative or both’ (1965, p.5). He divides nexus into independent nexus and dependent nexus. While an independent nexus forms ‘a whole piece of communication (a sentence)’, a dependent nexus ‘forms only a part of a sentence’ in the form of a nexus-substantive, an infinitive, or a clause (Jespersen, 1933, p.309).

Jespersen emphasizes that there exist ‘two notions in a nexus-substantive’, denoting respectively the subject and the predicate (1924, p.141). In the meanwhile, he also suggests that it is possible for a nexus-substantive to consist of only one notion, that is, the nexus-substantive itself. His reasoning is that although the subject of a nexus-substantive may now and then be absent in the linguistic expression, this notion, after an accurate analysis, is everywhere present to the mind of the reader or listener. For example, the unexpressed subject in (1) is the definite ‘I’ while the covert subject in (2) is the indefinite generic person.

(1) I like travelling.

(2) Activity leads to happiness.

In addition, Jespersen also pays much attention to the syntactic characteristics of nexus-substantives. He notices that the use of nexus-substantives leads to ‘a change of the rank’ of many other words in the sense that if a verb or a predicative is raised to a nexus-substantive, its subordinate members are accordingly raised to a higher plane (Jespersen, 1933, p.317). Take for instance (3a) and (3b) (the ranks of the words are given in

Roman numbers).

(3a) The Doctor's uncommonly (III) *careful* (II) *examination* (I) of the patient brought about her very (III) *speedy* (II) *recovery* (I).

(3b) Since the Doctor *examined* (II) the patient uncommonly (IV) *carefully* (III), she *recovered* (II) very (IV) *speedily* (III).

A comparison of (3a) and (3b) shows that when the verbs *examined*, *recovered* (II) in (3a) are turned into the substantives *examination*, *recovery* (I) in (3b), the adverbs *carefully*, *speedily* (III) in (3a) are in consequence raised to become the adjectives *careful*, *speedy* (II) in (3b).

This kind of rank shifting has the power of 'creating handy expressions of complex thoughts' and 'expressing ideas with greater precision and adequacy'. However, Jespersen also observes its negative effect as 'not only more abstract, but more abstruse, owing, among other things, to the fact that in the verbal substantive some of the life-giving elements of the verb (i.e., time, mood, and person) disappear'. Therefore, he concludes that the nominal style may not serve the purpose of everyday life but serve 'the purposes of philosophy' where 'simple thoughts are disguised in the garb of profound wisdom' (Jespersen, 1924, pp.137-139).

### **3.1.2 English nominalization and Mathesius' complex condensation**

In structuralist linguistics nominalization is again brought into focus primarily by the contributions of the Prague Linguistic School. In the school, the most important contribution to syntactic studies is Mathesius' functional approach to the sentence. In his theory, 'sentence is an elementary speech utterance, through which the speaker reacts to some reality, concrete or abstract, and which in its formal character appears to realize grammatical possibilities of the respective language' (Vachek, 1966, p.88). His functional approach leads him to

investigate how different languages syntactically express the same extra-linguistic reality. His careful comparison of modern English and modern Czech reveals a rather strong nominal tendency that seems to exist in English to replace dependent clauses by nominal, verbless phrases while in Czech the replacement of dependent clauses in English by finite verbs appears to be more popular. This nominal tendency makes English sentences appear to be syntactically more condensed in comparison with their Czech equivalents. Mathesius terms this nominal feature in English as ‘complex condensation of the sentence’, and accordingly names ‘those nominal elements replacing the dependent clauses (and thus achieving this condensation) condensers’ (1961, cited in Mathesius, 1975, p.338). He also points out that the most frequently used sentence condensers are present participle, infinitive, and gerund. A comparison of the following two sentences may illustrate such a process of complex condensation.

(4a) Would you mind my opening the window?

(4b) Would you mind if I open the window?

The underlined gerund in (4a) acts as a condenser to achieve complex condensation, enabling the sentence to dispense with the underlined dependent adverbial clause in (4b).

### **3.1.3 English nominalization and Radovanovic’s elaboration of complex condensation**

Radovanovic (1977) develops an elaborate model of Mathesius’ complex condensation and applies it to predication analysis. He elaborates the analysis of nominalization from the perspective of the sentence. He first investigates at the semantic-syntactic level nominalization as adverbial, actualizing a wide range of meanings (including temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, and concessive meanings), then considers at the formal-syntactical level the functioning of nominalization in the position of subject (as a condenser of

nominal-*that* clauses and adverbial clauses) and object (as a condenser of finite clausal structures), as an integral part of periphrastic predicate structures, as a constituent member of the nominal predicate, and as the basic predication nucleus (in absolute use).

Casule (1989) adapts Rodovanovic's elaborate model of Mathesius' complex condensation and applies it to analyze the functioning, meaning, structure and use of the verbal noun (VN) (non-finite verbal forms ending in *-nje*) in the modern Macedonian standard language within the interrelations between the semantic-syntactic and the formal syntactic levels, as one of the representatives of the process of condensation and nominalization. He finds that the VN in the modern Macedonian literary language is the central, highly regular, and most productive condensed exponent of the process of nominalization.

For more recent applications of Mathesius' complex condensation theory, consider e.g., Duris (2006) and Janigova (2007).

#### **3.1.4 Lees' transformational approach to English nominalization**

The topic of nominalization is also brought up by the contributions of the transformational-generative linguistic school. Robert Lees, as one of the important figures in the transformational-generative linguistic school, published *The Grammar of English Nominalizations* in 1963. This is the earliest book that has applied the theory of transformational grammar put forward by Chomsky in his *Syntactic Structures* (1957) to the analysis of phrase structures and sentences. In the book, Lees assumes that nominalization is a transformation process. Specifically, nouns are transformed from their source verbs. Noun phrases are syntactically derived from the underlying structures containing their corresponding sentences. For instance, nouns *drawing* and *appointment* in (5b) and (6b) are assumed to be transformed from their source verbs *draw* and *appoint*, and noun phrases (5b)

and (6b) are assumed to be syntactically derived from their corresponding sentences (5a) and (6a).

(5a) John draws the picture.

(5b) John's drawing the picture.

(6a) The committee appoints John.

(6b) The committee's appointment of John.

Lees' transformational assumption in these two examples is based on the following two main arguments. First, noun phrase (5b) and sentence (5a) are subjected to the same constraint. The constraint the noun *drawing* in (5b) is subjected to depends on the constraint the verb *draw* in (5a) is subjected to. In other words, if the verb *draw* is subjected to some constraint so that sentence (5a) becomes untenable, its corresponding noun *drawing* will also become subjected to the same constraint so that noun phrase (5b) will also become untenable. The same is true of noun phrase (6b) and sentence (6a). Second, the elements in sentence (5a) seem to stand in a same grammatical relation as the elements in noun phrase (5b). In other words, the grammatical relationship between *draw* on the one hand and *John* and *picture* on the other hand seems to be as same as the grammatical relationship between *drawing* on the one hand and *John* and *picture* on the other hand. The same is true of the grammatical relationship between the elements in sentence (6a) and the elements in (6b).

Lees (1963, pp.50-85) lists altogether six types of nominalizations: 'factive nominal', 'action nominal', 'agentive nominal', 'gerundive nominal', 'infinitival nominal', and 'abstractive nominal'. His factive nominals include *that*-clauses and question-word clauses. In addition, he also categorizes under his nominalization framework 'nominal compound' which consists of two constituents and incorporates the most general grammatical relations in the

language, such as subject-verb, subject-object, or verb-object.

Against Lees' transformational approach to nominalization, Jacobsen points out a number of challenges. For example, the following ungrammatical noun phrases show that 'nominalization is blocked if the source sentence contains a modal verb or aspect, if it is negated, or if it contains -ly-adverb' (Jacobsen, 1978, p.403).

(7) The enemy's (\*will) destruction of the regiment.

(8) The enemy's (\*has) destruction of the regiment.

(9) The enemy's (\*not) destruction of the regiment.

(10) The enemy's (\*certainly) destruction (\*cruelly) of the regiment.

What is more, he proposes that it is also necessary to postulate 'hypothetical lexical items' (Jacobsen, 1978, p.403) in order for 'the analysis to attain the maximum degree of generalization' (p.404). For instance, the two nonexistent verbs must be assumed to exist in the deep structures of such sentences as

(11) The reviewer's critique of the book was penetrating.

(12) The enemy's aggression was stopped.

### **3.1.5 Chomsky's lexicalist approach to English nominalization**

In his seminal article 'Remarks on nominalization', Chomsky's (1971) position is that while gerundive nominals (traditionally treated as the result of inflectional morphology) are transformationally derived from verbs, derived nominals (traditionally regarded as the result of derivational morphology) are not transformationally derived from verbs but should enter directly as nouns into the lexicon. In order to support his position, Chomsky (1971, p.187) invokes three principal arguments as 'the productivity of the nominalization process, the generality of the relation between the nominal and the associated proposition, and the internal

structure of the nominal phrase'. His arguments are summarized by Spencer to the point that derived nominals are 'morphologically, syntactically and semantically idiosyncratic', while gerundive nominals are 'regular and transparent' in these regards (Spencer, 1991, p.69).

In terms of syntactic differences, Chomsky argues that derived nominals are much more restricted than gerundive nominals in productivity in the sense that every sentence can have a gerundive nominal, but not every sentence can have an expected derived nominal. In addition, gerundive nominals inherit the subcategorization properties of verbs while derived nominals disallow 'adverbs, negation, aspect, and tense', although they allow 'determiners, pronominal adjectives, and prepositional phrase complements' (Newmeyer, 1980, pp.117-118).

In terms of semantic differences, Chomsky argues that the meaning of a gerundive nominal is always derivable compositionally from that of its underlying verb, while the semantic relation between a derived nominal and its source verb is quite varied and unpredictable. Derived nominals seem to have 'their individual ranges of meanings' (Chomsky, 1971, p.189). For instance, *entertainment* in (13a) is semantically different from that in (13b) in the sense that the former means something like the pleasure afforded by being entertained and the latter means equipment or show designed to please or divert.

(13a) Tom's stories provided endless entertainment.

(13b) The children spent all this afternoon on the entertainment.

In terms of morphological differences, Chomsky argues that gerundive nominals are formed from verbs by adding *-ing* while derived nominals are in general irregular and unpredictable since they are formed in a variety of ways and often even 'involve drastic allomorphy or suppletion' (Spencer, 1991, p.70).

In cases where there do exist regularities of a verb/derived nominal pair such as *John*



*refused to leave/John's refusal to leave, The enemy destroyed the city/The enemy's destruction of the city*, Chomsky proposes that the lexical entry should remain neutral with respect to grammatical category before what complements the pair requires are specified. In addition, he proposes an extension of the theory of phrase structure, known as 'X-bar theory', to allow generalizations to be made across different linguistic categories. This theory is of great importance since it allows a parallel to be drawn between a verb heading a verb phrase and governing its complements and a noun heading a noun phrase and governing its complements.

In fact, Chomsky's lexicalist hypothesis was not highly recognized at that time, the reasons of which are summarized by Newmeyer (1980) as follows. First, his adoption of the term 'lexicalist hypothesis' to describe his position led to his failure. This term inevitably has 'built-in negative emotional overtones' since 'the transformational component' was regarded at that time as the dominant 'explanatory component of the grammar' (p.118). Second, his argument of the 'irregularity of the verb-derived nominal relation' was equally unconvincing from the very beginning since, for example, he did not make 'specific proposal for accounting for the paraphrase relationship' between *John's refusal was unexpected* and *the fact that John refused was unexpected* (p.118). However, the transformational approach, though by no means comprehensive or flawless, can automatically account for this relationship.

### **3.1.6 Quirk's systematic correspondence approach to English nominalization**

In the book *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), Quirk and his colleagues believe that there is a systematic correspondence between some noun phrases and some clause structures such as *they quarreled over pay* in (14a) and *the quarrel over pay* in (14b).

(14a) In the morning, they quarreled over pay.

(14b) The quarrel over pay was the reason for his resignation.

On the other hand, they also point out that ‘by describing such phrases as having a systematic correspondence with a clause structure’, they do not imply that ‘for every clause there is a corresponding noun phrase; the correspondence is best seen as obtaining in a less regular fashion, and as depending on whether, for example, there is a suitable nominal lexicalization of the verb’s meaning’ (Quirk et al., 1985, p.1289). They also recognize that elements of a noun phrase (head, modifiers, determinatives) and elements of a clause structure can be matched.

### **3.1.7 Langacker’s cognitive approach to English nominalization**

Langacker (1991, pp.22-50), a well-known American cognitive linguist, makes a special investigation of nominalization from the following three main aspects: ‘kinds’, ‘periphrasis’, and ‘predictability’.

First, Langacker explores different kinds of nominalization patterns along two parameters. Along the first parameter, nominalization patterns vary in accordance with ‘which facet of the underlying relational predication is selected for reification and profiling’ (Langacker, 1991, p.23). In line with this parameter, some important concepts are introduced into nominalization such as ‘trajector’ and ‘landmark’. The trajector of a verb stem is defined as its inner subject (e.g., *complainer* and *dancer*), while the landmark of a verb stem is defined as its internal object (e.g., *supervisee* and *advisee*). The second parameter concerns the ‘internal organization of the relational predication, [that is], whether it represents the conception of a process type or a grounded instance of that type’ (Langacker, 1991, p.23). Based on the analogy of the semantic relationship between a simple noun (e.g., *bear*) and a full nominal (e.g., *the bear*) on the one hand and the semantic relationship between a verb stem (e.g., *taunt*)

and a finite clause (e.g., *Harvey taunted the bear*) on the other hand, Langacker (1991, p.33) distinguishes ‘three levels of organization in the assembly of a finite clause’: the level of the verb stem, which merely specifies a process type; the level of the finite clause, profiling a grounded instance of the process type; and an intermediate level, profiling an instance that is left ungrounded. According to his organization, an action nominalization derives from a process type, as seen in (15a) and (15b); a gerundive nominalization derives from an ungrounded instance of the process type in terms of a lack of tense, aspect or modality, as seen in (15c) and (15d); and a *that*-clause nominalization derives from a grounded instance of the process type in regard to time and reality, as seen in (15e) and (15f).

(15a) Harvey’s taunting of the bear was merciless.

(15b) Harvey’s taunting of the bear lasted three hours.

(15c) Harvey’s cruelly taunting the bear was a severe blow to his campaign for presidency.

(15d) Harvey’s cruelly taunting the bear is something that could simply never happen.

(15e) That Harvey taunted the bear is unfortunate.

(15f) That Zelda signed the contract is simply false.

Moreover, Langacker (1991, pp.35-43) examines the periphrastic function of the morphemes that accompany the subject and object of a nominalization, namely *’s*, *of*, and *by*. By periphrastic, Langacker means that when a verb is nominalized, its participants have to be specified indirectly as complements of a relational expression instead of being specified directly as a subject and an object. For instance, *Zelda* and *the contract* are not the subject and object of *sign(ing)* in *Zelda’s signing of the contract*, but rather the complements of the relational predications *’s* and *of*.

In addition to their periphrastic function, Langacker also attributes meaning to each of these morphemes. The preposition *of* is defined by Langacker as designating ‘an intrinsic relationship between its trajector and landmark’ (Langacker, 1991, p.37). For example, in *the signing of the contract*, the preposition’s landmark is elaborated by *the contract*, and *signing* elaborates the trajector of the prepositional phrase *of the contract*. In addition, Langacker finds that *of*-periphrasis is very flexible in the sense that it can specify both the trajector and the landmark of a verb stem at the same time, as witnessed by the expression *the shooting of the hunter*. The clarification of this ambiguous expression depends on which one is chosen as *of*’s landmark. He gives an alternative expression of *the shooting by the hunters*, which is free from ambiguity as it only has one interpretation that the hunters did the shooting not that they were shot. The possessive morpheme, he points out, is most commonly used to designate the trajector of the underlying process (e.g., *Zelda’s signing of the contract*), but occasionally for its landmark (e.g., *Lincoln’s assassination*).

Third, Langacker (1991, pp.43-45) gives a number of basic observations of the properties of nominalization. To begin with, some patterns of nominalization are indeed discernable and characterizable. What is more, patterns of nominalization differ in their degree of productivity. Nominalizations suffixed by *-er*, for example, are much more numerous and freely coinable than those constructed with *-ee*. Furthermore, many nominalized expressions are unpredictable in their semantic properties. For example, ‘elevator’ has other meanings rather than merely ‘something that elevates’. In addition, nominalized patterns have a double function of characterizing established expressions and permitting the computation of novel instantiations. At last, correlations between the morphological and the semantic aspects of nominalization are inconsistent. Some morphological devices are able to express multiple

semantic relationships. A deverbal noun with *-er*, for example, can designate the agent, the instrument, or the location of a verbal process (e.g., *complainer*, *rocker*, *diner*). In the meantime, one semantic relationship can sometimes be realized by different morphological devices, such as *-er* and zero for the processual trajector (e.g., *a flatterer* vs. *a flirt*).

In addition to the above three aspects of nominalization, Langacker also states the semantic and cognitive differences between a deverbal noun (e.g., *explosion*) and its verbal form (e.g., *explode*), although both may describe the same event – *Someone exploded!*; *There was an explosion*. According to Langacker (1987, p.90),

An objectivist might conclude that the verb and noun are semantically identical – with the consequence that the grammatical category of an expression cannot be predicted from its meaning. My own claim is that *explode* and *explosion* contrast semantically because they employ different images to construct the same conceptual content: *explode* imposes a processual construal of the profiled event, *explosion* portrays it as an abstract region. Nominalizing a verb necessarily endows it with the conceptual properties characteristic of nouns.

### **3.1.8 Halliday's systematic-functional approach to English nominalization**

#### **3.1.8.1 Grammatical metaphor**

In comparison with the above studies, systemic functional linguists represented by Halliday carry out a more systematic and in-depth study of nominalization. Halliday (1994, pp.343-353) offers a new approach to nominalization through linking it with grammatical metaphor. According to Halliday (1994, p.352), nominalization is 'the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor'. A definition of grammatical metaphor is given by Thompson (2004, p. 223) as 'the expression of a meaning through a lexico-grammatical form that originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning. The expression of the meaning is metaphorical in relation to a different way of expressing the same meaning, which would be more congruent.' The definition shows that grammatical metaphor is an incongruent

way to express a same meaning as is expressed by a different and more congruent way (i.e., ‘closer to the state of affairs in the external world’) (Thompson, 2004, p.222). For example, the nominalized structure *the cat’s brilliant acting* is regarded as a metaphorical way of expressing the clausal structure *the cat acted brilliantly* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p.229).

In terms of grammatical category, nominalization most commonly takes place when verbs and adjectives are reworded metaphorically as nouns. In terms of semantic function, nominalization most often occurs when processes and properties function as things.

### **3.1.8.2 Functions of nominalization**

Generally speaking, nominalization has four major functions: realignment function, textual function, presupposition function, and register function.

#### **3.1.8.2.1 Realignment function**

According to systemic functional theories, in addition to morphological change, nominalization also involves a ‘realignment’ of different elements within a sentence in terms of grammatical category, semantic function, and even textual function (Thompson, 2004, p.168). For example:

(16a) Because technology is getting better, people can write business programs faster.

(16b) Advances in technology are speeding up the writing of business programs.

(Halliday, 1994, p.349)

Sentence (16b) is a nominalized version of sentence (16a). In this nominalizing process, a number of moves have been made simultaneously and many elements have been reintegrated: *getting better* and *write* in (16a) are turned into *advances* as actor and *writing* as goal in (16b), with their semantic functions changed from processes to things, and their grammatical

functions changed from predicates to subject and object. At the same time, the subject *technology* and the object *business programs* in (16a) are reduced to becoming prepositional phrases in (16b) as place qualifier and medium qualifier respectively, with their semantic functions changed from actor and goal to qualifiers and their grammatical functions changed from subject and object to attributes. In addition, the attributive process *is getting* and the attribute *better* as well as the material process with modulation *can write* and the manner/quality *faster* realign themselves in a new material process where a verbal group *speed up* comes into being and new grammatical slots of subject and object are created for the nominalized elements to fill in as participants.

### 3.1.8.2.2 Textual function

In formal discursive texts, ‘meaning is often brought in as a full clause, and is then encapsulated in a nominalization which serves as the starting point for the next or a later clause’ (Thompson, 2004, p.170). This technique, which can be used in principle at each step of the argument, constitutes the cohesive function of nominalization on textual level. For example:

(17a) Because intra-speaker variation has been studied within framework associated with a number of different subject areas [...], it is practical to treat style-shifting and code-switching separately in this chapter. (17b) But such a separation has no theoretical justification. (Thompson, 2004, p.170)

In this example, a meaning is introduced in the form of clauses in section (17a), and then appears in a nominalized form of *separation* as the starting point or theme for section (17b). The nominalization *separation* refers back to the phenomenon brought forward or discussed in section (17a).

### 3.1.8.2.3 Presupposition function

Another important function of nominalization is ‘presupposition’ (Goatly, 2000, p.77). As it is known, a process is dynamic while a noun is static and typically refers to a thing. But if we come across a process which is nominalized, we will naturally assume that this process already exists. For example:

(18a) Technology is getting better, which will further promote productivity.

(18b) Technological advances will further promote productivity. (Cheng, 2003, p.20)

In sentence (18a), *Technology is getting better* is what the author clearly states, which the reader can accept as true or reject as false. However, if it is expressed in a nominalized form as *technological advances*, then it presupposes that the author has taken it as an existential ‘fact’, which the reader must accept as true. According to information theory, nominalization changes the thematic structure of the distribution of information, enabling non-known and non-shared information to become known and shared information, and thus directing the attention of the reader or listener to other information. This is why nominalization is regarded as ‘a means of smuggling in presupposition’ (Goatly, 2000, p.77).

Once a sentence is presupposed with nominalization, it is difficult to argue against or disagree with it. To argue against it, the presupposed content has to be first argued against. Take a question asked by the lawyer for example:

(19) Beating your wife helps to vent your grievance, is that right? (Cheng, 2003, p.21)

This question presupposes that the defendant has ever beaten his wife. A simple answer of yes or no from him in reply to the question would indicate that he accepts the presupposed content.



#### 3.1.8.2.4 A mode marker of written English

Spoken English and written English as two communication modes are rather different in their preferred ways of constructing complex meanings through favoured patterns of lexico-grammatical organization. Spoken English tends to favour ‘grammatical intricacy’ through accommodating more clauses in the syntagm with fewer lexical items in the clauses. In contrast, written English tends to favour ‘lexical density’ through accommodating more lexical items in nominal groups with fewer clauses in the syntagm (Halliday, 1985, p.351). In other words, spoken English is ‘marked by intricacy in the clause complex’, while written English is characterized by ‘complexity in the nominal group’ (Halliday, 1987, p.71). Take for instance the following pair of sentences with the same semantic meaning given by Halliday (1994, pp.350-351).

(20a) In bridging river valleys, the early engineers built many notable masonry viaducts of numerous arches.

(20b) In the early days when engineers had to make a bridge across a valley and the valley had a river flowing through it, they often built viaducts, which were constructed of masonry and had numerous arches in them; and many of these viaducts became notable.

Sentence (20a) expresses the semantic meaning in a more written form while sentence (20b) rewords it in a more spoken form. Due to the underlined nominal groups in sentence (20a), more lexical items are able to be incorporated in fewer clauses.

#### 3.1.8.2.5 Register function

‘It is a general characteristic of nominalizations that they appear more often as a standard feature of some special functional styles/registers of language use, particularly of those like *political, legal, administrative, journalistic, and scientific*’ (Radovanovic, 2001, pp.43-44).

In scientific and technical registers, nominalization plays a double role: to ‘construct hierarchies of technical terms’ on the one hand, and on the other hand to ‘develop an argument step by step, using complex passages packaged in nominal forms as Theme’ (Halliday, 1994, p.353). According to Thompson, there is an inherent harmony between nominalization and ‘the ideology of science’ from the angle of what is ‘reduced or lost’ in the ‘meaning condensation’ (2004, p.230). First, ‘one key loss’ is that of the participant of a verbal process since nominalization does not need to have a subject which clauses normally require. This key loss makes it easy for processes to be ‘objectified’ (ibid). This objectivity, without any doubt, is in harmony with one of the aims of science to establish general truth not tied to specific observers. Second, the ‘non-finite’ nature of nominalization allows it to be free from any specific time in relation to the time of speaking (ibid). Therefore, this innate generalization finds harmony with another goal of science to establish ‘general truth not tied to specific conditions of time’ (ibid). Third, the realization of ‘non-negotiable’ in a nominalized process by removing the options of modality is on intimate terms with the third aim of science to establish ‘not only timeless truths, but also unassailable, certain truths’ (ibid). In summary, the current ideology of science finds reflection and reinforcement from nominalization ‘whose primary function is to express not dynamic action but relationships between the nominals’ (ibid).

In advertisement, nominalization is often used to create more space in order to insert epithets. In legal register, nominalization is often employed to encapsulate verbose clauses and articles in order to ensure preciseness and clarity.

In academic writing, nominalization occurs as one of the important resources for depersonalization through potentially eliding researchers as participants. Besides, it is

suggested by Thompson (2003) that nominalization can also be used to avoid the responsibility of researchers, or prevent their research findings from being controversial. An interesting phenomenon noticed by Goatly (2000, p.77) is that educated native speakers of English seem to have a relatively stronger sense of nominalization since they use it ‘more successfully than foreign students’.

### **3.1.9 Summary**

From the above general review of nominalization in English, we can see that nominalization has been extensively studied by different linguistic schools from different perspectives. Jespersen initiates the study of nominalization although he does not adopt this term, and has shed enormous inspiration for the later transformational-generative linguistics in this regard. Within the transformational-generative linguistic school, whether nominalization belongs to syntax or lexicon used to be a heated debate. Today, English nominalization is mostly treated as part of the lexicon. In view of the unsolved nature of this issue, Quirk and his colleagues choose a detour to illustrate the relationship between phrase structures and sentence structures from the perspective of descriptive grammar. Cognitive linguistics, unlike transformational-generative linguistics, rejects as ‘meaningless’ the issue of attributing nominalization to the syntax or to the lexicon (Langacker, 1991, p.44). Instead, cognitive linguistics ‘posits for lexicon, morphology, and syntax an array of symbolic units that range continuously along such parameters as specificity, entrenchment, and symbolic complexity’ (ibid). Systemic-functional linguistics, extricating itself from attributing nominalization to the lexicon and the syntax, focuses more on various context-specific functions of nominalization.

In the following, we will give our viewpoint of nominalization in English, which is

expected to serve as the theoretical and analytical basis of our research. First, Jespersen's nexus theory has already given a reasonable interpretation of the relationship between phrase structures and sentence structures. According to him, nexus-substantive (as one type of dependent nexus) implies a logical predication, which can certainly be taken as a revelation of the nature of derived nominal. In addition, his categorization of clauses (which semantically correspond to nexus-substantives) as another type of dependent nexus also reflects the internal connection between that pair of structures, such as *We noticed the doctor's astonishing cleverness* and *We noticed that the doctor was astonishingly clever*. Resemblant in many aspects to Jespersen's nexus theory, Lees' transformational approach to nominalization has an advantage over the former that transformational rules make clearer the relationship between the pair of structures. Quirk's systematic correspondence and Lees' transformation are basically the same thing for those regular derived-nominals. Therefore, as for those regular derived-nominals, it is possible to assume them to be transformationally derived. By regular derived-nominals, we mean that we do not deny that some sentences do not have derived-nominals to correspond and some derived-nominals do not have sentences to match.

Second, Langacker's characterization of the distinction between a process (of what happens) and an abstract region (of a conceptual unit) is useful for a better understanding of the phenomenon of nominalization. While a non-nominalized clause with a verbal predicate creates the conceptual content of a profiled event as a process, a nominalized clause portrays the event as a time-stable abstract unit of concept, resembling an objectified entity. (In other words, when a clause is transformed into a noun phrase, it is treated as an 'object' whatever the clause describes.) When nominalized, the event is no longer conceived as active; rather, it is described as a state of being and becomes objectified and abstracted. By contrast, in a

clause, one describes the very process of the activities involved in the profiled event, such as an agent initiating an action towards or with something or someone else. The nominalized event is just like a still picture; but the event described in the verbal predicate is like a movie, illustrating the process of an action involved in the event. Maynard (1997, p.388) vividly names the effect of nominalization of the event described by the clause as framing.

Third, the difference between derived (and zero-derived) nominals and gerundive nominals, is that the former present an abstract concept, while the latter express concrete action, situation and event which one can directly experience through one's senses. In other words, the gerundive nominal nominalizes without affecting meaning – a kind of neutral perspective in terms of semantic interpretation – while the derived nominal implies a distant objectification of concepts. Maynard's notion of 'frame' is also useful to explain their difference. Gerundive nominalization frames the profiled event as a conceptual region when immediacy is involved in the mediatory process, e.g., when the speaker makes a statement while experiencing or witnessing the event. In contrast, derived nominalization frames the profiled event as a clearly defined conceptual region, and the mediatory process takes place without the kind of immediacy. Derived nominalization seems to place speakers apart from the scene of the profiled event; as a result, the conceptual region becomes more abstract and frozen.

Finally, the study of intra-linguistic nominalization prompts a further investigation of inter-linguistic nominalization, that is, nominalization in translation as one choice made by the translator against the other choice of sentence structure. This investigation of nominalization in translation may render meaningless the previous debate within the transformational-generative linguistic circle over whether nominalization is

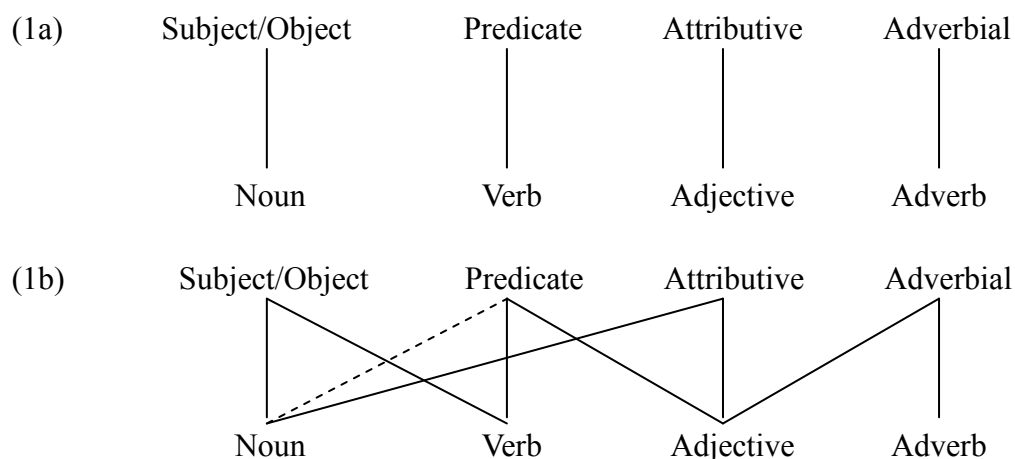
transformationally derived or lexically derived. The investigation of nominalization in translation will inevitably involve how nominalization is used in a particular translated text type. Given that nominalization, from the perspective of systemic-functional linguistics, is more characteristic of some functional text types, we would like to ask how nominalization is used in translated literature, such as whether it is more used in the narrative part than in dialogue. We would also like to ask what its stylistic/discourse effects are. We would still like to investigate what are the potential factors triggering its use, whether its use is potentially triggered by the linguistic features of the Chinese language such as Chinese nominalization, or the stylistic norm of nominalization in English literature, or the translator's individual style, or some other factors. We would like to take all of these questions as the objectives of this study. Before giving the definition of nominalization in the next methodology chapter, we will briefly introduce Chinese nominalization.

## **3.2 Chinese nominalization**

### **3.2.1 Introduction**

In the Chinese language, all words have only one grammatical form, as, with minor exceptions, the language lacks conjugation, declension, or any other inflection. Functions such as tense in Chinese verbs are expressed through particles; thus where verbs in English might be distinguished by person, Chinese lexemes are typically invariant.

In Chinese linguistic circles, the relationship between word class and grammatical function has been one of the points at issue. According to Zhu (1985, pp.4-5), unlike a simple relationship of correspondence in Indo-European languages, as illustrated in (1a), their relationship in Chinese is more complex, as illustrated in (1b).



Among these points, whether verbs and adjectives can directly appear in the position of subject and object in a sentence has been a key issue. Concerning this issue, there are four major viewpoints. The first one is that they are already nominalized when occupying the slot of subject or object. This opinion was quite popular from the 1920s when the Chinese grammar system was established to the 1950s. According to Li and Liu (1960, p.7), for example, a single verb in the position of subject is simply a noun. The second viewpoint supports analysing verbs/adjectives in the position of subject or object as verbal nouns and adjective nouns. Lü (1979, p.51), for example, analyses the VP in the structure of NP + *de* + VP as a verbal noun and the whole structure as a verbal noun phrase. In agreement with him, Shi (1981) explains that the VP in the structure of NP + *de* + VP is different from a simple noun in the sense that it can still be modified by some adverbs but cannot be modified by tense particles. According to the third attitude, verbs and adjectives in the position of subject or object do not change their word classes at all. As the strongest and most radical exponent of this attitude, Zhu (1980, p.195) reiterates that ‘Chinese linguistic facts do not support nominalization at all’. In his opinion, ‘the reason why traditional Chinese grammar books consider verbs and adjectives in the slot of subject or object already nominalized is that they perceive Chinese according to the linguistic features of Indo-European languages’ (Zhu, 1985,

p.5). Later on, Zhu (1985, p.77) relates his objection to nominalization to the ‘principle of simplicity’, namely, there is no need to add unnecessary procedures and items to grammatical analysis. Lü (1979, p.46) also comments that ‘given that in Chinese nearly every verb can appear in the position of subject or object, what we only need to do is to attribute this special property to the properties of the verb itself’. Representing the last kind of viewpoint, Hu and Fan (1994) maintain that verbs and adjectives in the place of subject or object have not changed in word class but changed in semantic meaning. According to them, instead of simply taking nominalization as an issue of part of speech on the syntactic plane, it is necessary to separate it from nominalization on the semantic plane. In their opinion, on the syntactic plane verbs and adjectives remain unchanged; on the semantic plane, they have changed from expressing a process or property to expressing an entity.

Since the 1980s, Chinese linguistic circles have started to analyse Chinese (non)nominalization based on the linguistic theories in English such as endocentric construction theory, determiner phrase theory, complementizer theory, transformational theory, systemic-functional theory, correlated markedness model, and so on.

### **3.2.2 Endocentric construction approach to Chinese nominalization**

Endocentric construction, proposed by Bloomfield (1933), is a grammatical construction that fulfils the same linguistic function as one of its constituents. In other words, ‘the distribution of an endocentric construction is functionally equivalent, or approaching equivalence, to one of its immediate components, which serves as the centre, or head, of the whole’ (He, Qian, & Jiang, 2001, p.129). An endocentric construction consists of an obligatory head and one or more optional words, whose presence serves to narrow the meaning of the head. Typical endocentric constructions are noun phrases like *the three small*



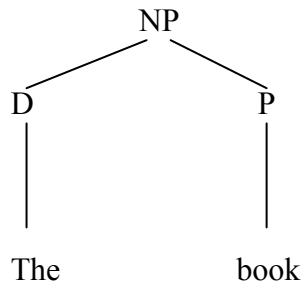
*children* with *children* as its head, and verbal phrases like *will have been leaving* with *leaving* as its head. The head of an endocentric construction is not necessarily its last constituent. It may occur at the beginning like *the book on the shelf* with *book* as its head.

Following Bloomfield's endocentric construction theory, Shi (1988) argues for the nominalization of the VP in the Chinese structure of NP + *de* + VP. In his opinion, given the general recognition in Chinese linguistic circles of this structure as an endocentric construction and as nominal in grammatical property, the VP has to be regarded as already nominalized in accordance with the endocentric construction theory. Otherwise, the theory will be violated. For example, since *zhebenshu de chuban* (literally translated as 'this book *de* publish') is generally acknowledged as nominal in grammatical property, a view of *chuban* (literally translated as 'publish') as remaining verbal stands in contradiction with the endocentric construction theory.

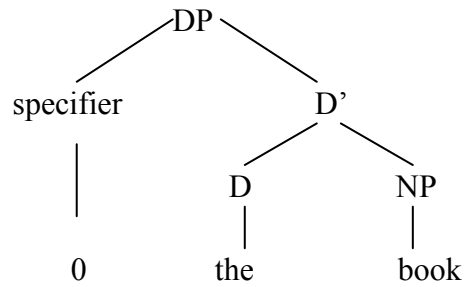
### **3.2.3 Determiner phrase approach to Chinese (non)nominalization**

In the early period of generative linguistics, there is an inclination to treat the verb as the centre of sentences, which can be rewritten as 'S → NP + VP'. Afterwards, generative linguists 'come to realize the limitation of such a treatment and subsequently add to NP and VP some functional categories such as complementizer phrase (CP) and inflection phrase (IP)' (Cheng, 1999, p.128). Thus, functional categories are analysed as the centre of sentences in substitution of verbs. In the middle of the 1980s, Abney (1987) put forward the determiner phrase (DP) hypothesis with an aim to extending the analysis of functional category to the traditional NP. According to this hypothesis, there is still a D' above the NP and the NP is only a complement of the Determiner. In other words, the structure of a noun phrase in the traditional sense should be (2b) rather than (2a).

(2a)

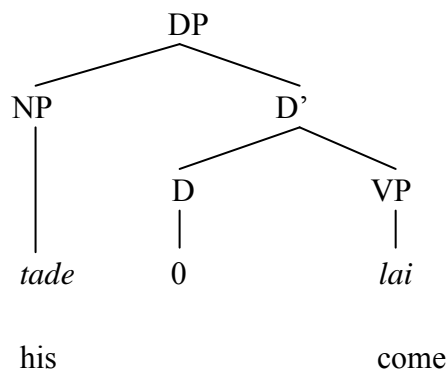


(2b)

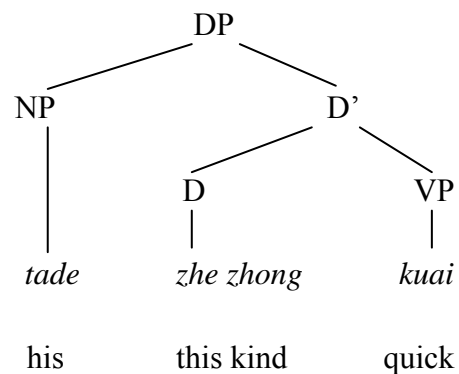


Based on the DP hypothesis, Cheng (1999) attempts to solve the problem of Chinese nominalization. According to him, functional categories in Chinese noun phrases include specifiers (e.g., *zhe* ('this'), *na* ('that'), *zhezhong* ('this kind')), numerals (e.g., *yi* ('one'), *er* ('two')), and classifiers (e.g., *bei* ('cup'), *kuai* ('piece')). Since these types of functional categories are nominal in grammatical property, their projected noun phrases should be nominal as well. The appearance of possessive pronouns such as *tade* ('his') in (3a) in the position of specifier marks the existence of specifiers. In addition to noun phrases, functional categories can also project verbal or adjective phrases or take them as their complements. This means that the nominal property of the whole structure of (3a) is given by the possessive pronoun *tade* ('his') while that of the whole structure of (3b) is given by the functional category of *zhezhong* ('this kind'). However, the verb *lai* ('come') in (3a) and the adjective *kuai* ('quick') in (3b), in his opinion, retain their individual word classes and are not nominalized since they can still be modified by adverbs.

(3a)



(3b)



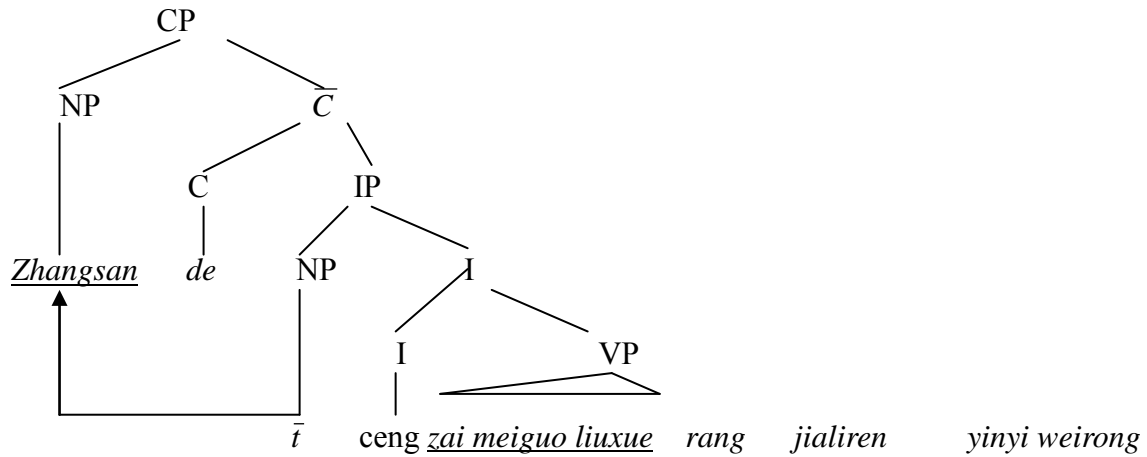
### 3.2.4 Complementizer approach to Chinese (non)nominalization

Complementizer theory is first proposed by Bresnan (1970). According to it, a complementizer (COMP) such as *that*-, *for-to*, and *'s-ing clause* and a sentence (S) can form a higher level of  $\bar{S}$ . The rule in English looks like  $\bar{S} \rightarrow \text{COMP S}$ . Later on, with the further development of generative linguistics and the formulation of principles and parameters, a common view has come into being that English is a language with the head of a sentence in its front. As such, COMP and S form a complementizer phrase (CP) where COMP is the centre and determines the grammatical properties of the CP it introduces. For example, the CP in (4), formed by the complementizer *that* and the sentence it introduces, often occurs in the position of subject or object and has nominal property.

(4) That they will vote against government plans to privatize hospitals

Si (2002) argues that *de* in Chinese and *that* as a complementizer in English have a similar syntactic function and it is possible to analyze *de* as a sentence complementizer in Chinese. According to her, its grammatical features are: First, it appears between the subject and the predicate; second, as the centre of the  $\bar{S}$  structure, it determines the grammatical property of the structure as nominal. Take (5) for example. Since the complementizer *de* is nominal, *Zhangsan de ceng zaimeiguo liuxue* (literally translated as ‘Zhangsan *de* used to in USA study abroad’) as an example of the  $\bar{S}$  structure should be nominal as well.

(5)



Zhangsan    de    tense marker in    USA    study    make    his family    proud

In order to prove *de* as a complementizer, Si provides evidence that  $\bar{S}$  can appear in coordinated structures like (6). Her reasoning is as follows. Since only elements belonging to a same grammatical category can be linked together in a coordinated way, *Zhangsan xiada gongcheng mingling* and *Lisi de canghuang chutao* should belong to a same category. As the former structure is generally treated as a subject-predicate structure, the latter naturally belongs to the same structure. In addition, just as *that* can appear implicitly such as in the English translation of the second Chinese structure, so *de* can also appear implicitly such as in the first Chinese structure.

(6)

Zhangsan xiada gongcheng mingling    he    Lisi de canghuang chutao chengwei xinwen

Zhangsan issue attack city order    and    Lisi de in panic    flee    become    news.

That Zhangsan issued an order of attacking city and (that)Lisi fled in panic became news.

### 3.2.5 Transformational approach to Chinese nominalization

According to He and Wang (2007, pp.13-14), Chinese is typologically different from English in three aspects. First, Chinese adjectives and verbs do not become nouns by adding nominal morphemes to them (see examples (7-10)); second, with no possessive pronouns, Chinese uses *de* without exception (see examples (8) and (10)); third, Chinese lacks passive morphology (see examples (11) and (12))). In contrast, English has all these three traits.

(7) Subject-predicate (SP) structures in Chinese:

(7a) ta benzhuo	(7b) ta ban    zou    le
he stupid	he move out    tense marker
he is stupid	he has moved out.

(8) Nominalized SP structures in Chinese:

(8a) ta de benzhuo	(8b) ta    de    ban    zou
he <i>de</i> stupid	he <i>de</i> move out
his stupidity	her moving out

(9) Verb-object (VO) structures in Chinese:

(9a) chuban shuji	(9b) fazhan    lilun
Publish books	develop theories
Publish books	develop theories

(10) Nominalized VO structures in Chinese:

(10a) shuji de chuban	(10b) lilun    de    fazhan
books <i>de</i> publish	theories <i>de</i> develop
books' publication	theories' development

(11) Passive SP structures in Chinese with *bei* as a passive marker (PAM):

(11a) ta	bei	mosha	(11b) huanjing	bei	wuran
he	PAM	murder	environment	PAM	pollute
he is murdered			the environment is polluted		

(12) Nominalized SP passive structures in Chinese:

(12a) ta	de	bei	mosha	(12b) huanjing	de	bei	wuran
ta	de	PAM	murder	environment	de	PAM	pollute
his being murdered				the environment's being polluted			

Based on these typological differences, they propose that unlike nominalization in English which is formed through base generation and thus there is no syntactic transformation, nominalization in Chinese is possibly formed through syntactic transformation. Their proposition is based on the following three points. First, Chinese verbs and adjectives in the structures of SP or VO do not change their respective word classes but remain verbal and adjective if the whole structures are nominalized since Chinese is a language which lacks morphological inflections. Second, the fact that passive markers used in the structures of SP or VO remain the same in their corresponding nominalized structures implies that there is a transformational relation involved. Third, the fact that every nominalized structure of SP or VO has a possessive marker *de* implies that *de* is the head of Chinese nominalized structures.

In addition, He and Wang also illustrate their assumption of how a nominalized structure, consisting of a nominal element before *de* and a (verbal or adjective) predicate element after *de*, is a transformational derivation. Their assumption is as follows. The nominal element before *de* is the theme of the predicate after *de*. The theme element and the predicate belong to a same sentence but the theme moves out of the sentence to the front of *de*, thus leaving the remaining a nominalized predicate, as illustrated in (13) and (14). Structurally speaking, a

nominalized structure is born of two steps. In step one, *de* and a structure of SP or VO gather together. In step two, the relevant theme moves out to the front of *de*.

$$(13) \quad [ de [ chuban \quad zhebenshu ] ] \rightarrow [ zhebenshu [ de [chuban] ] ]$$

$$[ de [ publish \quad this \text{ book } ] ] \rightarrow [ this \text{ book } [ de [publish] ] ]$$

$$(14) \quad [ de [ ta \text{ qinfen } ] ] \rightarrow [ ta [ de [ qinfen ] ] ]$$

$$[ de [ he \text{ diligent } ] ] \rightarrow [ he [ de [ diligent ] ] ]$$

### 3.2.6 Systemic-functional approach to Chinese nominalization

Yang (2007), to our best knowledge, presents in the most comprehensive way a systemic functional study of grammatical metaphor (which includes nominalization) in Chinese from the perspectives of theoretical exploration, practical analysis and typological interpretation. His study of grammatical metaphor in Chinese is based on the framework of functional analysis of Chinese and refers to those in grammatical metaphor in the reference language of English.

His study describes the remapping relationship between semantics and lexicogrammar in Chinese by examining transgrammatical semantic domains. Transgrammatical semantic domains refer to semantic domains realized by more than one grammatical category (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p.242, cited in Yang, 2007, p.166), the phenomenon of transcategorization “implies two things: (i) that each etymon belongs inherently to a major class; and (ii) that at least some etymons can be transferred to another class”. The reason why Yang takes transgrammatical semantic domains as the precondition for identifying grammatical metaphor (and nominalization) in Chinese is that Chinese is characterized by its lack of morphological indicators for different word classes. His

examination of the four transgrammatical semantic domains confirms the existence of grammatical metaphor in Chinese: expansion, projection, speech function, and modality.

In his framework of identifying ideational grammatical metaphors, Yang (2007) refers to the grammatical variations occurring in downranking movements and the shifts of semantic elements. His comparison of congruent and metaphorical realizations of ideational meaning illustrates the downranking grammatical movements occurring in the process of realizing ideational metaphor in Chinese. According to Yang (2007, p.159), ideational metaphor in Chinese involves four types of downranking grammatical movements: (1) from clause complex to clause; (2) from clause complex to group; (3) from clause to group; and (4) from group to word.

Corresponding to these downranking grammatical movements in Chinese, the elements of sequence and figure are realized metaphorically in the following patterns of metaphorical realization: the meaning of a process is realized as a noun/verb functioning as the modifier in a nominal group or a nominal group, the meaning of a quality is realized as a noun, and so on.

In his discussion of nominalization in Chinese, Yang (2007, p.167) divides the transfer from verb/adjective to noun into two subtypes depending on whether the verb/adjective changes its form. In the first subtype, verbs/adjectives in Chinese are nominalized without changing their forms, as illustrated by the following examples (15) and (16). In the second type, verbs and adjectives in Chinese are nominalized by adding lexemes like *xing* (property), *lǜ* (rate) or *du* (degree) to them, as exemplified by the transfers in (17) and (18).



(15) *weimiao* - *weimiao* (adjective to noun)      (16) *kaolü* - *kaolü* (verb to noun)

delicate    delicacy

consider    consideration

(17) *keneng* - *kenengxing* (adjective to noun)      (18) *chenggong* - *chenggonglü* (verb to noun)

possible    possibility

succeed    probability of success

Following Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), Yang (2007) categorizes ideational grammatical metaphor in Chinese into thirteen categories in terms of elemental shift. Of them, Yang (2007, p.183) further differentiates quality into two subcategories: from epithet to thing and from attribute to thing, as illustrated separately by (19) and (20). At the same time, he further categorizes the semantic shift in Chinese from process to thing into the shift from auxiliary to thing, the shift from event to thing and the shift from event + extension to thing. According to Yang (2007, p.185), the subcategory of event to thing is concerned with the nominalization of various types of process (material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal or existential) in Chinese, as illustrated by (21). By contrast, the subcategory of event + extension to thing is mainly observed in the nominalization of material processes, as illustrated by (22). The shift from auxiliary to thing involves the nominalization of modal verbs in Chinese, which is concerned with the construal of modality and ability meanings. This situation is illustrated by (23).

(19)

*jingzhi wuti*

static object

objects at rest

Epithet Thing

Epithet      Thing

*wuti*    (*de*)    *jingzhi*

body    (Sub.)    rest

the rest of objects

(20)

*wuti wanqu.*

object curved

The object is curved.

Carrier Attribute

Epithet      Thing

*wuti      de      wanqu*

object Sub. curvature

curvature of object

(21)

*Thomson quexin fu      lizi      de      cunzai.*

Thomson believe negative particle Sub. existence

Thomson believes the existence of negative particles.

Sensor      Process (Event)      Phenomenon

Deictic      Epithet      Thing

Thomson      dui      fu      lizi      de      quexin

Thomson to negative particle Sub. belief

Thomson's belief of negative particles

(22)

*Bingshan zai gao wen      xia rong jie.*

iceberg at high temperature under melt away

The iceberg melts at a high temperature.

Participant Cir: Location      Process (Event + Extension)

Epithet      Classifier      Thing

*gao      wen      xia      de      bingshan      rong      jie*

high temperature under Sub. iceberg melting away

the melting away of the iceberg at a high temperature

(23)

*Gai shebei neng fenjie      shui fenzi.*

this device can break down water molecule

This device can break down water molecules.

Actor      Process (Auxiliary + Event) Goal

Classifier      Epithet      Thing

*Gai shebei fenjie      shui fenzi      de      nengli*

this device break down water molecule Sub. ability

the ability of this device to break down water molecules

From Yang's identification and categorization of nominalization illustrated in the

above examples, the nominalization of both verbs and adjectives in Chinese can be interpreted in two ways. Lexically, they are nominalized by adding lexemes; syntactically, they are nominalized, without changing their forms, by the attachment of the subordinating particle *de* placed before them. In other words, *de* is the marker of Chinese nominalization (of process and quality) in syntactic means. According to Yang (2007, p.113), the attachment of *de* to grammatical constituents in Chinese often engenders a form of nominalization.

In the discussion about the impact of transcategorization in Chinese as a lexicogrammatical phenomenon on the semantic plane, Yang (2007, p.160) points out that the semantic nature of transcategorization is clear in some of the shifts from one grammatical category to another, as illustrated by lexical nominalization in (17) and (18), and less clear in some other cases, as illustrated by (15) and (16). In reference to Halliday (1998), Yang (2007) attributes the remapping of semantics to the appearance of such words as *weimiao* and *kaoliu* which have junctional meanings as two semantic elements.

### **3.2.7 Correlated markedness and containing models for Chinese (non)nominalization**

Shen (2009) situates the debated issue of nominalization in Chinese under the general issue of word classes in Chinese. According to him, there are two dilemmas dealing with word classes in Chinese.

One dilemma is that fixing syntactic functions leads to unfixed word classes and fixing word classes leads to unfixed syntactic functions. As shown in (1a) and (1b) above, unlike a simple relationship of correspondence between word classes and syntactic functions in Indo-European languages such as English, their relationship in Chinese is more complex. On

the one hand, defining word classes according to syntactic functions (i.e., nouns act as subject or object, verbs as predicate, adjectives as attributive, and adverbs as adverbial) results in a situation where a word class has a fixed syntactic function. However, this defining also results in another situation where one and the same word occupying different syntactic positions will be categorized as different word classes. On the other hand, fixing word classes results in unfixed syntactic functions since Chinese verbs, in addition to predicate, can also act as subject or object; Chinese adjectives can not only act as attributive, but also act as subject, object, predicate, or adverbial.

In order to solve this dilemma, Shen (1997, pp.257-259) puts forward a model of ‘correlated markedness’ under the inspiration of Croft (1991). Under this model, the relationship between word classes and syntactic functions is both correspondent and non-correspondent. Unlike the model illustrated in (1a) under which word classes and syntactic functions are in a complete correspondence or the model illustrated in (1b) under which they are not in a complete correspondence, Shen’s model combines those two models. According to him, Indo-European languages do not belong to the correspondent model while Chinese does not belong to the non-correspondent model. They all belong to the model of correlated markedness under which word classes and syntactic functions are in both a correspondent and non-correspondent relationship as far as every language in the world is concerned. He argues that ‘the only difference is that Indo-European languages like English are mainly marked in morphology [in a narrow sense] while Chinese is mainly marked in morphology [in a broad sense], such as its distribution range and frequency’ (Shen, 2009, p.3).

The other dilemma is that following the principle of simplicity leads to violating Bloomfield’s endocentric construction theory while following Bloomfield’s endocentric

construction theory leads to violating the principle of simplicity. According to Zhu (1985), the viewpoint that verbs and adjectives in the position of subject or object are already nominalized goes against ‘the principle of simplicity’ (which simply means there is no need to add unnecessary procedures and items) since almost every verb in Chinese can appear in the position of subject or object. According to Lü (1979, p.46), since almost every verb in Chinese can appear in the position of subject or object, all that is needed is to include this feature as a property of Chinese verbs themselves, and the saying that verbs are already nominalized is ‘an unnecessary move and a unreasonably added procedure’. What Zhu and Lü mean, for example, is that *chuban* (‘publish’) in *zhebenshu de chuban* (‘this book *de* publish’) is not nominalized. However, the treatment of *chuban* (‘publish’) as verbal violates the endocentric construction theory where the distribution of an endocentric construction is functionally equivalent, or approaching equivalence, to one of its immediate components, which serves as the centre, or head, of the whole. To solve this dilemma, Shen (2009) argues that unlike the situation in Indo-European languages, nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Chinese are not three separate word classes. Instead, in Chinese adjectives are considered a subcategory of verbs, which in turn are considered a subcategory of nouns. According to him, the essential difference between Chinese and Indo-European languages lies in the fact that ‘the former is constitutive while the latter are realizational in mapping a concrete pragmatic category onto an abstract syntactic one’ (Shen, 2009, p.12).

Shen’s (2009, p.11) solving of the above two dilemmas involves his answer to Chinese nominalization. First, verbs and adjectives in the position of subject or object experience no process of nominalization, which keeps in line with the principle of simplicity. Second, unlike the situation in Indo-European languages where nouns and verbs are totally grammaticalized

as syntactic categories, the situation in Chinese is that nouns and verbs are not yet totally grammaticalized and still pragmatic categories. Importantly, the applicability of the endocentric construction theory to Chinese depends on whether the theory is aimed at a grammatical category or a pragmatic category. The theory applies to Chinese in terms of pragmatic category but not in terms of syntactic category since Chinese verbs and nouns are still pragmatic categories.

### 3.2.8 Summary

Since Chinese is a language that lacks morphological markers for different word classes, it is not surprising that there have appeared a number of diverse viewpoints on the (non)nominalization of verbs and adjectives in the position of subject or object or after *de*, and it is no wonder that Chinese linguists have sought assistance for it from English linguistic theories. Yang (2007) and Zhang (2008) have even given a contrastive analysis of nominalization in Chinese and English from a systemic-functional perspective and a cognitive and functional perspective respectively. Yang (2007) explains the phenomenon of transcategorization as the basis of Chinese nominalization (of both verbs and adjectives) through lexical and syntactic means. In other words, the verbs/adjectives nominalized through both means can be transferred to another grammatical category of nouns. On the other hand, Yang (2007) explains the semantic meanings of verbs/adjectives nominalized as a junction of two semantic elements. Yang's explanation does not seem to involve directly the grammatical categories of verbs/adjectives once syntactically nominalized. In other words, it seems that Yang does not give a direct answer to what categories verbs/adjectives belong once they are nominalized through syntactic means. It seems that Shen's (2009) seminal article has already

drawn a convincing conclusion to the ‘scholarly debate’ (Lü, 1984, p.232) over Chinese (non)nominalization in the Chinese linguistic circles. In our study, we are inclined to agree to and decide to adopt Shen’s position that Chinese verbs in the position of subject or object are not nominalized but remain unchanged in word class, since Chinese verbs are not a fully grammaticalized category but still a pragmatic category. Adopting his position makes us abandon our original idea of conducting a contrastive analysis of nominalization in both Chinese source texts and their English translations. In other words, we will start by describing nominalization in English translations and look for some of its potential triggering factors from their Chinese original texts.

## CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

### 4.0 Introduction

The methodology of this study contains a theoretical framework, a descriptive framework, and an analytical framework. The theoretical framework involves the definition of English nominalization, and Mathesius' 'complex condensation' theory (1975) [1961], and nominalization in translation as one manifestation of implicitation in translation. The descriptive framework concerns a comprehensive description of the use of English nominalization. In addition, this study regards as three analytical tools: Chinese grammatical features, the stylistic effects of English nominalization, and English nominalization as part of the translator's individual style.

### 4.1 Theoretical framework

This study follows the definition of English nominalization by Lees (1963) as a nominalized transform of a finite verbal form, with no change of its lexical meaning. This study will merely focus on three categories of the nominal (NOM) as a representative of the process of nominalization, i.e., Gerundive Nominal (GN)<sup>2</sup>, Derived Nominal (DN), and Zero-derived Nominal (ZN) (rather than on infinitival nominal or factive nominal). The nominalized structures containing each one of the three types of the NOM are explained by a process of syntactic derivation from their more explicit sentential predications.

This study considers the NOM one of the representatives of complex condensation in the sense that the NOM of a nominalized structure introduced into a sentence can replace the finite verb of a subordinate clause.

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<sup>2</sup> Gerundive NOM in this study contains both categories of action nominal and gerundive nominal defined by Lees (1963). The main formal difference between action nominal and gerundive nominal is that action nominal is followed by prepositions such as 'of'.



This study also looks upon the NOM in translation as one manifestation of implicitation in translation in terms of three main aspects. First, nominalized structures in translation make implicit its corresponding finite clausal structures in terms of subject, object, verbal categories (i.e., tense, aspect, voice, or modality), or the logical relations the finite clausal structures may represent. Second, when a clausal structure is transformed into a nominalized structure, it is treated as an ‘object’ whatever the clause describes. When nominalized, the event is no longer conceived as active; rather it is described as a state of being and becomes objectified and abstracted. Third, nominalized structures in translation express semantic meaning in a grammatically less intricate and lexically denser way.

## **4.2 Descriptive framework**

This descriptive framework involves a comprehensive description of the use of the NOM in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English based on its use in the first 56 chapters of the three English versions of *HLM* (the Yangs’ version, Hawkes’ version, and Joly’s version). Based on Mathesius’ complex condensation (1975) [1961] elaborated by Radovanovic (1977) and Casule (1989), this study describes the NOM in translation from the perspective of the sentence as adverbial, condensing adverbial finite clauses (of temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, and concessive meanings); in the position of subject, condensing nominal *that*-clauses and adverbial finite clauses; and in the position of object complementing (prepositional) verbs, adjectives, and nouns, condensing nominal *that*-clauses, relative finite clauses, and appositive finite clauses.

In the process of describing each one of the three categories (and their respective sub-categories) of the NOMs, examples are given which involve the specific use of these categories of the NOMs and what they correspond to in the original text. All the examples

given are accompanied by our comments on how the NOMs represent implicitation, what potential factors trigger their use, what their stylistic effects are, as well as other features of the translators' styles. We give examples according to the criteria of frequency and typicality. According to the criterion of frequency, we will give more examples if one category or one sub-category of the NOMs is relatively more frequently used. According to the criterion of typicality, we give examples which are more representative of the use of the NOMs and of the translators' other features. For the convenience of illustrating differences and making comments, we give an explicit finite structure as a control structure for every example where a nominalized structure is used (by one, two or three translators). The explicit finite structure is given based on a literal translation of what the nominalized structure corresponds to in the original text.

After the description of each of these three categories of the NOMs, a summary is given about how these categories of the NOMs are used, what the translators' styles are, what potential factors trigger the use of the NOMs, and what their stylistic effects are.

### **4.3 Analytical framework**

#### **4.3.1 Some grammatical features of the Chinese language**

In Chinese, all words have only one grammatical form, as, with minor exceptions, the language lacks conjugation, declension, or any other inflection. Due to the lack of verbal inflection, whether Chinese verbs in the position of subject/object or following *de* are already nominalized or not is still a subject of debate in Chinese linguistic circles. In our study, we follow Shen's (2009) position that Chinese verbs in the position of subject/object or following *de* are not nominalized but remain unchanged in word class, since Chinese verbs are not a fully grammaticalized category but still a pragmatic category. Despite this, we will still pay

attention to what nominalized structures in English translations correspond to in their original Chinese texts, that is to say, to see whether they correspond to verbal/adjective predicate clausal structures or verbal/adjective structures preceeded by the attributive marker *de*.

In comparison to English, Chinese has some typical grammatical features, which are relevant to this study: the subject is often omitted; conjunctions are often omitted; semantic units are often connected in the form of parataxis; it has serial verb constructions; and it has left-branching attributive modification of head nouns.

In Chinese, although the structure Subject Predicator Complement is common, there is another equally common structure in which the subject is omitted. It is not grammatically required in Chinese to have a subject in every clause or sentence. Instead, it is grammatically acceptable to have a subject mentioned at the start of a clause and to continue to refer to it in subsequent clauses, sometimes as many as a dozen of consecutive clauses, without any explicit mention of it in any form (see E.g.1).

E.g.1: 却说宝玉因送贾母回来, 〇意欲还去看戏取乐, 〇又恐扰得秦氏等人不便, 〇因想起近日薛宝钗在家养病, 〇未去亲候, 〇意欲去望她一望。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.220)

After Baoyu had seen his grandmother back for her nap, he would have returned to see the show if not for his reluctance to disturb Keqing and the rest. Remembering that he had not gone in person to ask after Baochai's recent indisposition, he decided to pay her a visit. (The Yangs, 2003, p.221)

In E.g.1, the underlined ‘宝玉’ (‘Pao-yu’) is the subject of the first clause. The subsequent five clauses separated by commas are all clauses of comment with no formal mention of their individual subjects. Marked by the sign 〇, all of these zero subjects refer to ‘宝玉’.

Just as the subject of a clause or sentence is often omitted in Chinese, so are conjunctions which are required by the grammar or common usage of the English language. Due to the frequent omission of conjunctions in Chinese, the clausal structures otherwise introduced by

them may sometimes become logically unclear (see E.g.2).

E.g.2: 宝玉听了笑道：“你往哪里去呢？”黛玉道：“我回家去。”宝玉笑道：“我跟你去。”黛玉道：“我死了呢？”宝玉道：“你死了，我做和尚。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.838）

At these words, Pao-yü gave way to laughter. “Where are you off to?” he inquired. “I’m going back home,” answered Tai-yü. “I’ll go along with you then,” smiled Pao-yü. “But if I die?” asked Tai-yü. “Well, if you die,” rejoined Pao-yü, “I’ll become a bonze.” (Joly, 1893, p.91)

In E.g.2, there are, in terms of logic or by the standard of English grammar, several obligatory conditional clauses. In the sentence ‘我死了呢？’, a conjunction required by English grammar to introduce a condition is omitted. To be strictly logical, the sentence would have to be reformed into something like ‘如果我死了呢’ (‘If I should die’). In the sentence ‘你死了，我做和尚’, an elliptic conditional conjunction like ‘如果’ (‘if’) or ‘假如’ (‘if’) clearly precedes ‘你死了’ (‘you die’) according to the context.

The difference between Chinese and English in the way their respective clausal structures combine to form sentences may explain why conjunctions in English are used more frequently than in Chinese. ‘[I]n an English sentence, semantic units are normally linked by conjunctions in the form of hypotaxis; paratactic constructions like ‘She died; he lived’ are rare’ (Wong, 1992, p.76). In Chinese, parataxis is much more common than hypotaxis; units in a sentence are often linked by the context rather than lexical items that function as conjunctions.

Since Chinese, unlike English, does not have non-finite verbal forms like infinitives, participles or gerunds, such functions are all covered by the bare verbal stem, that is, the uninflected verb. This being the case, ‘these verbs are often seen strung together in a series of two or three to form the predicate of a sentence’ in what is called a ‘chain (or serial) construction’ (Yip & Don, 2004, p.226).

E.g.3: 我骑车到火车站去买票。(Yip & Don, 2004, p.226)

I rode my bike to the railway station to get a ticket. (Our translation)

In E.g.3, the three verbs or verbal phrases ‘骑车’ (‘to ride a bike’) ‘到火车站去’ (‘to go to the railway station’) ‘买票’ (‘to buy a ticket’) constitute a serial verb construction. The English translation of this example could also be constructed as: Getting on my bike, I rode to the railway station to get a ticket. Without the flexible linguistic devices in English, Chinese can only turn to strict time sequencing to convey meaning. That is to say, the order of the serial verbal construction is fixed.

Left branching is a basic way of expanding Chinese sentences while right branching is more common in English. It follows that left branching also applies to the attributive modification of head nouns. In Chinese, an attributive element can take the form of an adjective, noun, pronoun, prepositional phrase, or even a sentence, with the auxiliary word ‘的’ (‘de’) as the marker. However, all the attributive elements modifying their head noun must accumulate before it, no matter what they are and how many of them there are (see E.g.4).

E.g.4: 周瑞家的因问金钏道: “那香菱小丫头子, 可就是 (1) 时常说 (2) 临上京时买的、(3) 为他打人命官司的那个小丫头子?” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.194)

“Isn’t this Hsiang Ling, the waiting-maid that (1) we’ve often heard of as (2) having been purchased just before the Hsüeh family departed for the capital, and (3) on whose account there occurred some case of manslaughter or other?” (Our translation)

In E.g.4, the head noun ‘小丫头子’ (‘young girl’) has as many as three verbal structures as its attributive elements, e.g., ‘时常说’ (‘we’ve often heard of as’), ‘临上京时买’ (‘having been purchased just before the Hsüeh family departed for the capital’), and ‘为他打人命官司’ (‘on whose account there occurred some case of manslaughter or other’).

### 4.3.2 Stylistic/discourse effects of English nominalization

Authorities on English style consistently condemn the use of abstract language. George Orwell (1946) criticizes bad contemporary written English characterized by abstractness, vagueness, and imprecision. Jacques Barzun (1975, pp.16-17), in his guide book for writers entitled *Simple and Direct*, recommends ‘Prefer the concrete to the abstract. Follow the advice and you will see your prose gain in lucidity and force. Unnecessary abstraction is one of the worse faults of modern writing.’ In addressing British civil servants, Ernest Gowers (1988, pp.78-79) singles out the preference for the abstract words as ‘the greatest vice of present-day writing’. He warns in particular that ‘an excessive reliance on the noun at the expense of the verb will ...insensibly induce a habit of abstraction, generalization and vagueness.’ Wilson Follett (1966, p.230) urges writers to ‘avoid abstract nouns like the plague’.

Many derived nominals can be noticed by their endings in *-ion*, *-ition*, *-ation*, *-ience*, *-ness*, *-ment*, etc, and many are learned words of classical origin like ‘expression’, ‘protection’, ‘regulation’, and ‘declaration’. ‘The impression of formality derives partly from their dignified etymological pedigree’ [and] ‘partly from the fact that large numbers of scientific and technical terms have this form’ (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p.40). Nominalization gives a formal impression also due to the formal nature of its collocated preposition or prepositional phrase. In E.g.5, prepositional phrase ‘subsequent to’ gives the sentence some formal and even legalistic flavor.

E.g.5: After they conversed on what had happened subsequent to their separation, Madam Wang took them to pay their respects to dowager lady Chia. (Joly, 1892, p.68)

Nominalization embeds action in the noun instead of letting the action reside in the verb. Since most readers find sentences clearer when they have the subject as the ‘doer’ or agent of

action and the verb as conveying the sense of action itself, heavy use of nominalizations reduces clarity (see E.g.6).

E.g.6: The argument that failure to provide for reduction of the royalty rate upon expiration of the patent discourages challenges to the patent does not apply here. (Williams, 1989, p.11)

Thinking about who is arguing, who is failing, who is reducing, and who is challenging? The writer may know everything about these whos, but the reader has to infer that knowledge from the context of the passage, a task that unnecessarily burdens the reader.

Nominalization also reduces clarity in the sense that when verbs are used, conjunctions (e.g., *when*, *because*, *although*, and *if*) have to be used to make logical relationships clear while when verbs are turned into nouns, logical relationships are made unclear (see E.g.7).

E.g.7: Though we lobbied Congress intensively, we could not acquire federal funds because other interests presented more pressing needs. (Williams, 1989, p.12)

Presentation of more pressing needs by other interests resulted in our failure to acquire federal funds, despite intensive lobbying efforts. (Williams, 1989, p.12)

‘Heavy nominalization makes a text sound formal, authoritative, impersonal, and prestigious’ (Hartnett, 2004, p.184). This can be demonstrated by comparing Text 1 and its heavily nominalized version Text 2 (see E.g.8).

E.g.8:

Text 1: (1) A baby who won’t stop crying can drive anyone to despair. (2) You feed him, you change him, you nurse him, you try to settle him, but the minute you put him down he starts to howl. (3) Why? (4) The most reason baby cries is hunger. (5) Even if he was just recently fed he might still be adapting to the pattern of sucking until his tummy is full and feeling satisfied until it empties again. (6) When he was in the womb nourishment came automatically and constantly. (7) Offer food fist; if he turns away from the nipple or teat you can assume it’s something else. (Eggins, 1994, p.3)

Text 2: (1) An infant incessant crying can lead to despair on the part of caregivers. (2) When feeding, changing, nursing and soothing techniques fail, the reason for his crying are not immediately discernible. (3) The most common reason for crying is hunger. (4) Even following a recent feed the infant may still be experiencing adaptations to the pattern of satisfaction resulting from sucking until replete, followed by dissatisfaction due to the subsequent experience of emptiness. (5) As a foetus,

nourishment came automatically and constantly. (6) Food should be offered first. (7) In the event that the infant declines nourishment from either breast or teat, another cause can be assumed for his crying, etc. (Eggins, 1994, p.63)

A careful comparison of them shows that heavy use of nominalizations makes Text 2 sound more impersonal than Text 1 as they render unnecessary the existence of many human actors (e.g., *you*) in Text 1; Heavy use of nominalizations (e.g., *crying, satisfaction, dissatisfaction, feed, sucking, experience, nourishment*) makes Text 2 sound more formal and abstract than Text 1; heavy use of nominalizations makes Text 2 more prestigious and authoritative and less accessible than Text 1 which gives an immediate and personalized impression.

#### 4.3.3 English nominalization as part of the translator's individual style

In the analytical framework, we will also situate the investigation of a translator's distinct use of nominalization under his/her individual style. In this study, the translator's individual style is defined as his or her characteristic use of language, including his or her repeated use of a range of linguistic features, his or her consistent use of a series of strategies, and so on. While the translator's style is defined as his or her specific use of language in one particular aspect, including his or her repeated use of one linguistic feature (like nominalization), his or her consistent use of one strategy (such as addition, omission), and so on. In the final analysis, the translator's style is regarded in this study as part of his/her individual style that covers his/her styles/stylistic features in various aspects.

## 4.4 Summary

This methodological chapter introduces the theoretical, descriptive, and analytical frameworks of the study. In the theoretical framework, this study follows the definition of English nominalization by Lees (1963) as a nominalized transform of a finite verbal form. The three categories of the NOM as a manifestation of the process of nominalization (i.e., GN,



DN, and ZN), this study focuses on, are explained by a process of syntactic derivation from their more explicit sentential predications. This justifies our adoption of nominalization in translation as one manifestation of implicitation in translation.

In the descriptive framework, based on Mathesius' 'complex condensation' (1975) [1961], this study describes the NOMs from the perspective of the sentence as adverbial, in the position of subject, and in the position of object, condensing finite clausal structures.

In the analytical framework, some grammatical features of Chinese are used for analyzing the potential factors triggering the NOM in translation; stylistic effects of the NOM in English are used to analyze its stylistic effects in translation.

In summary, this research undertakes to make a descriptive and explanatory study of the use of nominalization in literary translation from Chinese into English within the theoretical framework of implicitation and condensation of the eminent Prague Linguistic School<sup>3</sup>. Following the descriptive and explanatory nature of this study, we decide to use English translations as our point of departure rather than conducting a contrastive analysis. Our decision is in keeping with modern trends in Translation Studies. This said, we will certainly look for potential factors triggering nominalization from source texts by looking at what nominalization corresponds to in the source texts.

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<sup>3</sup> We admit that this is only one of several theoretical approaches including systemic-functional approach, which can equally provide useful insights to the study of English nominalization. However, our choice of the present approach is arguably a better one in facilitating our explanation of the question of why nominalization is used in translation.

## **CHAPTER 5 NOMINALIZATION IN THE THREE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF *HLM***

### **5.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, a comprehensive description of the NOM used in the first 56 chapters of the three English versions of *HLM* will be given. This presentation covers the NOM functioning as adverbial in section 5.1, the NOM functioning in the position of subject in section 5.2, and the NOM functioning in the position of object in section 5.3. This presentation consists of describing different types of nominalized structures used, their potential triggering factors, their stylistic effects, and the translators' other stylistic features. The two concepts of explicitation and implicitation in translation guide the whole data analysis in this chapter. Specifically, in every example we illustrate how nominalization manifests implicitation and how the explicit finite structure manifests explicitation.

### **5.1 The NOM as adverbial**

In this function, nominalized structures are adverbial modifying constructions which stand in a subordinate relation to their correlated sentential predications. They may condense adverbial clauses of temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, and concessive meanings.

#### **5.1.1 The NOM as a condenser of temporal meaning**

In a multi-predicative sequence, the NOM can express the action as simultaneous, anterior or posterior in relation to its correlated sentential predication. By a simultaneous, anterior or posterior relation, we mean that the action expressed by the NOM takes place simultaneously with, before or after the action expressed by its correlated sentential predication. As temporal conjunctions are often omitted in the original text, it is not quite easy

to decide according to the context the logical relation of the structure in the original which corresponds to a nominalized structure. Thus, we decide not to make a further demarcation of temporal meaning. The 17 types of constructions used in our corpus are: ‘after + NOM’, ‘on + NOM’, ‘upon + NOM’, ‘at + NOM’, ‘before + NOM’, ‘since + NOM’, ‘in the course of + NOM’, ‘from + NOM’, ‘in + NOM’, ‘at the time of + NOM’, ‘following + NOM’, ‘previous to + NOM’, ‘prior to + NOM’, ‘subsequent to + NOM’, ‘at the moment of + NOM’, ‘in the midst of + NOM’, and ‘in the middle of + NOM’. Joly makes dominant use of 848 NOMs (including 424 GNs, 277 DNs, and 147 ZNs), followed by the Yangs who use 441 NOMs (including 240 GNs, 127 DNs, and 74 ZNs) and Hawkes who uses 391 NOMs (including 277 GNs, 68 DNs, and 46 ZNs).

**5.1.1.1 Construction one: after + NOM** (Joly makes dominant use of it 322 times, followed by the Yangs 241 times and Hawkes 209 times.)

E.g.1:

吩咐道：“戌初烧过黄昏纸，我亲到各处查一遍回来。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.356)

烧	过	黄昏	纸	我	亲	到	各处	查	一遍	回来
shāo	guò	huānghūn	zhǐ	wǒ	qīn	dào	gèchù	chá	yībiàn	huílái
burn	AM	dusk	paper	I	in person	go	everywhere	inspect	once over	return

**The Yangs** (2003, p.357)

“At seven in the evening, after the burning of sacrificial paper, I shall make a tour of inspection, then issue those on night duty with their keys.”

**Joly** (1892, pp.199-200)

“At 7 p.m., after the evening paper has been burnt, I shall come to each place in person to hold an inspection; and on my return, the servants on watch for the night will hand over the keys.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.274)

“At seven in the evening, as soon as the paper-offerings have been burnt, I shall make a personal tour of inspection; and when I get back from it, I shall issue those on night duty with their keys.”

EFS: [...after sacrificial paper has been burnt, I shall make a personal tour of inspection...]

EFS: [...when I return...]

Comment: In the original, Xifeng was giving orders to the servants of the Ningguo mansion in general while taking on its temporary management during the funeral of its

member Qin Keqing. The original underlined verbal clausal structure is V ‘烧’ (‘burn’) AM ‘过’ O ‘黄昏纸’ (‘sacrificial paper’). This structure omits the subject (which is untraceable from the context) and the posterior conjunction.

This ellipsis of the subject in the original may trigger the Yangs’ decision to choose a nominalized structure as well as both Hawkes and Joly to choose a passive clausal structure. The Yangs’ nominalized structure seems to give an objectified impression due to its implicitation of the subject and present perfect aspect. Hawkes’ choice of the correlative conjunction ‘as soon as’ seems to convey a clearer warning from Xifeng to the servants and contributes to the portrayal of her as being stricter and more responsible than she was portrayed in the original. In contrast, the Yangs’ lexical omission of the adverb ‘亲’ (‘in person’) reduces Xifeng’s emphatic tone in making orders.

In rendering the verb ‘回来’ (‘return’), Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘on’ while the Yangs choose a concise ‘then’ as its equivalent. As the equivalent of ‘查一遍’ (‘have a tour of inspection’), Joly uses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘hold an inspection’.

E.g.2:

且说史湘云住了两日，因要回去。贾母因说：“等过了你宝姐姐的生日，看了戏再回去。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.592)

史湘云	住 了 两 日	看 了 戏 再 回 去
shǐxiāngyūn	zhù le liǎng rì	kàn le xì zài huíqù
Shi Xiangyun	stay AM two days	see AM play then go back

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.593-595)

After spending several days in the Rong Mansion it was time for her to go home, but the Lady Dowager urged her to wait until after Baochai’s birthday and the performance of operas.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.432)

It tells us instead that Shi Xiang-yun, having spent a considerable part of the New Year holiday with the Jias, was now on the point of returning home, but was urged by Grandmother Jia to wait for Bao-chai’s birthday and not go back until she had seen the plays.

**Joly** (1892, p.331)

After a stay of a couple of days, her intention was to go back, but dowager lady Chia said: “Wait

until after you have seen the theatrical performance, when you can return home.”

EFS: [*After Shi Xiangyun stayed for several days, she wanted to go back home.*]

EFS: [*Wait until after your elder cousin Baochai's birthday has been celebrated and after you have watched the theatrical performance, when you can return home.*]

Comment: The first underlined verbal clausal structure is ‘S ‘史湘云’ (‘Shi Xiangyun’) V ‘住’ (‘stay’) AM ‘了’ C ‘两日’ (‘two days’). In translating, both the Yangs and Joly choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘after’. However, the Yangs make a grammatical mistake as their nominalized structure is not in agreement with its correlated predication in terms of subject. As against the EFS given, the Yangs make an explicitation by adding ‘in the Rong Mansion’ while Hawkes makes explicit ‘两日’ (‘two days’) as ‘a considerable part of the New Year holiday with the Jias’.

In the second verbal underlined clausal structure (V ‘看’ (‘watch’) AM ‘了’ O ‘戏’ (‘play’)), the subject ‘你’ (‘you’) is omitted. In translating, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, which makes implicit present perfect aspect and which seems influenced by their stylistic considerations. In other words, this structure, due to its noun-like formal features, is used by the Yangs perhaps in order to establish syntactic symmetry or consistency with its previous nominal phrase ‘Baochai’s birthday’. In addition, the Yangs, like Hawkes, change the original underlined part from direct speech to narration. This change may distance its corresponding scene in the original from the reader. This distancing is intensified by the NOM ‘performance’ in the sense that it, rather than illustrating a concrete process of someone performing operas, conveys an abstract point in time (until after which the Lady Dowager urged Xiangyun to wait). In this way, ‘performance’ also gives a manifestation of implicitation.

E.g.3:

(1) 众人都<sup>不</sup>解, (2) 想了半日, 也有猜是和尚的, 也有猜是道士的, 也有猜是偶戏人的。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1440)

众人	都	不	解	想	了	半日
zhòng rén	dōu	bù jiě		xiǎng	le	bàn rì
everyone	all	puzzle		think	AM	half a day

**Joly** (1893, p.426)

None of those present could fathom what it could be. After protracted thought, some made a guess, by saying it was a bonze. Others maintained that it was a Taoist priest. Others again divined that it was a marionette.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.510)

After puzzling for a long time, they produced a number of different guesses. Someone thought it was 'a monk'; someone else thought it was 'a Taoist'; a third person suggested that it might be 'a marionette player'.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1441)

For a long time they failed to guess the answer. Some suggested a monk, others a Taoist, yet others a marionette.

EFS: [*They all puzzled and thought for a long time...*]

Comment: The underlined verbal clausal structure (V ‘想’ (‘think’) AM ‘了’ C ‘半日’ (‘a long time’)) anaphorically omits the subject ‘众人’ (‘everyone’). In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure. This choice may be influenced by ‘想’, which is used as an intransitive verb in the original. Otherwise, he has to interpret what is the object of ‘想’ in his version. As a result of this nominalized choice, the original active event of ‘众人想’ (‘people were thinking (about the answer of a riddle)’) is made implicit as this nominalized choice portrays the event as an inactive state of being rather than an active process of thinking. In addition, Joly’s choice of ‘protracted’ as an equivalent of ‘半日’ is more formal than both Hawkes and the Yangs’ choice of ‘for a long time’. In rendering ‘猜’ (‘guess’), Joly chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘made a guess’.

As regards Hawkes, he implicitates<sup>4</sup> ‘想’ and combines ‘半日’ with structure (1). This is how a new structure is created in a nominalized way. This nominalized structure, which

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<sup>4</sup>The criterion for distinguishing implicitation from omission is that the former is judged as deliberately made.

makes implicit the subject and perfect aspect, is made perhaps under his succinct considerations. As for the Yangs, they give a free rendering of the original structures (1) and (2).

E.g.4:

(1) 邢夫人送至仪门前, (2) 又嘱咐了几句, (3) 眼看着车去了, (4) 方回来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.74)

又	嘱咐	了	几句	方	回来
yòu	zhǔfu	le	jǐjù	fāng	huílái
also	instruct	AM	several words	then	return

**The Yangs** (2003, p.75)

(1) Her aunt saw her to the ceremonial gate and (2) after giving the maids some further instructions waited to see them off.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.95)

(1) Lady Xing saw her as far as the inner gate, (2) where she issued a few more instructions to the servants and (3) watched her niece's carriage out of sight (4) before returning to her rooms.

**Joly** (1892, p.44)

[M]adame Hsing escorting her as far as the ceremonial gate, (2) where she gave some further directions to all the company of servants. She followed the curricule with her eyes so long as it remained in sight, and (4) at length retraced her footsteps.

EFS: [*Lady Xing saw her to the ceremonial gate, gave the maids some further instructions, and watched the carriage out of sight before she returned back.*]

Comment: The original sentence consists of four verbal clausal structures, which share the subject ‘邢夫人’ (‘Lady Xing’). As a typical example of the linear nature of Chinese, these four clauses stand in a temporally consecutive relation, that is, the end of one event immediately followed by the start of another event.

The Yangs choose to nominalize the original structure (2) while Hawkes chooses to nominalize the original structure (4) (which is omitted by the Yangs). Both translators' choices are potentially triggered by the omission of the subjects in their corresponding structures in the original. Corresponding to the original structure (2), both Hawkes and Joly choose a nonrestrictive attributive clause introduced by the relative adverb ‘where’. Their choices emphasize where the event described in the original structure (2) happened.

E.g.5:

四人也笑道：“起了这小名儿之后，我们上下都疑惑，不知哪位亲友家也倒象有个似的。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1632)

起	了	这	小名儿	之后
qǐ	le	zhè	xiǎomíng	zhīhòu
give	AM	this	pet name	after

**Joly** (1893, p.532)

The four women also smiled. “After the selection of this infant name,” they proceeded, “we all, both high or low, began to give way to surmises, as we could not make out in what relative’s or friend’s family there was a lad also called by the same name.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1633)

“After he was given this pet-name we did all of us, high and low, wonder whether some friend or relative didn’t have the same name,” volunteered one of the women.

**Hawke** (1980, p.81)

“We did wonder, after he was given this name, whether there wasn’t some family of our acquaintance in the capital in which the name had already been used,” said the woman.

EFS: [After this pet name was given...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure (V ‘起’ (‘give’) AM ‘了’ O ‘这 小名儿’ (this pet name) AP ‘之后’ (‘after...’)) omits the agent. It is not possible to trace this omitted agent back according to the previous context. The omitted agent potentially triggers Joly to choose a nominalized structure and both the Yangs and Hawkes to choose a passive clausal structure. Hawkes omits rendering ‘小’ (‘pet’). In Hawkes’ version, there is also a nominalized structure ‘our acquaintance’ in the position of object complementing the noun ‘family’ (see 5.3.3). This structure is quite formal.

E.g.6:

说毕 (1) 大家又商议了一回, (2) 略用些酒果, 方各自散去。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1026)

大家	又	商议	了	一回	略	用	些	酒	果
dàjiā	yòu	shāngyì	le	yīhuí	luè	yòng	xiē	jiǔ	guǒ
everybody	further	discuss	AM	bout	slightly	use	some	wine	fruit

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.1027-1029)

(1) After some further discussion and (2) some refreshments they parted, some going back to their own rooms, others calling on the Lady Dowager and Lady Wang.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.225)

Tan-chu’s proposal was followed by (1) general discussion. (2) After partaking of the liquid and other refreshment which she provided, the party then broke up.



Joly (1893, p.202)

After this proposal of hers, (1) they held further consultation; and (2) partaking of some slight refreshments, each of them eventually retired.

EFS: [Afterwards, they further discussed for a while, and then partook of some refreshments...]

Comment: In the original, both the underlined parts are verbal clausal structures (S ‘大家’ (‘they’) A ‘又’ (‘further’) V ‘商议’ (‘discuss’) AM ‘了’ C ‘一回’ (‘for a while’); A ‘略’ (‘slightly’) V ‘用’ (‘partake of’) Q ‘些’ (‘some’) O ‘酒果’ (‘wine and fruit’)). Clausal structure (1) omits the object while clausal structure (2) makes the subject ‘大家’ elliptic.

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure (1). Their choice is made perhaps due to the omission of the object of ‘商议’ or perhaps due to their stylistic consideration of keeping syntactic consistency with the noun phrase ‘some refreshments’. This nominalized structure describes its corresponding active event in the original in a static way. In other words, this structure conveys an abstract point of time rather than how the original event was happening. Their rendering of the original structure (2) is very concise as they implicate ‘略’ and ‘用’.

Hawkes links his concise choice of ‘general discussion’ as part of the passive clausal structure and nominalizes the original structure (2) perhaps due to his economical consideration of omitting the subject. He also makes an explicitation by adding ‘which she provided’, which makes clear the origin of the refreshments.

As for Joly, his choice of the periphrastic predicate expression ‘held consultation’ as the equivalent of ‘商议’ (‘discuss’) seems more formal than both the Yangs and Hawkes’ choice of ‘discussion’.

E.g.7:

宝玉乍到郊外，那里肯回去，只要跟凤姐住着。王夫人无法，只得交与凤姐，便回来了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.384)

宝玉	乍	到	郊外
bǎoyù	zhà	dào	jiāowài
Baoyu	for the first time	reach	countryside

**Hawkes** (1973, p.294)

But Bao-yu, after his first taste of the countryside, was extremely loth to return and begged to stay with Xi-feng; so Lady Wang went without him, leaving him in Xi-feng's charge.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.385)

But as this was his first visit to the country and he insisted on staying behind with Xifeng, his mother had to leave him in her charge.

**Joly** (1892, p.216)

[But] Pao-yü, who had, on an unexpected occasion, come out into the country, entertained, of course, no wish to go back; and he would agree to nothing else than to stay behind with lady Feng, so that madame Wang had no alternative but to hand him over to her charge and to start.

EFS: [Since it was the first time that Baoyu came out into the country, he would not like to go back home and wished to stay behind with Xifeng.]

Comment: The original tells us what happened after Keqing's funeral in Iron Threshold Temple was over. The original underlined structure (S '宝玉' ('Baoyu') A '乍' ('for the first time') V '到' ('reach') O '郊外' ('countryside')) makes the temporal/causal conjunction implicit.

Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by 'after' and positions it after the subject 'Bao-yu'. As the equivalent of '到' ('reach'), his choice of 'taste' seems to give a vivid metaphorization of the boy's enjoyment of the countryside while the Yangs' choice of 'visit' seems to give Baoyu's going-out a somewhat formal flavor. In addition, Hawkes chooses another nominalized structure 'staying behind with Xifeng' in the position of object complementing the prepositional verb 'insisted on' (see 5.3.1).

Lexically, Joly misinterprets '乍' ('for the first time') as 'on an unexpected occasion'. As the equivalent of '肯', Joly chooses a formal periphrastic predicate expression 'entertained wish'.

E.g.8:

雨村道：“你不知，我自革职以来，这两年遍游各省，也曾遇见两个异样孩子。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.50）

我 自 革 职 以 来

wǒ zì gé zhí yǐlái

I dismiss position (zì... yǐlái = since)

**Joly** (1892, pp.30-31)

“I’ve not as yet let you know that after my degradation from office, I spent the last couple of years in travelling for pleasure all over each province, and that I also myself came across two extraordinary youths.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.51)

“You don’t know yet that since my dismissal I’ve spent two years travelling through different provinces and come across one or two remarkable children.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.80)

“I should have told you that during the two years after I was cashiered I travelled extensively in every province of the empire and saw quite a few remarkable children in the course of my travels.”

EFS: [*Since I was dismissed from office, I’ve spent two years traveling...*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure (S ‘我’ (‘I’) AP ‘自... 以来’ (‘since’) VP ‘革职’ (‘dismiss from office’)) denotes passive meaning with the passive marker ‘被’ and the agent omitted.

Both Joly and the Yangs choose a nominalized structure which makes implicit past tense and passive voice while Hawkes chooses a finite passive clausal structure. Their nominalized or passive clausal structures are potentially triggered by the omission of the agent in the original structure.

With regard to ‘革职’, Joly’s choice of ‘degradation’ seems less accurate than the Yangs’ choice of ‘dismissal’ and Hawkes’ choice of ‘cashiered’. Both ‘degradation’ and ‘dismissal’ manifest implicitness in the sense that they convey ‘革职’ as a time-stable abstract unit of concept, resembling an objectified entity rather than a concrete action. In this sense, Hawkes’ choice of ‘cashiered’ seems to be more immediate to the reader in terms of semantic effect. In addition, Hawkes makes an explicitation by adding ‘in the course of my travels’, which is also a nominalized structure. The plural form of the ZN ‘travel’ indicates its extensiveness.

E.g.9:

(1) 雨村吟罢，(2) 因又思及平生抱负，苦未逢时，(3) 乃又搔首对天长叹，(4) 后高吟一联曰：(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.22)

乃	又	搔	首	对	天	长	叹
nǎi	yòu	sāo	shǒu	duì	tiān	cháng	tàn
therefore	also	scratch	head	towards	heaven	deep	sigh

**Hawkes** (1973, p.59)

(1) Having delivered himself of this masterpiece, (2) Yu-cun's thoughts began to run on his unrealized ambitions and, (3) after much head-scratching and many heavenward glances accompanied by heavy sighs, he produced the following couplet.

**Joly** (1892, p.13)

Yu-ts'un having, after this recitation, recalled again to mind how that throughout his lifetime his literary attainments had had an adverse fate and not met with an opportunity (of reaping distinction), went on to rub his brow, and as he raised his eyes to the skies, he heaved a deep sigh and once more intoned a couplet aloud.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.23)

Having recited this, Yucun rumbled his hair and sighed as he reflected how far he was from realizing his ambitions. He chanted the couplet:

EFS: [..., Yucun, after he scratched his head and sighed heavenward and deeply, produced the following couplet.]

Comment: In the original, structure (3) contains VP ‘搔首’ (‘scratch one’s head’) PP ‘对天’ (‘towards heaven’) A ‘长’ (‘deeply’) V ‘叹’ (‘sigh’). In translating, Hawkes interprets ‘对天’ to modify the verb ‘看’ (‘glance’) rather than ‘叹’. This is why he adds ‘glances’ to correspond to ‘看’. In view of the complexity of the original structure (3), he makes three class shifts and combines them in one nominalized structure.

Joly makes no effort in adjusting its structure, rendering it into three clausal structures. He separates the first clause from the other two and mistranslates ‘搔首’ into ‘to rub his brow’.

The Yangs make implicit the prepositional phrase ‘对天’ and the adverb ‘长’. These two cases of implicitation make their version concise but may prevent readers from fully appreciating how frustrated Yuncun was from realizing his ambitions.

E.g.10:

自荣公死后，长子贾代善袭了官，娶的也是金陵世勋史侯家的小姐为妻，生了两个儿子，长名贾赦，次名贾政。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.44)

自	荣公	死	后
zì	rónggōng	sǐ	hòu
since	Rong Duke	die	after

**The Yangs** (2003, p.45)

After the death of the Duke of Rongguo, his elder son Jia Daishan succeeded to the title and married a daughter of Marquis Shi of Jinling, by whom he had two sons, Jia She and Jia Zheng.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.75)

When the old Duke of Rong-guo died, his eldest son, Jia Dai-shan, inherited his emoluments. He married a girl from a very old Nanking family, the daughter of Marquis Shi, who bore him two sons, Jia She and Jia Zheng.

**Joly** (1892, p.27)

After the demise of the Jung duke, the eldest son, Chia Tai-shan, inherited the rank. He took to himself as wife, the daughter of Marquis Shih, a noble family of Chin Ling, by whom he had two sons; the elder being Chia She, the younger Chia Cheng.

EFS: [After the Duke of Rongguo died, his elder son Jia Daishan...]

Comment: In the narrative original, the underlined structure (S ‘荣公’ (‘the Duke of Rongguo’) V ‘死’ (‘die’)) denotes posterior meaning, as shown by the adverbial phrase ‘自...后’ (‘since/after’). It seems that it is their economical consideration of omitting past tense that triggers the Yangs’ nominalized structure. In stylistic effect, Hawkes’ choice of the finite clausal structure appears to be less formal than the Yangs’ nominalized choice. In rendering ‘死’ (‘die’), Joly chooses a formal term ‘demise’. His choice might arise from his intention to accord it with the noble status of the Duke of Rongguo.

E.g.11:

赶乱完了，天已四更将尽，总睡下又要走了困，不觉又是天明鸡唱，便梳洗过宁府中来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.368)

便	梳	洗	过	宁府中	来
biàn	shū	xǐ	guò	níngfǔzhōng	lái
then	comb	wash	over	Ning mansion	come

**Joly** (1892, p.206)

The preparations were hurriedly and confusedly completed; and it was already the fourth watch of the night when she went to sleep. But soon again the day dawned, and after hastily performing her toilette and ablutions, she came over to the Ning Mansion.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.281)

By the time they got to bed it was well past one in the morning. To Xi-feng it seemed as though she had barely lain down to sleep when it was dawn once more and time to get up again and wash and dress for another round of duties at Ning-guo House.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.369)

By then it was well after the fourth watch and though she went to bed she had lost all desire to sleep. Soon it was dawn. She made a hasty toilet and went over to the Ning Mansion.

EFS: [...Xifeng washed and dressed, and then came over to the Ning Mansion.]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is syntactically complex since it combines three verbal actions ‘梳’ (‘comb’) ‘洗’ (‘wash’) ‘来’ (‘come’), which share the elliptic subject ‘熙凤’ (‘Xifeng’). In translating this part, Joly reproduces a complex sentence where he nominalizes the first two verbs. The ellipsis of the subject in the original may trigger both nominalized structures. In his version, the plain words ‘梳’ and ‘洗’, which are often found in daily life, have become two formal collocations ‘performing her toilette’ and ‘(performing her) ablutions’. As a result, his version seems to give an impression that although Xifeng did make her toilette and ablutions hastily, she still spent longer time on them than she spent in the other two versions. Hawkes makes an explicitation by adding ‘another round of duties’ for the benefit of the reader. The Yangs render ‘梳洗’ in a simplified way into ‘toilet’.

E.g.12:

(平儿对宝钗道): “二爷好容易烦了多少情, 见了这个人, 说之再三, 他把二爷请到他家里坐着, 拿出这扇子略瞧了一瞧。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1360)

说 之 再三

shuō zhī zàisān

persuade him again and again

**Hawkes** (1977, p.455)

“Mr Lian had a terrible job even getting to see this man. In the end he did though, and eventually, after a great deal of persuasion, managed to get himself invited into the house to have a look at the fans.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1361)

“Master Lian had to pull a lot of strings just to meet him. Then, after much urging, the idiot invited him home and let him have a look at a few of these fans.”

**Joly** (1893, p.384)

“Our Mr. Secundus had thus a precious lot of bother to ask ever so many favours of people. But

when he got to see the man, he made endless appeals to him before he could get him to invite him to go and sit in his house; when producing the fans, he allowed him to have a short inspection of them.”

EFS: [*after Master Lian persuaded him again and again*]

Comment: The original underlined part is a clausal structure (V ‘说’ (‘persuade’) PRO ‘之’ AP ‘再三’ (‘again and again’)) where the subject ‘二爷’ (‘Master Lian’) is anaphorically elliptic and the pronoun ‘之’ refers to ‘这个人’ (‘this man’).

Both Hawkes and the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, both of which make implicit the subject and the object. Their nominalized structures may be made under the translators’ economical considerations. In contrast, Joly makes explicit both the subject and object in his finite clausal structure. As the equivalent of ‘说’ (‘persuade’), Joly’s choice of the periphrastic predicate expression ‘made appeals’ appears to be stylistically more formal and lexically less accurate than the Yangs’ choice of ‘urging’ and Hawkes’ choice of ‘persuasion’. His choice does not keep in line with Master Lian’s higher social status. In addition, his choice of ‘endless’ as the equivalent of the adverb ‘再三’ appears to exaggerate Master Lian’s persuasion.

As the equivalent of ‘瞧了一瞧’ (‘have a look’), Joly chooses a formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘have a (short) inspection’ while both the Yangs and Hawkes choose a periphrastic predicate expression ‘have a look’.

E.g.13:

金氏去后, 贾珍方过来坐下。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.276)

金氏	去	后
jīnshì	qù	hòu
Mrs. Jin	leave	after

**Joly** (1892, p.153)

It was only after the departure of Mrs.Chin that Chia Chen came over and took a seat.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.221)

When she had gone, Cousin Zhen came in again and sat down.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.277)

Once she had gone, Jia Zhen came in and sat down.

EFS: [*After Mrs. Jin had left, Jia Zhen came in and sat down.*]

Comment: In translating the original underlined verbal clausal structure, both Hawkes and the Yangs choose a concise finite clausal structure, while Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘after’ and situates it as the focus in a cleft sentence. His focused treatment of the underlined part in the original and his choice of ‘departure’ as the equivalent of ‘去’ (‘leave’) are both formal.

**5.1.1.2 Construction two: on + NOM** (Joly makes dominant use of it 159 times, followed by Hawkes 49 times and the Yangs 34 times.)

E.g.14:

却说雨村忙回头看时，不是别人，乃是当日同僚一案参革的号张如圭者。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.58)

雨村	忙	回头	看	时
yǔcūn	máng	huítóu	kàn	shí
Yucun	hastily	turn round	look at the moment	

**Joly** (1892, p.34)

Yü-ts'un, on speedily turning round, perceived that the speaker was no other than a certain Chang Ju-kuei, an old colleague of his, who had been denounced and deprived of office, on account of some case or other.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.59)

Yucun turned and saw that it was Zhang Rugui, a native of this place and his former colleague who had also been dismissed from his post for the same reason as himself, and had returned home to Yangzhou.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.84)

When Yu-cun turned to look, he was surprised to see that it was Zhang Ru-gui, a former colleague who had been cashiered at the same time and for the same reason as himself.

EFS: [*When Yucun turned back and looked, he saw that it was Zhang Rugui, a native of this place.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined structure is a serial verb structure: S ‘雨村’ (‘Yucun’) A ‘忙’ (‘hastily’) VP ‘回头’ (‘turn round’) V ‘看’ (‘look’). This structure, as shown by ‘时’, stands in a simultaneous relation with its following omitted structure of S ‘他’ (‘he’) VP ‘发现’ (‘find’).



Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘on’. Both Joly and the Yangs make an implicitation by omitting rendering ‘看’ (‘look’) as they may consider it lexically repetitive with ‘perceived’ or ‘saw’. In contrast, Hawkes renders the two verbs in the original serial verb structure into a purposive relation, as shown by the infinitive ‘to look’. Both the Yangs and Hawkes omit rendering the adverb ‘忙’ (‘hastily’).

E.g.15:

一时小耗回报：“各处察访打听已毕。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.534-536)

一时	小	耗	回	报
yīshí	xiǎo	hào	huí	bào
soon	young	rat	return	report

**Joly** (1892, p.301)

The young rat on his return reported that he had already concluded his search and inquiries in every place and corner.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.397)

In due course the Able Younger Mouse came back and reported that...

**The Yangs** (2003, p.537)

Soon the young rat returned to report.

EFS: [...after the young rat came back and reported...]

Comment: In the original, ‘回’ (‘return’) and ‘报’ (‘report’) constitutes a serial verb construction. In translating, Joly continues to use a nominalized structure introduced by ‘on’. In comparison with the above example [14], it is interesting that this time it is Hawkes who renders the serial verb construction into a coordinate relation while it is the Yangs who render it into a purposive relation.

**5.1.1.3 Construction three: upon + NOM** (Joly makes dominant use of it 208 times, the Yangs use it 13 times, and Hawkes does not use it.)

E.g.16:

次日醒来，就有人回：“那边小蓉大爷带了秦相公来拜。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.244)

次日	醒来
cìrì	xǐnglái
next morning	wake

**The Yangs** (2003, p.245)

Upon waking the next morning, Baoyu was told that Jia Rong from the other mansion had brought Qin Zhong over to pay his respects.

**Joly** (1892, p.134)

The next morning the moment Pao-yü awoke, some one came in to tell Mr. Jung, living in the mansion on the other side, had brought Ch'in Chung to pay him a visit.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.199)

Bao-yu awoke next morning to hear someone announcing that 'Master Rong from the other house' had brought Qin Zhong over to pay his respects.

EFS: [*After Baoyu woke up the next morning, he was told...*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure is AP ‘次日’ (‘the next morning’) VP ‘醒来’ (‘wake’). In translating, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, which makes implicit the subject and past tense. This structure may be triggered by the ellipsis of the subject in the original. The preposition ‘upon’ appears to give the Yangs’ version a somewhat literary flavor. Lexically, ‘awake’ used by both Joly and Hawkes is more literary than ‘wake’ used by the Yangs. As the equivalent of ‘拜’ (‘visit’), Joly chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘pay (him) a visit’.

E.g.17:

冷子兴听得此言, 便忙献计, 令雨村央烦林如海, 转向都中去, 央烦贾政。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.58)

冷子兴            听   得   此   言

lěngzǐxīng      tīng dé cǐ yán

Leng Zixing    hear CM this word

**Joly** (1892, p.35)

Leng Tzu-hsing, upon hearing this conversation, hastened at once to propose a plan, advising Yü-ts'un to request Lin Ju-hai, in his turn, to appeal in the capital to Mr. Chia Cheng for support.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.59)

Leng Zixing, who had heard everything, at once proposed asking Lin Ruhai to enlist the support of Jia Zheng in the capital.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.84)

Leng Zi-xing, who had overheard the news, proposed a plan. Why should not Yu-cun ask his employer Lin Ru-hai to write to his brother-in-law Jia Zheng in the capital and enlist his support on his, Yu-cun's, behalf?

EFS: [*When he heard the news, Leng Zixing at once proposed a plan, advising...*]

Comment: The underlined clausal structure stands in a temporal relation with its following parts, as shown by the adverb ‘便’ (‘then’). In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure. In contrast, both the Yangs and Hawkes choose a nonrestrictive attributive clause. The translators’ uniform postpositioning of their nominalized structure or attributive clauses gives prominence to the original subject ‘冷子兴’ (‘Leng Zixing’). In addition, the Yangs also choose a nominalized structure in the position of object complementing the verb ‘proposed’ (see 5.3.1).

E.g.18:

这日晚上, (1) 从北静王府里回来, (2) 见过贾母、王夫人等, (3) 回至园内, (4) 换了衣服, (5) 正要洗澡。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.672)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.673)

(1) Upon his return from the palace of the Prince of Beijing in the evening, (2) he paid his respects to his grandmother and mother (3) before going back to the Garden, (4) where he took off his formal clothes and (5) waited for his bath.

**Joly** (1892, p.375)

On the evening of the day, however, (1) on which he returned home from the mansion of the Prince Pei Ching, (3) he came, (2) after paying his salutations to dowager lady Chia, madame Wang, and the other inmates, (3) back into the garden; (4) but upon divesting himself of all his fineries, (5) he was just about to have his bath.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.483)

(1) Returning now, two evenings later, from the palace of the Prince of Bei-jing where he had been all day, (2) he called first on his grandmother and his mother and (3) then returned to his own rooms in the garden and (4) changed back into his everyday clothes. (5) He decided to take a bath.

EFS: [*On the evening, Baoyu, (1) after he returned from the palace of the Prince of Beijing, (2) first called on his grandmother and his mother, (3) and then returned to his own rooms in the garden and (4) changed back into his everyday clothes, (5) before he was about to take a bath.*]

Comment: As a typical representation of the linear nature of Chinese with no specific focus, the original sentence consists of five consecutive actions ‘回来’ (‘return’), ‘见’ (‘call upon someone’), ‘回’ (‘go back’), ‘换’ (‘change one’s clothes’), and ‘洗澡’ (‘take a bath’). They share the elliptic subject ‘宝玉’ (‘Baoyu’).

The translators make different adjustments and thus create different effects. The Yangs

nominalize the original structures (1) and (3) and adjust clauses (4) and (5) to attributive clauses. As a result, their version seems to give more emphasis to structure (2) in the original as it is made the main clause. Joly separates the original sentence into two sentences by a semicolon, nominalizes the original clauses (2) and (4), and adjusts the original clause (1) to an attributive clause. As a result, his version gives more prominence to structures (3) and (5) in the original. The ellipsis of the original subject may trigger the Yangs' nominalized structure (3) and Joly's nominalized structures (2) and (4).

In comparison, it seems that Hawkes gives the narrative original a more smooth flow than the Yangs and Joly who follow the nodal nature of English. All the translators make a lexical explication of ‘衣服’ (‘clothes’) as ‘formal clothes’, ‘fineries’, and ‘everyday clothes’.

**5.1.1.4 Construction four: at + NOM** (Joly makes dominant use of it 96 times, followed by the Yangs 54 times and Hawkes 15 times.)

E.g.19:

凤姐缓缓走入会芳园中登仙阁灵前，一见了棺材，那眼泪恰似断线珍珠，滚将下来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.360)

一 见 了 棺材  
yī jiàn le guāncái  
see AM coffin

**The Yangs** (2003, p.361)

Xifeng walked slowly through the Garden of Concentrated Fragrance to the Pavilion of Attained Immortality, where at the sight of the coffin her tears fell like pearls from a broken string.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.276)

Xi-feng walked slowly through the All-scents Garden until she came to the shrine in the Ascension Pavilion. As soon as she caught sight of the coffin the tears, like pearls from a broken necklace, rolled in great drops down her cheeks.

**Joly** (1892, p.201)

[L]ady Feng, with graceful bearing, entered the Garden of Concentrated Fragrance. Ascending the Spirit Hall, where the tablet was laid, the tears, as soon as she caught sight of the coffin, trickled down her eyes like pearls whose string had snapped.

EFS: [...when she saw the coffin her tears fell like pearls from a broken string.]

Comment: The original sentence exemplifies one remarkable aspect of Xifeng's

multi-faceted personality. In fact, she was on intimate terms with Qin Keqing before she died. With the subject ‘凤姐’ (‘Xifeng’) anaphorically elliptic, the underlined verbal clausal structure is V ‘见’ (‘see’) AM ‘了’ O ‘棺材’ (‘coffin’). In Chinese grammar, ‘一’ is often used before a verb to indicate the following of an action by its result.

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘at’, which seems to convey the original underlined event in a less immediate way. In contrast, both Hawkes and Joly choose a finite clausal structure introduced by ‘as soon as’, which appears to convey a more immediate connection between the action ‘见’ (‘see’) and the result ‘滚’ (‘fall’). As a result, the compassionate aspect of Xifeng’s character appears to find a stronger exhibition. In addition, both Hawkes and Joly use a periphrastic predicate expression ‘caught sight of’.

E.g.20:

那宝玉自一见了秦钟人品，心中如有所失。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.206)

那	宝玉	自	一	见	了	秦钟	人品
nà	bǎoyù	zì	yī	jiàn	le	qínzhōng	rénpǐn
that	Baoyu	since		see	AM	Qin Zhong	moral character

**The Yangs** (2003, p.207)

At sight of Qin Zhong, Baoyu had felt quite eclipsed.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.178)

When Bao-yu first set eyes on Qin Zhong it had been as though part of his soul had left him.

**Joly** (1892, p.115)

Since he had first glanced at Ch'in Chung, and seen what kind of person he was, he felt at heart as if he had lost something.

EFS: [When Baoyu saw Qin Zhong, he felt as if part of his soul had left him.]

Comment: The original concerns itself with the first encounter between Baoyu and Qin Zhong. In translating, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, which is very concise due to its implicitation of the subject. As the equivalent of ‘见’ (‘see’), both Hawkes’ choice of ‘set eyes on’ and Joly’s choice of ‘glanced’ seem to give a more immediate impression than the Yangs’ choice of ‘sight’. In addition, both Hawkes and Joly make an explicitation by adding

‘first’, which indicates that it was the first encounter of the two boys. Joly makes a literal rendering of ‘秦钟人品’ (‘Qin Zhong’s moral character’) into ‘秦钟’ (‘Ch’in Chung’) and ‘人品’ (‘what kind of person he was’).

E.g.21:

林黛玉道: “你也不用说誓, 我很知道你心里有 ‘妹妹’, 但只是见了 ‘姐姐’, 就把 ‘妹妹’ 忘了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.798)

见 了 姐姐

jiàn le jiějie

see AM elder cousin

**Joly** (1893, p.68)

“You needn’t swear any more,” Lin Tai-yü replied “I’m well aware that I, your younger cousin, have a place in your heart; but the thing is that at the sight of your elder cousin, you at once forget all about your younger cousin.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.65)

“There’s no need for you to swear,” said Dai-yu. “I know very well that Cousin Dai has a place in your heart. The trouble is that as soon as Cousin Chai comes along, Cousin Dai gets forgotten.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.799)

“There’s no need to swear. I know I have a place in your heart. But whenever you see her, you forget all about me.”

EFS: [but when you see your elder cousin, you forget about your younger cousin.]

Comment: In the original, Daiyu’s speech to Baoyu gives a clear exhibition of her jealousy to her love rival Baochai and implies her complaint towards him. With the anaphoric ellipsis of the subject ‘你’ (‘you’) referring to ‘宝玉’ (‘Baoyu’), the underlined structure is V ‘见’ (‘see’) AM ‘了’ O ‘姐姐’ (‘elder consin’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘at’. In contrast, both Hawkes and the Yangs choose a finite clausal structure introduced by ‘as soon as’ and ‘whenever’ respectively. These two (correlative) conjunctions appear to convey Daiyu’s jealousy more immediately. In addition, Hawkes flexibly adjusts ‘Cousin Chai’ to subject (rather than keeping the elliptic subject ‘你’ (‘you’) in the original) perhaps out of his consideration that a direct complaint from Daiyu would make Baoyu unhappy.

**5.1.1.5 Construction five: before + NOM** (Hawkes makes most use of it 75 times, followed by the Yangs 66 times and Joly 10 times.)

E.g.22:

周瑞家的因问道：“那香菱小丫头子，(1) 可就是时常说 (2) 临上京时买的、(3) 为他打人命官司的那个小丫头子？” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.194)

临	上	京	时	买	为	他	打	人命	官司
lín	shàng	jīng	shí	mǎi	wèi	tā	dǎ	rénmìng	guānsi
before	come	capital	time	buy	for	she	engage in	life	lawsuit

**Joly** (1892, p.108)

Chou Jui's wife asked her: "Isn't this Hsiang Ling, the waiting-maid that (1) we've often heard of as (2) having been purchased just before the departure of the Hsueh family for the capital, and (2) on whose account there occurred some case of manslaughter or other?"

**Hawkes** (1973, p.170)

"Tell me," she asked her, "is that little Caltrop the one they are always talking about who was bought just before they came to the capital? The one they had the murder trial about?"

**The Yangs** (2003, p.195)

"Tell me," she said, "isn't Xiangling the girl there was all that talk about? The one bought just before they came to the capital, who was at the bottom of that manslaughter case?"

EFS: [ ....*Isn't that Xiangling the girl that we've often heard of as having been purchased just before the Xue family came to the capital and on whose account they had the case of manslaughter?*]

Comment: In the original, the three numbered structures are all attributive elements of their head noun ‘那个小丫头子’ (‘that little girl’), as shown by the attributive marker ‘的’. This manifests the left-branching feature of the Chinese language.

Joly chooses to nominalize part of the original structure (2). His choice of ‘departure’ corresponding to ‘上’ (‘come’) is formal. Hawkes and the Yangs, perhaps in order to make their versions more like a direct speech, make some flexible adjustments. Specifically, Hawkes treats the original attributive structure (3) as a separate part while the Yangs go one step further by treating the original attributive structures (2) and (3) as a separate part.

E.g.23:

贾政已知是荔枝，(1) 便故意乱猜别的，(2) 罚了许多东西；(3) 然后方猜着，(4) 也得了贾母的东西。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.614)

然后	方	猜	着	也	得	了	贾母	的	东西
ránhòu	fāng	cāi	zháo	yě	dé	le	jiǎmǔ	de	dōngxī
afterwards	just	guess	CM	also	receive	AM	Lady Jia	AM	thing

**Hawkes** (1973, p.447)

Jia Zheng knew that the answer to this hoary old chestnut was ‘a longan’ (long’un), but (1) pretended not to, and made all kinds of absurd guesses, (2) each time incurring the obligation to pay his mother a forfeit, before (3) finally giving the right answer and (4) receiving the old lady’s prize.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.615)

Jia Zheng knew of course that the answer was lichee, but (1) he deliberately gave wrong answers and (2) had to pay several forfeits before (3) he guessed right and (4) received a prize from his mother.

**Joly** (1892, p.344)

Chia Cheng was already aware that it was a lichee, but (1) he designedly made a few guesses at random, and (2) was fined several things; but (3) he subsequently gave, at length, the right answer, and (4) also obtained a present from her ladyship.

EFS: [...before he guessed the right answer and received Lady Jia’s prize.]

Comment: The linear nature of Chinese manifests itself in the original numbered structures, whose shared subject ‘贾政’ (‘Jia Zheng’) is anaphorically elliptic. In rendering structures (3) and (4) which are semantically closer to each other and constitute a sharp contrast to structures (1) and (2), Hawkes chooses two nominalized structures, which are potentially triggered by the ellipsis of the subject in the original. In contrast, the Yangs and Joly each choose two finite clausal structures.

E.g.24:

当日林如海教女以惜福养身，云饭后务待饭粒咽完，过一时再吃茶，方不伤脾胃。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.80)

过	一时	再	吃	茶
guò	yìshí	zài	chī	chá
after some time		then drink		tea

**Hawkes** (1973, p.99)

Dai-yu’s parents had brought their daughter up to believe that good health was founded on careful habits, and in pursuance of this principle, had always insisted that after a meal one should allow a certain interval to elapse before taking tea in order to avoid indigestion.

**Joly** (1892, pp.48-49)

[T]he Lin family had all along impressed upon the mind of their daughter that in order to show due regard to happiness, and to preserve good health, it was essential, after every meal, to wait a while, before drinking any tea, so that it should not do any harm to the intestines.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.81)

Now Lin Ruhai had taught his daughter the virtue of moderation and the harm caused to the digestive system by drinking tea directly after a meal.

EFS: [...wait a while after every meal before one drinks tea in order to avoid indigestion.]



Comment: The original sentence concerns Daiyu's recollection of his father's teaching of the principle of preserving good health. The general applicability of this principle may motivate all the translators to choose a nominalized structure. The difference is that both Hawkes and Joly's nominalized structures denote temporal meaning while the Yangs' nominalized structure introduced by 'by' denotes conditional meaning in an implicit way (see sub-section 5.1.4). This is one of many examples where all the translators choose a nominalized structure corresponding to a same verbal clausal structure in the original.

**5.1.1.6 Construction six: since + NOM** (The Yangs make most use of it 15 times, followed by Joly 13 times and Hawkes 10 times.)

E.g.25:

谁想贾母自见宝钗来了，喜他稳重和平。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.594)

贾母	自	见	宝钗	来	了
jiǎmǔ	zì	jiàn	bǎochāi	lái	le
lady Jia	since	see	Baochai	come	AM

**Joly** (1892, p.331)

Contrary to all expectations old lady Chia had, since the arrival of Pao-ch'ai, taken quite a fancy to her, for her sedateness and good nature.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.595)

The fact was that the Lady Dowager had taken a fancy to Baochai since her arrival on account of her steady, amiable behaviour.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.432)

Ever since Bao-chai's first arrival, Grandmother Jia had been pleasurably impressed by her placid and dependable disposition.

EFS: [Ever since Baochai arrived]

Comment: In this example, all the translators choose a nominalized structure (introduced by the same preposition '(ever) since' corresponding to the original underlined structure), which may be triggered by the translators' economical consideration in terms of past tense. Hawkes makes a lexical explicitation by adding 'first', which seems to convey to the reader that Baochai had been staying with the Jia family. As the equivalent of '喜' ('like'), both Joly

and the Yangs choose a periphrastic predicate expression ‘taken (quite) a fancy’.

E.g.26:

贾珍忙笑道：“婶婶自然知道，(1) 如今孙子媳妇没了，侄儿媳妇偏又病倒，我看里头，着实不成个体统。怎么屈尊大妹妹一个月，在这里料理料理，我就放心了。”

贾珍笑道：“从小儿大妹妹玩笑着，就有杀伐决断，(2) 如今出了阁，(3) 又在那府里办事，越发历练老成了。”  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.346)

如今	孙子	媳妇	没	了	如今	出	了	阁
rújīn	sūnzī	xífù	méi	le	rújīn	chū	le	gé
now	grandson	wife	no more	AM	now		AM	(chūgé...get married)

Hawkes (1973, p.267)

“As you doubtless know,” said Cousin Zhen, “my wife has been ill in bed (1) ever since our daughter-in-law’s death, and with no one to run her side of the household it has been getting into a pretty deplorable state.”

“Even in her childhood games, Cousin Feng had the decisiveness of a little general, and (2) since she’s married and (3) had some experience of running things next door, she is a thoroughly seasoned campaigner.”

The Yangs (2003, p.347)

“You know how it is, aunt. (1) With my daughter-in-law gone and my wife ill in bed, everything is at sixes and sevens in the inner apartments.”

“Ever since she was a child at play Cousin Xifeng has known her own mind, and (3) by managing the other house (2) since her marriage she’s gained experience.”

Joly (1892, p.195)

“My aunts,” Chia Chen replied with all haste, “you surely are aware that (1) your grandson’s wife is now no more; your nephew’s wife is also laid up unwell, and, as I see that things in the inner apartments are really not what they should properly be, I would trouble my worthy eldest cousin to undertake in here the direction of affairs for a month; and if she does, my mind will be set at ease.”

“for as to what you say, that she cannot manage things, why my eldest cousin has, from her youth up, ever been in her romping and playing so firm and decided; and (2) now that she has entered the married estate, and (3) has the run of affairs in that mansion, she must have reaped so much the more experience, and have become quite an old hand!”

EFS: [...since your grandson’s wife is no more and your nephew’s wife is ill in bed...]

EFS: [...since she’s married and has been managing the other house, she’s gained experience...]

Comment: In the original, all the numbered verbal clausal structures (A ‘如今’ (‘now’) S

‘孙子媳妇’ (‘your grandson’s wife’) V ‘没’ (‘no more’) AM ‘了’; A ‘如今’ (‘now’) VP ‘出阁’

(‘get married’) AM ‘了’; A ‘又’ (‘and’) PP ‘在那府里’ (‘in that mansion’) VP ‘办事’ (‘work’))

denote causal meaning. Lexically, ‘没’ (‘no more’) is a euphemistic expression of ‘死’ (‘die’).

Jia Zheng referred to his daughter-in-law from the perspective of Lady Wang by using ‘孙子媳

妇’ rather than from his own perspective. By doing so, he intended to seek more sympathy from his aunt Lady Wang.

The Yangs choose to nominalize the original structures (2) and (3). Nominalized structure (2) may come from their economical consideration of omitting passive voice as it is clear that it denotes passive meaning while nominalized structure (3) may come from their economical consideration of omitting the subject. Hawkes chooses nominalized structure (1), which makes implicit past tense. This nominalized structure may come from his consideration of syntactic symmetry with its following prepositional phrase ‘with no one to run her side of the household’. However, his choice of ‘death’ as the equivalent of ‘没了’ (‘no more’) may not be quite appropriate in view of its use by Jia Zheng as a father-in-law to refer to his own daughter-in-law. As for Joly, he keeps rendering ‘孙子媳妇’ from Lady Wang’s perspective (while both the Yangs and Hawkes render it from Jia Zhen’s perspective), and Joly’s choice of ‘entered the married estate’ seems less accurate as the equivalent of ‘出阁’ (‘get married’).

**5.1.1.7 Construction seven: in the course of + NOM** (Hawkes uses it 13 times, followed by Joly 8 times and the Yangs 5 times.)

E.g.27:

凤姐儿听了，忙（对邢夫人）道：“况且平日说起闲话来，老太太常说，老爷如今上了年纪，作什么左一个小老婆右一个小老婆放在屋里，没的耽误了人家。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗，2003, p.1288）

平日	说起闲话
píng rì	shuō qǐ xián huà
usually	chat

**Joly** (1893, p.344)

“Besides, our worthy senior has time and again said, in the course of a chat, that she can’t see the earthly use of a man well up in years, as your lord and master is, having here one concubine, and there another?”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1289)

“Besides, when we’re chatting I’ve often heard her remark that the Elder Master, at his advanced age, shouldn’t be taking concubines left and right.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.406)

“In any case, she’s often remarked, in private conversation about Father, that she can’t understand why at his age he continues to surround himself with young girls.”

EFS: [Besides, she's often remarked, when we are chatting, that she can't understand...]

Comment: The context of the original is that Jia She took a fancy to Yuanyang, a senior maid of his mother Lady Dowager, and wanted to make her his chamber-wife. He told his wife Lady Xing to go and ask the Lady Dowager for Yuanyang. At a loss to this tricky thing, Lady Xing was seeking advice from her daughter-in-law Xifeng. The original underlined clausal structure (A ‘平日’ (‘usually’) VP ‘说起闲话’ (‘chat’)) makes the subject elliptic.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a very formal prepositional phrase ‘in the course of’ while Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a simple preposition ‘in’. In addition, Hawkes makes an explicitation by adding ‘private’ as he may consider it improper for a mother to gossip about her own son, especially in view of his noble status and in view of the fact that his son at his (old) age taking concubines is nothing graceful to himself and the whole family. Hawkes’ consideration is also reflected in his rendering of ‘小老婆’ (‘concubine’) as ‘young girl’ rather than ‘concubine’, which is chosen by both the Yangs and Joly. As the equivalent of ‘老爷’ (‘master’), Hawkes’ choice of ‘Father’ appears to draw closer the relationship between Xifeng and her mother-in-law while the Yangs’ choice of ‘Elder Master’ and Joly’s choice of ‘lord and master’ seems to make their relationship more formal.

**5.1.1.8 Construction eight: from + NOM** (Hawkes makes most use of it 10 times, followed by the Yangs 6 times and Joly 3 times.)

E.g.28:

尤氏（对王夫人）道：“他这个病的也奇。(1) 上月中秋还跟着老太太、太太们顽了半夜，(2) 回家来好好的。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.290）

上月	中秋	还	跟着	老太太、	太太们	顽	了	半	夜
shàngyuè	zhōngqiū	hái	gēnzhe	lǎotàitai	tàitaimén	wán	le	bàn	yè
last month	mid-autumn	still	with	old lady	ladies	play	AM	half	night

**Hawkes** (1973, p.230)

“It’s a very puzzling illness,” You-shi replied. “(1) At Mid-Autumn last month, (2) when she got

back (1) from playing cards half the night with you and Lady Jia, (2) she seemed perfectly all right.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.291)

“It’s a very puzzling illness,” replied Madam You. “(1) At the Mid-Autumn Festival last month she enjoyed herself half the night with the old lady and you, and (2) came home none the worse.”

**Joly** (1892, p.161)

“Last moon at the time of the mid-autumn festival, (1) she was still well enough to be able to enjoy herself, during half the night, in company with our dowager lady and madame Wang. (2) On her return, she continued in good health.”

EFS: [*At Mid-Autumn last month, she played cards with the old Lady and you until half the night, and she was perfectly all right when she went back home.*]

Comment: In the original, structure (1) stands in a temporal relation with structure (2), although without temporal marker. In translating structure (1), Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘from’. He may use this structure under the influence of the collocation between ‘back’ and ‘from’. As for structure (2), there are two correct ways of interpretation. While the Yangs interpret it as a clausal structure with ‘好好的’ (‘in perfectly good condition’) as a concomitant adverbial of the verbal phrase ‘回家来’ (‘come back home’), both Joly and Hawkes interpret it as a complex sentence. Corresponding to ‘回家来’, Joly chooses a nominalized structure ‘on her return’.

In the original speech to ‘王夫人’ (‘Lady Wang’) about Keqing, when Madam You mentioned ‘太太们’ (‘ladies’), she actually referred to ladies including ‘王夫人’ (‘Lady Wang’). Perhaps out of respect for Lady Wang, Madame You did not address her directly as ‘you’. In translating ‘太太们’, both the Yangs and Hawkes seem to realize this and accordingly choose ‘you’ while Joly still literally renders it into ‘madam Wang’, which may sound confusing to the reader.

**5.1.1.9 Construction nine: in + NOM** (Joly uses it 10 times while both the Yangs and Hawkes use it 3 times.)

E.g.29:

(1) 薛姨妈上京带来的家人不过四五房，并两三个老嬷嬷、小丫头，(2) 今跟了薛蟠一去，外面只剩下一个男人。

(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1354)

今 跟 了 薛蟠 一 去  
jīn gēn le xuēpán yí qù  
now with AM Xue Pan go

**Joly** (1893, p.381)

(1) Mrs. Hsüeh had, in coming up to the capital, only brought four or five family domestics and two or three old matrons and waiting-maids with her, so, (2) after the departure on the recent occasion, of those, who followed Hsüeh P'an, no more than one or two men-servants remained in the outer quarters.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.452)

(1) When Aunt Xue moved from Nanking to the capital, she had brought only four or five couples with her in addition to the handful of old nannies and young unmarried maids of her immediate household. (2) Now that five of the menfolk had gone off to accompany Xue Pan on his travels, only one or two male servants were left.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1355)

(1) Aunt Xue had brought to the capital only four or five families of servants apart from a few old nurses and young maids. (2) Now that five of the men had gone with her son, only one man-servant was left.

EFS: [(1) When Aunt Xue moved to the capital, she had brought with her only four or five couples and two or three old matrons and waiting-maides]

Comment: This example also shows the difference between Xianyi Yang as a native speaker of Chinese and both Hawkes and Joly as non-native speakers of Chinese with respect to their different interpretation of Chinese grammatical structures.

In the original, ‘上京’ can be interpreted in two ways. The first way is to interpret it as a prepositional phrase ‘to the capital’, which serves as a direction complement of the verbal phrase ‘带来’ (‘bring over’). The second way is to interpret it as a verbal-object structure (‘上京’ (‘go to the capital’)), which is a simplified way of saying the adverbial structure ‘上京时’ (‘when Aunt Xue went to the capital’). In translating, Joly follows the first way of interpretation and renders it into a nominalized structure (perhaps due to his economical

consideration in terms of omitting the subject. The Yangs' second way of interpretation results in their concise expression. Hawkes, in following the first way of interpretation, makes a semantic explicitation by adding 'from Nanking'. This explicitation may facilitate the reader's comprehension of the geographic origin of the Xue family.

As regards structure (2) in the original, Joly chooses a nominalized structure. This choice is made perhaps in order to avoid the appearance of a complex subject. However, as the equivalent of '去' ('go'), his choice of 'departure' seems more formal than both Hawkes and the Yangs' choice of 'gone (off)'.

#### 5.1.1.10 Construction ten: at the time of + NOM (Joly uses it 12 times, the Yangs use it 4 times, and Hawkes does not use it.)

E.g.30:

那先生（对贾蓉）笑说道：“大奶奶这个症候，可是那众位耽搁了。要在初次行经的日期，就用药治起来，不但断无今日之患，而且此时已全愈了。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.282-284）

要	在	初次	行经	的	日期
yào	zài	chūcì	xíngjīng	dè	riqī
if	at	first time	menstruate	ATM	date

**Joly** (1892, p.158)

"This complaint of your lady's," observed the Doctor, "has certainly been neglected by the whole number of doctors; for had a treatment with certain medicines been initiated at the time of the first occurrence of your lady's habitual sickness, I cannot but opine that, by this time, a perfect cure would have been effected."

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.283-285)

"Those gentlemen have delayed your lady's recovery," said the doctor. "If she had taken the right medicine when she first missed her menses, she'd have been quite well by now."

**Hawkes** (1973, p.226)

"I am afraid my colleagues have allowed your mistress's condition to deteriorate," said the doctor. "If she had been given proper treatment at the very beginning, when she first started her courses, there is every reason to suppose that she would by now be completely cured."

EFS: [...when she first missed her menses...]

Comment: The wider context of the original is that following the failure of several physicians, Jia Rong invited another physician to examine his wife Keqing's illness. The

underlined part in the original (AP ‘在...的日期’ (‘at the time of’) AP ‘初次’ (‘first time’) VP ‘行经’ (‘menstruate’)) is wrongly-formulated. According to the context, what the doctor actually meant is AP ‘在...的日期’ AP ‘初次’ VP ‘错过’ (‘miss’) O ‘行经’ (‘menses’).

In translating the original underlined part, Joly chooses a nominalized structure. This structure is made perhaps under his economical consideration of omitting tense. With an excellent understanding of the original context, the Yangs give it a correct rendering. In addition, their choice of the medical term ‘menses’ may not be appropriate considering the identity of a doctor. In contrast, both Hawkes and Joly seem to fail to understand what the doctor actually meant. Moreover, Joly makes an implicitation by rendering ‘行经’ into ‘habitual sickness’ perhaps under the influence of the Victorian moral norms.

#### 5.1.1.11 Construction eleven: following + NOM (Only Hawkes uses it 3 times.)

E.g.31:

这林如海姓林名海，表字如海，乃是前科的探花，今已升至兰台寺大夫，本贯姑苏人氏，(1) 今钦点出为巡盐御史，(2) 到任方一月有余。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.38)

今	钦	点出	为	巡	盐	御史
jīn	qīn	diǎnchū	wéi	xún	yán	yùshǐ
now	emperor	nominate	as	inspect	salt	commissioner

**Hawkes** (1973, p.69)

He was a Soochow man and (2) had not long taken up his duties in Yangchow (1) following his nomination by the emperor as Visiting Inspector in that area.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.39)

A native of Gusu, (1) he had now been selected by the Emperor as a Commissioner of the Salt Inspectorate. (2) He had been little more than a month in this present post.

**Joly** (1892, p.22)

He was a native of Kú Su. (1) He had been recently named by Imperial appointment a Censor attached to the Salt Inspectorate, (2) and had arrived at his post only a short while back.

EFS: [*He was a native of Suzhou. He had been appointed by the emperor as a Commissioner of the Salt Inspector in that area, and had been little more than one month in this post.*]

Comment: In translating the original underlined part, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘following’. This structure denotes passive meaning,



as shown by the passive marker ‘by’. This nominalized structure gives more weight to its correlated sentential predication (2) while a coordinate relation is seen between structures (1) and (2) in the other two versions. As the equivalent of the verb ‘点’ (‘appoint’), Hawkes’ choice of ‘nomination’ appears to be more formal than Yang’s choice of ‘selected’ as well as Joly’s choice of ‘named’. His formal choice of ‘nomination’ may be influenced by ‘钦’ (‘the emperor’) in the original as the agent of ‘点’. As for Joly, his choice of ‘appointment’ is redundant as ‘点’ is already made clear by ‘name’.

#### 5.1.1.12 Construction twelve: previous to + NOM (Only Joly uses it 3 times.)

E.g.32:

每于夜间针线暇时，临寝之先，坐了小轿带领园中上夜人等，各处巡察一次。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1582)

临 寝 之先

lín qǐn xiān

before sleep before

**Joly** (1893, p.502)

Of a night, they whiled away their leisure hours by doing needlework; but they would, previous to retiring to sleep, get into their chairs, and, taking along with them the servants, whose duty it was to be on night watch in the garden, and other domestics as well, they visited each place on their round.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1583)

And last thing at night, after doing some needlework, she would make a tour of the Garden in a small sedan-chair accompanied by those on watch.

**Hawkes** (1980, p.48)

At night the three young guardians spent whatever time could be spared from their sewing patrolling the Garden in sedans, escorted by the old women of the watch.

EFS: [Every night, while she spent her leisure time spared from sewing or before she went to sleep, she would make a tour...]

Comment: In translating the underlined part, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘previous to’. Although the Yangs, like Hawkes, also implicate it, they contain its semantic meaning in ‘last thing at night (before sleep)’. The Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘after’, which makes implicit the subject. Their choice may be made due to their economical considerations.

### 5.1.1.13 Construction thirteen: subsequent to + NOM (Only Joly uses it once.)

E.g.33:

姊妹们暮年相见，自不必说悲喜交集，泣笑（1）叙（2）阔一番。忙又引了拜见贾母，将人情土物各种酬献了。  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.114)

泣	笑	叙	阔
qì	xiào	xù	kuò
cry	laugh	recount	separate

**Joly** (1892, p.68)

The two sisters were now reunited, at an advanced period of their lives, so that mixed feelings of sorrow and joy thronged together, but on these it is, of course, needless to dilate. (1) After conversing for a time on what had occurred, (2) subsequent to their separation, Madame Wang took them to pay their obeisance to dowager lady Chia.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.121)

(1) After an exchange of information about the years (2) of separation, and after they had been taken to see Grandmother Jia and made their reverence to her, and after the gifts of Nanking produce had been presented and everyone had been introduced to everyone else, there was a family party to welcome the new arrivals.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.115)

We need not dwell on the mingled delight and sorrow of these two sisters meeting again in the evening of life or all their tears, laughter and reminiscences. Lady Wang took them in to pay their respects to the Lady Dowager, and they distributed the gifts they had brought.

EFS: [*We need not dwell on the mingled sorrow and delight when Aunt Xue and her elder sister Lady Wang met again in the evening of life. They wept, laughed and reminisced of what had happened after they separated from each other...*]

Comment: In the original, the verb ‘叙’ (‘recount’) stands in a temporal relation with the verb ‘阔’ (‘separate’). In translating, Joly chooses two nominalized structures introduced by the preposition ‘after’ and a very formal prepositional phrase ‘subsequent to’. His choice of the formal prepositional phrase might give the reader an impression that the sisters’ separation was quite ceremonious. However, whether that was real or not finds no clues from the previous context of the original.

Hawkes also chooses two nominalized structures: one as adverbial and the other in the position of object as complement of the plural noun ‘years’ (see sub-section 5.3.3). Correspondingly, the Yangs choose to make a class shift of the verb ‘叙’ into a noun

‘reminiscences’ and implicature ‘阔’ (‘separate’).

Although both are NOMs, Joly’s choice of the GN ‘conversing’ seems to give the reader a more immediate impression of what was happening after the sisters’ reunion while Hawkes’ choice of the ZN ‘exchange’ seems to give not an immediate but distant objectification of it.

As the equivalent of ‘拜见’, Hawkes chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘make (their) reverence’.

#### 5.1.1.14 Construction fourteen: at the moment of + NOM (Only Hawkes uses it once.)

E.g.34:

子兴对雨村道：“第二胎生了一位小姐，生在大年初一日，就奇了；不想后来又生了一位公子，说来更奇，一落胞胎，嘴里便衔下一块五彩晶莹的玉来，上面还有许多字迹，就取名叫作宝玉。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.46)

一	落	胞胎
yí	luò	tāipán
	fall (from)	afterbirth

**Hawkes** (1973, p.75)

“The second child she bore him was a little girl, rather remarkable because she was born on New Year’s day. Then after an interval of twelve years or more she suddenly had another son. He was more remarkable, because at the moment of his birth he had a piece of beautiful, clear, coloured jade in his mouth with a lot of writing on it. They gave him the name ‘Bao-yu’ as a consequence.”

**Joly** (1892, p.28)

“She had an unexpected (pleasure) in the birth, the succeeding year, of another son, who, still more remarkable to say, had, at the time of his birth, a piece of variegated and crystal-like brilliant jade in his mouth, on which were yet visible the outlines of several characters.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.47)

“But stranger still was the birth later of a son who came into the world with a piece of clear, brilliantly coloured jade in his mouth.”

EFS: [*Later on, she bore another son, more strangely because when he was born he had a piece of clear, brilliantly colored jade in his mouth.*]

Comment: The original underlined structure is a metaphorical expression of ‘Baoyu was born’. In comparison with the birth of his elder sister as ‘奇’ (‘strangely’), Baoyu’s birth was regarded by Leng Zixing as ‘更奇’ (‘more strangely’).

Both Hawkes and Joly choose a nominalized structure as adverbial while the Yangs

choose one in the position of subject (see section 5.2). The Yangs' nominalized choice seems to be influenced by the long attributive element of 'a son'. This may also explain why they choose an inverted sentence structure. Joly makes a comprehension mistake in rendering '后来' ('later') into 'the succeeding year', which may confuse the target reader as in fact the daughter was much older than her younger brother Baoyu. In contrast, Hawkes makes a lexical explication by rendering '后来' into 'after an interval of twelve years or more'.

#### 5.1.1.15 Construction fifteen: in the midst of + NOM (Only Hawkes uses it twice.)

E.g.35:

一日，正当嗟悼之际，俄见一僧一道远远而来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.4)

正当                嗟                悼                之        际

zhèngdāng        jiē                dào                zhī        jì

just when        lament        grieve        ATM time (zhèngdāng ...zhījì = just at the time of)

**Hawkes** (1973, p.47)

One day, in the midst of its lamentings, it saw a monk and a Taoist approaching from a great distance.

**Joly** (1892, p.3)

One day, while it lamented its lot, it suddenly caught sight, at a great distance, of a Buddhist bonze and of a Taoist priest coming towards that direction.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.5)

One day as the Stone was brooding over its fate, it saw approaching from the distance a Buddhist monk and Taoist priest.

EFS: [*One day, while the stone was lamenting (its fate), it incidentally saw a monk and a Taoist...*]

Comment: In the previous context, the Stone, observing that all the other blocks had been used for celestial repairs and that it was the only one rejected as unworthy, became filled with shame and resentment and passed its days in sorrow and lamentation.

All the translators implicate the verb '悼' ('mourn'). Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a rarely used prepositional phrase 'in the midst of', which makes implicit tense and the object. His choice may be triggered by the intransitive verb '嗟' ('lament') in the original. His choice of 'lamenting' in plural form seems to intensify the

stone's lament. In contrast, Joly and the Yangs each choose a finite clausal structure where Joly makes explicit 'its lot' as the object of 'lamented' while the Yangs make explicit 'its fate' as the object of 'brooding over'. Joly also chooses a periphrastic predicate expression 'caught sight of' as the equivalent of '见' ('see').

**5.1.1.16 Summary:** In our corpus, a total of 1680 NOMs are found as a condenser of temporal meaning (see Table 1 below). Joly makes dominant use of 848 NOMs, accounting for 51% of the total number, while the Yangs and Hawkes almost evenly share the remaining 49% of the total. In terms of the three types of the NOM, Joly makes most use of each one of them. Although Hawkes makes slightly more use of 37 GNs than the Yangs, the Yangs make slightly more use of 59 DNs and 28 ZNs than Hawkes.

Table 1: The NOM as a condenser of temporal meaning in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	after + NOM	241	209	322	772
2	on + NOM	34	49	159	242
3	upon + NOM	13	-	208	221
4	at + NOM	54	15	96	165
5	before + NOM	66	75	10	151
6	since + NOM	15	10	13	38
7	in the course of + NOM	5	13	8	26
8	from + NOM	6	10	3	19
9	in + NOM	3	3	10	16
10	at the time of + NOM	4	-	12	16
11	following + NOM	-	3	-	3
12	previous to + NOM	-	-	3	3
13	prior to + NOM	-	1	-	1
14	subsequent to + NOM	-	-	1	1
15	at the moment of + NOM	-	1	-	1
16	in the midst of + NOM	-	2	-	2
17	in the middle of + NOM	-	-	3	3
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		441 (240/127/74)	391 (277/68/46)	848 (424/277/147)	1680 (941/472/267)
Percentage		26%	23%	51%	100%

In terms of the variety of the constructions, Joly makes most use of 13 types, followed by Hawkes 12 types and the Yangs 10 types. As far as the type of constructions with a total occurrence of around 56 (i.e., one NOM/chapter) is concerned, Joly takes a lead with four types (i.e., ‘after + NOM’, ‘on + NOM’, ‘upon + NOM’, and ‘at + NOM’) as opposed to three types in the Yangs’ version (i.e., ‘after + NOM’, ‘before + NOM’, and ‘at + NOM’) and three types in Hawkes’ version (i.e., ‘after + NOM’, ‘before + NOM’, and ‘on + NOM’).

Among these altogether five most frequently used types of constructions, Joly has a stronger preference for some collocations, as shown in Table 2 below. For example, as for the type of construction ‘after + NOM’, the collocation ‘after + listening’ appears in Joly’s version as many as 34 times, while it only appears once in both the Yangs’ version and Hawkes’ version. In contrast, the most frequently used collocation in the Yangs’ version is ‘after + death’ and that in Hawkes’ version is ‘after + seeing’. Joly also favors other collocations such as ‘on + return’ for 58 entries, ‘upon + hearing’ for 88 entries, and ‘at + (the) sight’ for 54 entries (as opposed to 37 entries in the Yangs’ version).

Table 2: The most frequently used collocations in the most frequently used types of constructions

Types of constructions used	The most frequently used collocations		
	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly
after + NOM	death (10)	seeing (7)	listening (34)
	listening (1)	listening (1)	seeing (7)
	seeing (4)	death (3)	death (6)
on + NOM	return (13)	entering (6)	return (58)
	entering (1)	return (5)	entering (2)
upon + NOM	hearing (3)	-	hearing (88)
at + NOM	(the) sight (37)	(the) sight (4)	(the) sight (54)
before + NOM	going (2)	going (6)	-

A further examination shows what these most frequently used collocations in Joly’s version correspond to in the other two versions. With regard to the 34 occurrences of the collocation ‘after + listening’ in Joly’s version which corresponds to ‘听了’ (‘after someone

listened’) in the original text, about 85% of them find no renderings in the other two versions.

With respect to the 88 occurrences of the collocation ‘upon + hearing’ in Joly’s version which also corresponds to ‘听了’ in the original text, about 80% of them find no renderings in the other two translations. As for the collocation ‘on + return’ in Joly’s version, it can be seen in Table 3 below what its 58 occurrences correspond to in the other two versions. Obviously, finite verbal structures (in both main and subordinate clauses) are the first choice for both The Yangs and Hawkes, although they make an occasional choice from the other six types.

Table 3: The correspondence of the 58 entries of the collocation ‘on + return’ used in Joly’s version

Alternative expressions	Adverb	Finite structure	Infinitival structure	Nominalized structure	Participial structure	Preposition	Not rendered
The Yangs’ version	3	30	-	6	3	2	14
Hawkes’ version	3	39	1	2	1	1	11

The translators’ various other stylistic features are summarized as follows. Joly uses some formal prepositional phrases in collocation with the NOM (see E.g.27, E.g.32 and E.g.33). There are more cases of formal lexical and syntactic expressions in his version (see E.g.3, E.g.10, E.g.11, E.g.13, E.g.22, and E.g.29). In E.g.10, his formal choice of ‘demise’ as the equivalent of the verb ‘死’ (‘die’) may derive from his intention to accord with the noble status of the Duke of Rongguo. In addition, Joly makes more use of periphrastic predicate expressions (see E.g.1, E.g.3, E.g.6, E.g.7, E.g.12, E.g.16, E.g.19, E.g.25, and E.g.35), most of which are formal expressions. Moreover, he has more cases of literal translation (see E.g.20, E.g.23, and E.g.28). In E.g.28, his literal rendering of ‘太太们’ (‘ladies’) sounds confusing to the reader. There are more instances of less accurate translation or mistranslation (see E.g.7, E.g.8, E.g.9, E.g.12, E.g.26, E.g.30, and E.g.34). In E.g.34, his mistranslation may confuse the reader about how older Baoyu’s sister is than him while Hawkes makes it clear.

As for Hawkes, he is flexible in making more lexical and syntactic adjustments (see E.g.1, E.g.2, E.g.3, E.g.7, E.g.21, E.g.22, E.g.23, and E.g.27). In E.g.21, his flexible translation by changing the perspective from Baoyu to someone else shows his realization that a literal translation would make Baoyu unhappy. Moreover, he makes more frequent use of lexical and semantic explicitation (by addition) probably for the sake of the reader (see E.g.2, E.g.6, E.g.8, E.g.9, E.g.20, E.g.25, E.g.27, E.g.29, and E.g.34) than the Yangs (see E.g.2) and Joly (see E.g.20). In E.g.27, his addition of ‘private’ shows his realization of the impropriety for a mother to publicly gossip about her own son. There are fewer cases of periphrastic predicate expressions in his version (see E.g.12, E.g.19, and E.g.33).

With regard to the Yangs, they have more cases of concise expressions (see E.g.6, E.g.19, E.g.20, E.g.25, E.g.26, and E.g.29). They also make more use of implicitation and omission (see E.g.1, E.g.4, E.g.9, E.g.11, E.g.14, and E.g.32). What is more, they are as flexible as Hawkes in making adjustments (E.g.2, E.g.21, E.g.22, and E.g.23). In E.g.22, the head noun ‘小丫头’ (‘little girl’) has a long and complex appositive element. With a clear understanding of the original as a direct speech, they make an adjustment by rendering part of the appositive into a separate sentence. They seem to pay more attention to syntactic symmetry (see E.g.2, E.g.6, and E.g.23). There are two cases of periphrastic predicate constructions in their version (see E.g.12 and E.g.25).

Nominalized structures are potentially triggered by various factors. The grammatical features of the Chinese language constitute one potential factor. The omission of subjects or agents in the original text may trigger nominalized structures as alternative expressions of passive clausal structures (see E.g.1, E.g.5, E.g.8, and E.g.31). The ellipsis of subjects in linear structures which consist of several verbal actions in a temporally consecutive relation



may also trigger nominalized structures (see E.g.4, E.g.18, and E.g.23). In addition, the general reference of subjects may still trigger nominalized structures (see E.g.24). The omission of objects may trigger nominalized structures (see E.g.3 and E.g.6). Intransitive verbs in the original adverbial structures may also trigger nominalized structures (see E.g.35). Secondly, the translator's economical considerations (mainly in terms of omitting subjects and/or objects) constitute another potential factor (see E.g.12 and E.g.20). Thirdly, the translator's stylistic considerations still constitute a potential factor (see E.g.2, E.g.6, E.g.26, E.g.29, and E.g.34). In E.g.2, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure perhaps to keep syntactic consistency or symmetry with its previous nominal phrase. In E.g.29, Joly chooses a nominalized structure probably to avoid the appearance of a long subject.

The nominalized structures in the examples given have nothing to do with Chinese (non)nominalization in that all of them correspond to verbal predicate clausal structures.

As regards the stylistic effect of nominalized structures, they appear to give a formal impression due to formal prepositional phrases (see Joly's choice in E.g.27, E.g.32, and Joly's choice in E.g.33) or due to the formal NOMs (see E.g.11, E.g.13, and E.g.22); and they appear to give a less immediate impression (see E.g.19 and E.g.21).

In summary, Joly makes dominant use of the NOMs, accounting for 51% of the total while the Yangs and Hawkes almost evenly share the remaining 49%. As for the translator's individual style, Joly is more formal in his style, Hawkes is more flexible in his style, and the Yangs are more concise in their style. Nominalized structures are potentially triggered by the grammatical features of the Chinese language, the translator's economical considerations, the translator's stylistic considerations, and the translator's individual style.

### 5.1.2 The NOM as a condenser of causal meaning

Nominalized structures can express the cause of the completion/incompletion of the actions expressed by their correlated sentential predications. In our corpus, 19 types of constructions are found with this function: ‘for + NOM’, ‘by + NOM’, ‘(what) with + NOM’, ‘from + NOM’, ‘of + NOM’, ‘at + NOM’, ‘because of + NOM’, ‘through + NOM’, ‘out of + NOM’, ‘as a result of + NOM’, ‘in consequence of + NOM’, ‘thanks to + NOM’, ‘on account of + NOM’, ‘owing to + NOM’, ‘consequent upon + NOM’, ‘since + NOM’, ‘by dint of + NOM’, ‘due to + NOM’, and ‘on the score of + NOM’. The Yangs make most use of 145 NOMs (including 89 GNs, 11 DNs, and 45 ZNs), followed by Joly 95 NOMs (including 51 GNs, 19 DNs, and 25 ZNs) and Hawkes 94 NOMs (including 57 GNs, 10 DNs, and 27 ZNs).

**5.1.2.1 Construction one: for + NOM** (The Yangs make most use of it 90 times, followed by Hawkes 41 times and Joly 31 times.)

E.g.1:

贾环（对莺儿）道：“（1）我拿什么比宝玉呢。（2）你们怕他，（3）都和他好，（4）都欺负我不是太太养的。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.550）

都	欺负	我	不是	太太	养	的
dōu	qīfù	wǒ	búshì	tàitai	yǎng	de
all	bully	me	not	lady	bear	PA

**Joly** (1892, p.310)

Chia Huan exclaimed: (1) “How can I compare with Pao-yü; (2) you all fear him, and (3) keep on good terms with him, while (4) you all look down upon me for not being the child of my lady.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.407)

(1) “How can I hope to compete with Bao-yu?” said Jia Huan, beginning to blubber. (2) “You’re all afraid of him. (3) You all take his part (4) against me because I’m only a concubine’s son.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.551)

(1) “How can I compare with Baoyu?” whined Jia Huan. “(3) You keep in with him (2) because you’re afraid of him, (4) but you bully me because I’m a concubine’s son.”

EFS: [*but you all bully me because I am not born of my lady.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that finding Baochai and her maid Yinger playing the game of go, Jia Huan joined and cheated. Losing a few coppers, Yinger, in spite of

a maid, could not help saying a few ‘rebellious’ words against him. In feudal China, children by concubines could not expect to enjoy equal status with those by wives. This is exactly what Jia Huan, born to concubine Zhao, was complaining about. In the original structure (4), ‘A 都’ (‘all’) V ‘欺负’ (‘bully’) O ‘我’ (‘me’) is a main clause with the subject ‘你们’ (‘you guys’) anaphorically elliptic while ‘不是太太养的’ (‘I was not born of Lady Wang’) is a subordinate causal clause which makes implicit the causal marker.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘for’. With regard to ‘不是太太养的’ (‘I am not born of my lady’), both the Yangs and Hawkes make a semantic explication by rendering it from its semantically opposite side, which may contribute more to a pessimistic Jia Huan. Actually, his pessimistic attitude towards his inferior status to Baoyu has already been made clear in Hawkes’ addition of ‘hope to’ in rendering ‘比’ (‘compare’). The Yangs make an implicitation by omitting rendering ‘都’ (‘all’) in the original structure (4), which may soften Jia Huan’s complaint. With regard to ‘欺负’ (‘bully’) in structure (4), Hawkes’ choice of ‘against me’ may make implicit and soften Jia Huan’s complaint while Joly’s choice of ‘look down upon’ seems to be contextually more appropriate. As regards structure (3), Hawkes’ idiomatic expression ‘take his part’ appears to be more accurate as it represents a temporary and purposeful action while the Yangs and Joly’s choices are of a permanent nature.

E.g.2:

贾蓉听说，嘻嘻的笑着在炕沿上半跪道：“(1) 婶子若不借，(2) 又说我不会说话了，(3) 又挨一顿好打呢。婶子只当可怜侄儿吧。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.182-184)

又	说	我	不会	说话	了
yòu	shuō	wǒ	búhuì	shuōhuà	le
further	say	I	cannot	speak	PA

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.183-185)

“(1) If you won’t lend it, aunt, (3) I’ll be given another sound thrashing (2) for not asking properly. Have pity on your nephew!”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.163)

“(1) If you won’t lend it, (2) my father will say that I didn’t ask properly and (3) I shall get a beating. Come on, Auntie, be a sport! Just for my sake!”

**Joly** (1892, p.101)

“Aunt,” he went on, “if you don’t lend it, (2) father will again say that I don’t know how to speak, and (3) I shall get another sound thrashing. You must have pity upon your nephew, aunt.”

EFS: [*If you don’t lend it, my father will say that I didn’t ask properly and I shall get another beating.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Jia Zhen sent his son Jia Rong to borrow something from Xifeng. Jia Rong enjoyed a close newphew-and-aunt relationship with Xifeng. In the original, structure (2) makes elliptic the subject ‘我父亲’ (‘my father’) and stands in a coordinate relation with structure (3), as shown by ‘又’ (‘and’) in structure (3).

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘for’, which may come from their economical consideration of the elliptic subject. In addition, the Yangs implicate ‘又说’ (‘say again’) (while the other two translators do not). Both techniques contribute to the Yangs’ concise way of expression. As the equivalent of ‘挨一顿打’, all the translators choose a periphrastic predicate expression: ‘get (another sound) thrashing’, ‘get a beating’, and ‘get (another sound) thrashing’.

E.g.3:

宝玉笑道：“依我的主意，咱们竟找你花大姐姐去，瞧他在家作什么呢。”茗烟笑道：“好，好！倒忘了他家。”又道：“(1) 若他们知道了，(2) 说我引着二爷胡走，(3) 要打我呢？”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.510)

要 打 我 呢  
yào dǎ wǒ ne  
will beat me QM

**The Yangs** (2003, p.511)

“Why not call on Xiren? Let’s see what she’s up to at home.” “A fine idea. I’d forgotten her house.” Mingyan chuckled. “(1) But what if they find out and (3) give me a beating (2) for leading you astray?”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.379)

“I know,” said Bao-yu. “Why don’t we go round to the Huas’ house and see what Aroma is up to?” “All right. But I’ve forgotten where they live,” said Tealeaf untruthfully. “(1) And suppose they do find out you’ve been gadding around outside (he added the real reason for his hesitation) (2) they’ll say I put you up to it, (3) and I shall get a beating.”

Joly (1892, p.286)

“My idea is,” Pao-yü suggested with a smirk, “that we should simply go, and find sister Hua, and see what she’s up to at home.” “Yes! Yes!” Ming Yen replied laughingly; “the fact is I had forgotten all about her home; (1) but should it reach their ears,” he continued, “(2) They’ll say that it was I who led you, Mr. Secundus, astray, (3) and they’ll beat me!”

EFS: [*they will say I lead you gad around, and they will give me a beating.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Mingyan was trying to stop Baoyu from gadding around because this is what he as Baoyu’s personal lad servant was supposed to do. The original structure (3) (AM ‘要’ V ‘打’ (‘beat’) O ‘我’ (‘me’) QM ‘呢’ ) makes the subject ‘他们’ (‘they’) anaphorically elliptic. This structure, together with structure (2), constitutes a conditional relation with structure (1), as shown by ‘若’ (‘if’).

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure (2) introduced by ‘for’. Their causal interpretation seems to give an emphasis to Mingyan’s worry. But, their (and Joly’s) rendering of ‘胡走’ into ‘lead astray’ appears to be less idiomatic than Hawkes’ choice of ‘gadding around outside’.

Actually, Mingyan’s worried hesitation is more clearly reflected in Hawkes’ version. For example, he flexibly renders the original structure (3) from the perspective of Mingyan, as shown by the change of the subject from ‘他们’ (‘they’) in the original to ‘I’ in his version. In addition, he makes an explicitation by adding ‘you’ve been gadding around outside’ in brackets. In the brackets, ‘for his hesitation’ is also a nominalized structure in the position of object complementing the noun ‘reason’ (see 5.3.3).

As the equivalent of ‘打我’ (‘beat me’), both the Yangs and Hawkes choose a periphrastic predicate expression ‘get a beating’ and ‘give (me) a beating’.

**5.1.2.2 Construction two: by + NOM** (The Yangs make most use of it 23 NOMs, followed by Joly 19 NOMs and Hawkes 16 NOMs.)

E.g.4:

贾政（对王夫人）冷笑道：“倒休提这话。我养了这不肖的孽障已不孝！”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.916)

我 养 了 这 不 肖 的 孽 障  
wǒ yǎng le zhè bùxiào de nièzhàng  
I bear AM this unfilial ATM evil creature

**The Yangs** (2003, p.917)

“Spare me this talk.” Jia Zheng gave a scornful laugh. “I’ve already proved an unfilial son by begetting this degenerate.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.149)

“Don’t try that sort of talk with me!” said Jia Zheng bitterly. “Merely by fathering a monster like this I have proved myself an unfilial son.”

**Joly** (1893, p.138)

“Better not talk about such things!” observed Chia Cheng with a listless smile. “By my bringing up such a degenerate child of retribution I have myself become unfilial!”

EFS: [*Because I bore this unfilial evil creature, I have myself already become unfilial.*]

Comment: The underlined clausal structure (S ‘我’ V ‘养’ AM ‘了’ PRO ‘这’ ADJ ‘不肖的’ O ‘孽障’) implies causal meaning. The context in the original is that Lady Wang was trying to persuade Jia Zheng not to beat their son Baoyu to death. In Chinese, ‘孽障’ (‘evil creature’) is often used by people in an older generation to scold their unfilial children. In the original, Jia Zheng scolded Baoyu partially because he was alleged to have raped a maid of Lady Wang, which resulted in her suicide.

All three translators choose a nominalized structure. This is one of many examples where all of them choose a nominalized structure corresponding to a same causal structure in the original.

As regards ‘养’ (‘bear), Joly’s choice of ‘bringing up’ seems less accurate in comparison to Hawkes’ choice of ‘fathering’. In regard to ‘不肖的孽障’ (‘evil creature’), the Yangs’ choice of ‘this degenerate’ and Joly’s choice of ‘such a degenerate child of retribution’ appear to be more explicit in showing Baoyu’s moral deterioration. In translating ‘冷笑道’ (‘laugh

scornfully’), the Yangs choose a periphrastic predicate structure ‘gave a (scornful) laugh’.

E.g.5:

(1) 早有贾母遣人来问是怎么了。袭人忙道：“(2) 我才倒茶来，(3) 被雪滑倒了，(4) 失手砸了钟子。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.242)

被	雪	滑倒	了
bèi	xuě	huá dǎo	le
PAM	snow	slip	AM

**Hawkes** (1973, p.198)

(1) By this time someone had arrived from Grandmother Jia’s room to inquire what all the noise was about. (4) Aroma pretended that she had smashed the cup herself (3) by slipping on some snow while (2) fetching tea.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.243)

(2) “I’d just poured out some tea,” said Xiren. “(3) I slipped because of snow on my shoes and (4) the cup was smashed.”

**Joly** (1892, p.133)

(2) “I had just gone to pour tea,” replied Hsi Jen, without the least hesitation, “and (3) I slipped on the snow and fell, while (4) the cup dropped from my hand and broke.”

EFS: [*“I had just poured out some tea. I slipped on the snow and the cup was smashed.”*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Baoyu, in a fit of rage, smashed a cup while his senior maid Xiren, in order not to disturb Lady Dowager, pretended that she did so. The underlined passive clausal structure in the original implies a causal relation with clausal structure (4).

Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘by’, which makes implicit the subject. Another difference between Hawkes and the other two translators is that Hawkes changes Xiren’s direct speech into narration. While doing so, he changes the sequencing of the original structures by putting the original structure (4) in front. This change seems to give the structure more prominence and establishes a cohesive link with the original structure (1). He also makes an explicitation by adding ‘pretended’.

E.g.6:

那媳妇故作浪语，在下说道：“你家女儿出花儿，供着娘娘，你也该忌两日，倒为我脏了身子，快离了我这里罢！”  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.584)

倒 为 我 脏 了 身子  
dào wèi wǒ zāng le shēnzi  
but for me dirty PM body

Joly (1892, p.326)

“Your daughter is at home,” she insinuated in her recumbent position, “ill with the small-pox, and prayers are being offered to the goddess; and your duty too should be to abstain from love affairs for a couple of days, but on the contrary, by flirting with me, you’ve contaminated yourself! but you’d better be off at once from me here!”

Hawkes (1973, p.426)

“While they’re worshipping the Goddess, you are supposed to keep yourself pure. Naughty man! You’re making yourself unclean because of me. You must leave me! Go away!”

The Yangs (2003, p.585)

“You ought to lead a clean life for a couple of days, not dirty yourself for me. Hurry up and get out of here.”

EFS: [...you dirty yourself for me...]

Comment: In the original, ‘为我’ (‘for me’) is a prepositional phrase denoting causal meaning. In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘by’, which makes implicit the subject and causal meaning. Joly makes a semantic explication by adding ‘flirting with me’. As regards the verb ‘脏’ (‘dirty’), Joly’s choice of ‘contaminated’ seems stylistically less appropriate.

**5.1.2.3 Construction three: (what) with + NOM** (The Yangs use it 10 times, followed by Hawkes 9 times and Joly 5 times.)

E.g.7:

如今贾琏在外熬煎，往日也曾见过这媳妇，失过魂魄，(1) 只是内惧娇妻，(2) 外惧变宠，(3) 不曾下得手。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.582)

只是 内 惧 娇 妻， 外 惧 变宠  
zhǐshì nèi jù jiāo qī, wài jù luánchǒng  
but inside fear pretty and young wife, outside fear pretty boys

Hawkes (1973, p.425)

Jia Lian, now separated from the wife of his bosom and fairly frying with unsatisfied desires, had for some time past been aware of the Mattress’s charms; but though his mouth had long watered to enjoy them, (1) what with fear of his jealous young wife on the one hand and (2) fear of his fancy boys on the other, (3) he had so far found no opportunity of approaching her.



**The Yangs** (2003, p.583)

Jia Lian was now inflamed by his banishment from his own bedroom. He used to eye Miss Duo avidly but (3) had so far taken no steps to get her (1) for fear of his wife at home and (2) his fancy boys outside.

**Joly** (1892, p.325)

Chia Lien, now that he had his quarters outside, chafed under the pangs of irksome ennui, yet he too, in days gone by, had set his eyes upon this woman, and had for long, watered in the mouth with admiration; but (1) as, inside, he feared his winsome wife, and (2) outside, he dreaded his beloved lads, (3) he had not made any advances.

EFS: [...because at home he feared his young and pretty wife and outside he feared his fancy boys....]

Comment: In the original, coordinate structures (1) and (2), marked by the adverbs ‘内’ (‘inside’) and ‘外’ (‘outside’), imply a causal relation with structure (3). With regard to structures (1) and (2), both Hawkes and the Yangs choose two nominalized structures introduced by ‘what with’ and ‘for’ respectively. The Yangs nominalized structures look more concise as they share one construction of ‘for fear’.

As for the adjective ‘娇’ (‘pretty and young’), the Yangs omit it while Hawkes chooses ‘jealous young’, of which ‘jealous’ may come from his explicitation. As the equivalents of ‘内’ (‘inside’) and ‘外’ (‘outside’), Hawkes’ choices of ‘on the one hand’ and ‘on the other’ seem not as explicit as the Yangs’ choices of ‘at home’ and ‘outside’.

E.g.8:

(1) 众人因素爱秦氏, (2) 今见了秦钟是这般人品, 也都欢喜, 临去时都有表礼。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.244)

众人	因	素	爱	秦氏	临	去	时
zhòng rén	yīn	sù	ài	qín shì	lín	qù	shí
everybody	because	always	love	Mrs.Qin	before	leave	time

**Joly** (1892, p.134)

(1) With the fond regard of the whole household for Mrs. Ch'in, they were, when they saw what a kind of person Ch'in Chung was, so enchanted with him, that at the time of his departure, they all had presents to give him.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.245)

(1) Qin Keqing was a general favourite, and (2) they liked her brother for himself as well. All gave him presents on parting.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.199)

(1) Everybody loved Qin-shi and (2) was delighted to meet this charming younger brother, and there were First Meeting presents from everybody waiting for him when he left.

EFS: [*Since everybody liked Keqing, they liked her brother Qin Zhong as well...*]

Comment: In the original, structure (1) (S ‘众人’ (‘everyone’) A ‘素’ (‘always’) V ‘爱’ (‘love’) O ‘秦氏’ (‘Mrs. Qin’)) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘因’ (‘because’). In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘with’, which is unusual in conveying causal meaning. In comparison, both the Yangs and Hawkes’ finite clausal structures are clear, simple, and concise. Corresponding to ‘临去时’, both the Yangs and Joly choose a nominalized structure. Lexically, Joly’s choice of the DN ‘departure’ seems more formal than ‘parting’ and ‘left’.

**5.1.2.4 Construction four: because of + NOM** (Hawkes uses it 6 times, Joly uses it twice, and the Yangs do not use it.)

**5.1.2.5 Construction five: from + NOM** (Joly uses it 7 times, followed by Hawkes 6 times and the Yangs 4 times.)

E.g.9:

1: 紫娟（对黛玉）道：“虽然生气，姑娘到底也该保重着些。才吃了药好些，(1) 这会子因和宝二爷拌嘴，又吐出来。”

2: 袭人见他两个哭，由不得守着宝玉也心酸起来，又摸着宝玉的手冰凉，(2) 待要劝宝玉不哭罢，(3) 一则又恐宝玉有什么委曲闷在心里，(4) 二则又恐薄了林黛玉。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.828)

这会子	因	和	宝	二	爷	拌嘴
zhèhuizi	yīn	hé	bǎo	èr	yé	bànzǔi
now	because	with	Bao	second	Master	bicker

**Hawkes** (1977, p.88)

1: “However cross you may be, Miss, you ought to have more regard for your health,” said Nightingale. “You’d only just taken that medicine and you were beginning to feel a little bit better for it, and now (1) because of your argument with Master Bao you’ve gone and brought it all up again.

2: (2) Aroma would have liked to tell him not to cry but hesitated, (3) partly from the consideration that he might be suffering from some deep-concealed hurt which crying would do something to relieve, (4) and partly from the fear that to do so in Dai-yu’s presence might seem presumptuous.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.829)

1: “No matter how angry you are, miss, do think of your health!” Zijuan urged. “You were feeling a little better after the medicine; it’s (1) this tiff with Master Bao that’s made you retch.”

2: (2) She wanted to urge him not to cry, (3) but feared that bottling up his resentment would be bad for him; (4) on the other hand, comforting him might seem like slighting Daiyu.

**Joly** (1893, pp.86-87)

1: “You had just taken the medicines and felt the better for them; and here you now begin vomiting again; and (1) all because you’ve had a few words with our master Secundus.”

2: (2) She felt inclined to advise Pao-yu not to weep, (3) but fearing lest, in the first place, Pao-yu might be inwardly aggrieved, (4) and nervous, in the next, lest she should not be dealing rightly by Tai-yu, she thought it advisable that they should all have a good cry.

EFS: [...because you bickered with Master Bao...]

EFS: [Xiren wanted to tell Baoyu not to cry, but feared that holding back his anger would be bad for him...]

Comment: In the original, seeing Baoyu so emotionally involved that his face was white with anger, Daiyu's senior maid Zijuan was trying to tone down Daiyu's serious quarrel with Baoyu by using '拌嘴' ('bicker'). In the original, structure (1) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the conjunction '因' ('because'). In translating the original structure (1), Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by 'because of', which makes implicit past tense. With regard to '拌嘴', all the translators seem to have realized Zijuan's intention and thus avoid using 'quarrel' as its equivalent.

The original coordinate structures (4) and (5) do not stand in a causal relation with structure (3). In translating, Hawkes chooses two nominalized structures ('from the consideration' and 'from the fear'). Both structures convey causal meaning in relation to 'hesitated', which may come from his explicitation. He also explicitates 'which crying would do something to relieve'. The Yangs choose two nominalized underlined structures (in the position of subject) as a condenser of conditional meaning (see 5.2.2). In contrast, Joly's lexical choice of 'lest' in both structures (3) and (4) is formal.

**5.1.2.6 Construction six: of + NOM** (The Yangs use it 7 times, Joly uses it twice, and Hawkes uses it only once.)

E.g.10:

赵嬷嬷(对熙凤)道:“所以倒是来求奶奶是正经,靠着咱们爷,只怕我还饿死了呢。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.410)

只怕 我 还 饿 死 了 呢

zhǐpà wǒ hái è sǐ le ne

be afraid I even starve die PA PA

**Joly** (1892, p.231)

“[T]hat's why I come to tell you, my lady, as is but right, for were I to depend upon our master, I

fear I shall even die of starvation.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.311)

“I’ll talk to Mrs Lian about it, I said to myself; because if I rely on Master Lian to help us, we’ll starve to death for certain sure!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.411)

“So I’ve come to ask your help, madam. If I relied on our Master Lian alone, I’d probably have starved to death by now.”

EFS: [*If I rely on our Master Lian, I am afraid that I will have died because I starve.*]

Comment: In the original, Jia Lian’s wet nurse Nanny Zhao was asking Xifeng to show more consideration to her two sons. The underlined structure is V ‘饿’ (‘starve’) C ‘死’ (‘die’). Both Hawkes and the Yangs reproduce a verb-complement structure while Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘of’, which denotes causal meaning. Joly’s rendering, conforming to the common usage in English, is somewhat more formal.

**5.1.2.7 Construction seven: at + NOM** (Joly uses it 4 times, the Yangs use it 3 times, and Hawkes uses it twice.)

E.g.11:

宝玉只得续成，共有了三首。(1) 此时林黛玉未得展其抱负，(2) 自是不快。因见宝玉独作四律，大费神思，何不代他作两首，也省他些精神不到之处。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.494)

此时	林黛玉	未得	展	其	抱负
cǐshí	lín dàiyù	wèi dé	zhǎn	qí	bào fù
at this moment	Lin Daiyu	not get (opportunity)	display	her	ambition

**The Yangs** (2003, p.495)

Baoyu persevered until three poems were done and (2) Daiyu, depressed at (1) having no chance to shine, came up to his desk where he was struggling alone, meaning to help him out by writing a couple of poems for him.

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.368-369)

The poem finished, Bao-yu had now completed three out of the four commanded. (2) At this point Dai-yu, who was still full of dissatisfaction (1) because her talent had been underemployed, noticed that Bao-yu was struggling and came over to the table at which he was working.

**Joly** (1892, p.278)

[W]hereupon Pao-yü continued the ode he had been working at, and brought it to a close, writing in all three stanzas. (1) Tai-yü had not had so far an opportunity of making a display of her ability, (2) and was feeling at heart in a very dejected mood.

EFS: [*since she had had no chance to display her talents, she was naturally full of dissatisfaction.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that during her Family Visitation, Yuanchun, the Imperial Consort, asked Baoyu, her younger brother, to write four poems in order to test whether he had made progress in poetry. Meanwhile, she required each one of other girls to merely produce one single poem and one inscription, which greatly disappointed Daiyu. Structures (1) and (2) stand in a causal relation, although the relation is not explicitly marked.

The Yangs choose a succinct nominalized structure introduced by ‘at’, which may be made due to their economical consideration in terms of omitting the subject. As the equivalent of the verb ‘展’ (‘display’), Joly chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘make a display’.

**5.1.2.8 Construction eight: through + NOM** (Joly uses it 4 times, Hawkes uses it twice, and the Yangs use it only once.)

E.g.12:

“(1)不是因你在那里念书, (2)你就认得什么薛大爷了? 那薛大爷一年不给不给, 这二年也帮了咱们也有七八十两银子。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.270)

不是	因	你	在	那里	念书
búshì	yīn	nǐ	zài	nàlǐ	niànshū
not	because	you	at	there	study

**Joly** (1892, p.150)

“Besides, it’s only (1) through your being there to study, (2) that you’ve come to know Mr. Hsueh! that Mr. Hsüeh, who has even in one year given us so much pecuniary assistance as seventy and eighty taels!”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.217)

(1) “If you hadn’t been going to that school, (2) how would you have met Mr Xue? Between seventy and eighty taels of silver we’ve had out of him during this past year.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.271)

“It was (1) through the school, too, (2) that you met Mr. Xue who’s helped us this last year or so to the tune of seventy or eighty taels of silver at least.”

EFS: [*If it was not because you were studying at the school, how would you have met Mr Xue?*]

Comment: In the original, Jin Rong’s mother was trying to warn him not to make any more trouble in the school. Structure (1) (A ‘不是’ (‘not’) S ‘你’ (‘you’) PP ‘在那里’ (‘at the school’) VP ‘念书’ (‘study’)) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘因’

(‘because’). In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘through’, which conveys the original causal meaning in an implicit way. In comparison, the Yangs choose a concise prepositional phrase as the focus of their cleft sentence.

E.g.13:

凤姐（对贾琏）道：“(1) 都是你惯的他，(2)我只和你说！”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.590）

都是        你        惯        的        他

dōushi     nǐ        guànde    tā

because    ni        spoil PA   her

**Joly** (1892, p.330)

“(1) It’s all through your humouring her,” lady Feng rejoined; “(2) so I’ll simply settle scores with you and finish with it.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.430)

“(1) It’s you who’ve let her get above herself. (2) I hold you directly responsible for this!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.591)

“(1) It’s you who’ve spoilt her. (2) I hold you responsible.”

EFS: [Because you’ve spoilt her, I hold you responsible for this.]

Comment: Ping’er was Wang Xifeng’s chief maid as well as Jia Lian’s concubine. In the context, since Ping’er did something disrespectful to Xifeng, she was angry and blamed her husband for spoiling her. In the original, structure (1) stands in a causal relation with structure (2), as shown by the collocation ‘都是’ (‘because’).

In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘through’, which is less usual in conveying causal meaning. This nominalized structure may come from Joly’s economical consideration of omitting present perfect aspect. Hawkes and the Yangs each choose a cleft sentence structure. Although it is impossible to distinguish intonation in written language, the repetition of ‘你’ (‘you’) in the original structure (2) may justify their cleft-sentence choices which emphasize ‘you’. The cleft sentences seem to give a more emphatic expression of Xifeng’s blame.

**5.1.2.9 Construction nine: as a result of + NOM** (Hawkes uses it 3 times, Joly uses it twice, and the Yangs use it once.)

E.g.14:

(1) 因他自幼姊妹丛中长大, (2) 亲姊妹有元春、探春, 叔伯的有迎春、惜春, 亲戚中又有史湘云、林黛玉、薛宝钗等诸人。他便料定, 原来天生人为万物之灵, 凡山川日月之精秀, 只钟于女儿, 须眉男子不过是些渣滓浊沫而已。  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.550-552)

因	他	自	幼	姊	妹	丛	中	长	大
yīn	tā	zì	yòu	zǐ	mèi	cóng	zhōng	zhǎng	dà
because	he	since	childhood	sister		crowd	among	grow	up

**Joly** (1892, p.310)

(1) As a result of his growing up, from his early youth, among a crowd of girls, (2) of whom, in the way of sister, there was Yuan Ch'un, of cousins, from his paternal uncle's side, there were Ying Ch'un, and Hsi Ch'un, and of relatives also there were Shih Hsiang-yun, Lin Tai-yu, Hsueh Pao-ch'ai and the rest, he, in due course, resolved in his mind that the divine and unsullied virtue of Heaven and earth was only implanted in womankind, and that men were no more than feculent dregs and foul dirt.

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.551-553)

(1) As a result of being brought up among girls – (2) his sisters Yuanchun and Tanchun, his cousins Yingchun and Xichun of the Jia house, and his distaff-cousins Shi Xiangyun, Lin Daiyu and Xue Baochai - he had come to the conclusion that while human beings were the highest form of creation, the finest essences of Nature were embodied in girls, men being nothing but the dregs and scum.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.407)

(1) Bao-yu had from early youth grown up among girls. (2) There were his sisters Yuan-chun and Tan-chun, his cousins of the same surname Ying-chun and Xi-chun, and his distaff-cousins Shi Xiang-yun, Lin Dai-yu and Xue Bao-chai. (1) As a result of this upbringing, he had come to the conclusion that the pure essence of humanity was all concentrated in the female of the species and that males were its mere dregs and off-scourings.

EFS: [Since he had from early youth grown up among girls,...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure (1) (S ‘他’ (‘he’) AP ‘自幼’ (‘since childhood’) PP ‘姊妹丛中’ (‘among girls’) VP ‘长大’ (‘grow up’)) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘因’ (‘because’). Structure (1) is followed by a long underlined structure (2) as an appositive element of ‘姊妹’ (‘girls’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘as a result of’. He links it with structure (2) by ‘of whom’, which makes the nominalized structure quite long and complicated. As a result, it is difficult to find the real subject of the whole sentence in his

version.

The Yangs choose a succinct and clear nominalized structure and separate it from the following appositive element by hyphen. They make implicit ‘自幼’ (‘since childhood’) as they may think that ‘being brought up’ presupposes ‘since childhood’.

Hawkes’ treatment is also reasonable and flexible in the sense that he renders the original structures (1) and (2) into two separate sentences and conveys the causal meaning through the prepositional phrase ‘as a result of this upbringing’.

#### 5.1.2.10 Construction ten: in consequence of + NOM (Only Joly uses it 4 times.)

E.g.15:

从此空空道人 (1) 因空见色, (2) 由色生情, (3) 传情入色, (4) 自色悟空, 空空道人遂易名为情僧。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.10)

因	空	见	色
yīn	kōng	jiàn	sè
from void	comprehend		form

**Joly** (1892, p.6)

Hence it was that K’ung K’ung, the Taoist, (1) in consequence of his perception, (in his state of) abstraction, of passion, (2) the generation, from this passion, of voluptuousness, (3) the transmission of this voluptuousness into passion, (4) and the apprehension, by means of passion, of its unreality, forthwith altered his name for that of ‘Ch’ing Tseng’ (the Voluptuous Bonze).

**Hawkes** (1973, p.51)

As a consequence of all this, Vanitas, (1) starting off in the Void (which is Truth) came to the contemplation of Form (which is Illusion); and (2) from Form engendered Passion; and (3) by communicating Passion, entered again into Form; and (4) from Form awoke to the Void (which is Truth).

**The Yangs** (2003, p.11)

Since (1) all manifestations are born of nothingness and (2) in turn give rise to passion, (3) by describing passion for what is manifest (4) we comprehend nothingness.

EFS: [*The Taoist comprehended Form from the Void, engendered Passion from Form, entered into Form by communicating Passion, understood the Void from Form...*]

Comment: In the original, after reading the *Hong Lou Meng*, the Taoist comprehended all manifestations of Form from the Void realm (he had originally perceived) and what was so called the Void realm was just a pseudonym of this passionate world where Form existed due



to Passion. In the original, structure (1) consists of P ‘因’ (‘from’) O ‘空’ (‘void’) V ‘见’ (‘comprehend’) O ‘色’ (‘form’).

In translating the underlined part in structure (1), Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘in consequence of’. However, his lexical and logical interpretation of the underlined part is deviant from the original and thus less accurate. In contrast, Hawkes gives that part a literal and accurate translation while the Yangs give structure (1) a free but accurate translation.

#### 5.1.2.11 Construction eleven: thanks to + NOM (The Yangs use it twice while both Hawkes and Joly use it once.)

E.g.16:

(1) 细问原由，方知贾雨村亦进京陛见， (2) 皆由王子腾累上保本， (3) 此来候补京缺。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.402)

皆	由	王子腾	累	上	保本
jiē	yóu	wángzǐténg	lěi	shàng	bǎoběn
entirely	because	Wang Ziteng	repeatedly	land in	recommended memorial

**The Yangs** (2003, p.403)

(1) Baoyu questioned the man and learned that Jia Yucun was also coming to the capital to pay homage. For (2) thanks to Wang Ziteng’s recommendations (3) he had been summoned to wait for a metropolitan appointment.

**Joly** (1892, p.226)

(1) When he came to institute minute inquiries, he eventually found out: “that Chia Yü-ts’un was also coming to the capital to have an audience with His Majesty, that it was (2) entirely because Wang Tzu-t’eng had repeatedly laid before the Throne memorials recommending him that (3) he was coming on this occasion to wait in the metropolis for a vacancy which he could fill up.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.306)

(1) On being questioned for further details the messenger told them that Jia Yu-cun was also returning to the capital to have an audience with the Emperor. (2) This was the doing of Wang Zi-teng, who had recommended him in a report to the throne (3) for promotion to a metropolitan post.

EFS: [*When he asked the person in detail*]

EFS: [*...it was entirely because Wang Ziteng had repeatedly laid before the Throne memorials recommending him that he came on this occasion to wait in the metropolis for a vacancy.*]

Comment: In the original, clausal structure (1) (V ‘问’ (‘ask’) IO ‘其’ (‘him’) DO ‘原由’ (‘reason’)) denotes temporal meaning. Structure (2) (A ‘皆’ (‘entirely’) S ‘王子腾’ A ‘累’

(‘repeatedly’) V ‘上’ (‘hand in’) O ‘保本’ (‘recommended memorial’)) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘由’ (‘because’).

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘thanks to’. This structure is very concise since it makes implicit the object and conveys the meaning of the adverb ‘累’ (‘repeatedly’) through the plural form of ‘recommendation’. However, this concise structure may stop the reader from knowing the relevant details, such as how Wang Ziteng recommended Jia Yucun and to whom he recommended him.

Hawkes chooses a temporal nominalized structure (1) introduced by ‘on’ and a purposive nominalized structure (3) introduced by ‘for’. He conveys implicitly the original causal meaning through ‘This was the doing of Wang Zi-teng’ and omits rendering ‘累’.

Joly’s treatment of structure (1) in the original as a focus in his cleft sentence is formal. As the equivalent of ‘问’ (‘ask’), he chooses a highly formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘institute inquiries’.

**5.1.2.12 Construction twelve: on account of + NOM** (Joly uses it 3 times, Hawkes uses it twice, and the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.17:

袭人先只道李嬷嬷不过为他躺着生气，少不得分辨说“病了，才出汗，蒙着头，原没看见你老人家”等语。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.540)

李	嬷嬷	不过	为	他	躺	着	生气
lǐ	mómó	búguò	wèi	tā	tǎng	zhe	shēngqì
Li	Nanny	simply	because	he	lie (in bed)	PA	get angry

**Hawkes** (1973, p.401)

Aroma at first thought that Nannie Li’s anger arose solely on account of her failure to get up and welcome her, and had started to excuse herself on that supposition: “I’m ill, Mrs Li. I’ve just been sweating. I didn’t see you because I had my head under the clothes.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.541)

Imagining Nanny Li was angry with her for lying in bed, Xiren at first explained, “I’m ill and just starting to perspire, so I’d covered up my head and didn’t see you, granny.”

**Joly** (1892, pp.304-305)

Hsi Jen was, at first, under the simple impression that the nurse was wrath for no other reason than because she remained lying down, and she felt constrained to explain that “she was unwell, that

she had just succeeded in perspiring, and that having had her head covered, she hadn't really perceived the old lady."

EFS: [Xiren at first thought that Nannie Li was angry simply because she remained lying down.]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part stands in a causal relation with '生气' ('get angry'), as shown by the causal conjunction '为' ('because'). In translating, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase 'on account of'. Unlike the Yangs and Joly who literally render '躺着' ('lie down'), Hawkes renders it from its semantically opposite side, as shown by the formal expression 'her failure to get up'. He also makes an explicitation by adding 'welcome her'. As for the Yangs, they also choose a concise causal nominalized structure introduced by 'for', which makes implicit the subject and tense. They omit rendering the adverb '不过' ('merely').

#### 5.1.2.13 Construction thirteen: owing to + NOM (Both Hawkes and Joly use it twice while the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.18:

“惟嫡孙宝玉一人，禀性乖张，性情怪谲，虽聪明灵慧，略可望成，(1) 无奈吾家运数合终，(2) 恐无人引入正路。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.142)

无奈	吾	家	运数	合	终
wúnài	wǔ	jiā	yùnshù	hé	zhōng
but	our	family	fortune	entirely	end

**Hawkes** (1973, p.137)

“[A]lthough his natural brightness and intelligence augur well, we fear that (1) owing to the fated eclipse of our family's fortunes (2) there will be no one at hand to give the lad proper guidance and to start him off along the right lines.”

**Joly** (1892, p.80)

“But alas! (1) the good fortune of our family is entirely decayed, so that (2) we fear there is no person to incite him to enter the right way!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.143)

“However, (1) our family's luck has run out and (2) there seemed to be no one to show him the right way.”

EFS: [...however, since our family's fortunes are entirely exhausted, we fear that there will be no one...]

Comment: In the original, the Disenchantment goddess was talking with other fairy

maidens about her encounter with the spirits of the two Dukes, who laid a solemn charge on her in classical Chinese. Structure (1) (E ‘无奈’ S ‘吾家运数’ (‘our family’s fortunes’) A ‘合’ (‘entirely’) V ‘终’ (‘end’)) implies causal meaning according to the context.

Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘owing to’. This formal structure may be chosen in order to reflect the noble identity of the Dukes. In addition, the formal lexical terms such as ‘fortune’ (‘运数’) and ‘eclipse’ (‘终’) fit in well with the solemn atmosphere. Joly’s underlined choice is equally acceptable. In comparison, the Yangs’ choices of ‘luck’ and ‘run out’ seem to be less formal. In addition, they treat the original structures (1) and (2) in a coordinate relation, which seems less formal as well. As the equivalent of ‘引’ (‘guide’), Hawkes chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘give guidance’.

#### 5.1.2.14 Construction fourteen: consequent upon + NOM (Only Joly uses it 3 times.)

E.g.19:

闲言少叙，(1) 却说宝玉因近日林黛玉回去，(2) 剩得自己孤栖，(3) 也不和人玩耍，(4) 每到晚间，便索然睡了。  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.334)

宝玉	因	近日	林黛玉	回去
bǎoyù	yīn	jìnrì	lín dàiyù	huíqù
Baoyu	since	recently	Lin Daiyu	return

**Joly** (1892, p.187)

(1) Consequent upon Lin Tai-yü’s return home, (2) Baoyu was left to his own self and felt very lonely. (3) Neither would he go and disport himself with others; (4) but with the daily return of dusk, he was wont to retire quietly to sleep.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.335)

Let us return to Baoyu, who was so desolate after Daiyu’s departure that he had given up playing with his companions and went disconsolate to bed each night.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.258)

During the last few days, since Dai-yu’s return to her father had deprived him of her companionship, Bao-yu, far from seeking diversion in the company of the others, had kept to himself, going to bed early every night and sleeping disconsolately on his own.

EFS: [...since Lin Daiyu departed,]

Comment: The underlined structure denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘因’ (‘since’). In translating, all the translators choose to nominalize it. Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘consequent upon’ while the Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘after,’ which makes implicit the original causal meaning. This nominalized structure gives a manifestation of their concise version of the original whole sentence. In contrast, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure (in the position of subject) as a condenser of causal meaning (see 5.2.2). His explication of ‘to his father’ reminds the reader of why Daiyu returned home. The translators’ nominalized choices are made perhaps under the influence of the original sentence structure in the sense that since it consists of as many as four semantic units, some semantic unit needs to be nominalized.

#### 5.1.2.15 Construction fifteen: since + NOM (Both the Yangs and Hawkes use it once while Joly does not use it.)

E.g.20:

尤氏（对熙凤）叹道：“(1) 他自己又老了, (2) 又不顾体面，一味的吃酒，一吃醉了，无人不骂。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.212）

他	自己	又	老	了
tā	zìjǐ	yòu	lǎo	le
he	himself	also	grow old	PA

**The Yangs** (2003, p.213)

“But (1) since growing old (2) Jiao Da has no regard for appearances. He does nothing but drink and when he’s drunk he abuses everyone.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.181)

“But (1) since he’s grown old (2) he has let himself go completely. He drinks all the time, and when he’s drunk he starts abusing everybody-literally everybody.”

**Joly** (1892, p.118)

“(1) He is also advanced in years, (2) and doesn’t care about any decent manners; his sole delight is wine; and when he gets drunk, there isn’t a single person whom he won’t abuse.”

EFS: [*Since he has grown old, he has no regard for appearances.*]

Comment: The context previous to the original is that Jiao Da, an old male servant in the

Ningguo mansion, was asked at night by the steward to send Qin Zhong back home. By dint of his special treatment by the ancestor of the Nongguo house as well as being terribly drunk at that time, he swore at the chief steward, accusing him of being unfair in assigning work. In the original, structure (1) (S ‘他’ (‘he’) RP ‘自己’ (‘himself’) A ‘又’ (‘also’) V ‘老’ (‘grow old’) PA ‘了’) stands in a coordinate relation with structure (2), as shown by ‘又’ (‘also’). Actually, this ‘又’ is superfluous as the coordinate relation is already reflected by the other ‘又’ in structure (2).

The Yangs choose a succinct nominalized structure introduced by ‘since’. This nominalized structure is made perhaps due to their economical consideration in terms of omitting the subject since it shares the subject of ‘Jiao Dao’ with its correlated sentential predication. Joly reproduces the original coordinate structures (1) and (2), as shown by ‘and’. However, his choice of the formal expression ‘advanced in years’ corresponding to ‘老’ (‘grow old’) may go against the context where Madam You was complaining towards Xifeng about Jiao Da rather than praising him. His literal rendering of ‘又’ (‘also’) seems to be redundant as it is mainly used in the original to convey complaint.

#### 5.1.2.16 Construction sixteen: by dint of + NOM (Both Hawkes and Joly use it once while the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.21:

这贾璜夫妻守着些小的产业，(1) 又时常到宁、荣二府里去请请安，(2) 又会奉承凤姐儿并尤氏，所以凤姐儿、尤氏也时常资助资助他，方能如此度日。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.272)

又	时常	到	宁、荣	二府里	去	请请安
yòu	shícháng	dào	níng róng	èrfǔlǐ	qù	qǐngqǐng’ān
also	often	to	Níng Róng	two mansions inside	go	pay respects
又	会	奉承	凤姐儿	并	尤氏	
yòu	huì	fèngchéng	fèngjiě	bìng yóushì		
also	know	flatter	Xifeng	and	Mrs. You	

Hawkes (1973, p.218)

Jia Huang and his wife had only the income from a very small property to live on, and it was only (1) by dint of frequent visits to the Ning and Rong mansions, (2) where their flattering attentions

on Wang Xi-feng and You-shi earned them an occasional subsidy, that they were able to make ends meet.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.273)

Jia Huang and his wife had very slender means and were only able to live as they did (1) by keeping on good terms with both households and (2) by making up to Xifeng and Madam You, who often helped them out.

**Joly** (1892, p.150)

The Chia Huang couple enjoyed some small income; but (1) they also went, on frequent occasions, to the mansions of Ning and Jung to pay their respects; and (2) they knew likewise so well how to adulate lady Feng and Mrs. Yu, that lady Feng and Mrs. would often grant them that assistance and support which afforded them the means of meeting their daily expenses.

EFS: [...because they often paid their respects to the Ning and Rong mansions, and they knew how to flatter Xifeng and Madame You, ...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure (1) (A ‘又’ (‘also’) A ‘时常’ (‘often’) COS ‘到宁、荣二府里’ (‘to the mansions of Ning and Rong’) V ‘去’ (‘go’) VP ‘请请安’ (‘pay respects’)) is in a coordinate relation with clausal structure (2), as shown by the conjunction ‘又’ (‘and’) in structure (2). Both structures stand in a causal relation with their following part, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘所以’ (‘so’).

As regards the coordinate relation between the original structures (1) and (2), Hawkes changes it (in the sense that he renders structure (2) in a relative relation to the nominalized structure (1), as shown by ‘where’) while the Yangs keep it by using two nominalized structures introduced by the preposition ‘by’. However, although ‘keeping on good terms with’ and ‘making up to’ are both idiomatic expressions, the former expression semantically deviates from the original.

As for Joly, he appears to make a mistranslation in the sense that the correlative structure ‘so...that’ indicates that merely the original structure (2) stands in a causal relation with its following part rather than both structures (1) and (2).

### 5.1.2.17 Construction seventeen: due to + NOM (Only Joly uses it twice.)

E.g.22:

秦氏拉着凤姐儿的手，强笑道：“(1) 这都是我没福。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.294-296)

这 都 是 我 没 福

zhè dōu shì wǒ méi fú

this all is I not have luck

**Joly** (1892, p.165)

Mrs. Ch'in took lady Feng's hand in her own and forced a smile. "(1) This is all due to my lack of good fortune."

**Hawkes** (1973, p.233)

(1) "It looks as though I wasn't meant to be happy, Auntie!" she said.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.295)

Holding Xifeng's hand, Keqing forced a smile. "(1) Living in a family like this is more than I deserve." She said.

EFS: [*This is all because I do not have good luck.*]

Comment: The original involves the dialogue between Wang Xifeng and Qin Keqing. Keqing enjoyed good luck in marrying into such a wealthy and noble family and a harmonious relationship with everyone in the family. By saying S ‘我’ (‘I’) V ‘没’ (‘do not have’) O ‘福’ (‘good luck’), she meant that she was suffering from such an illness, a mysterious illness which later caused her life at a young age, that she could not fully enjoy her happiness.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘due to’. His choice of this prepositional phrase to denote causal meaning may come from the influence of the collocation of ‘都’ (‘all’) and ‘是’ (‘is’), which is often used in Chinese to show a cause. The Yangs’ rendering seems to depart semantically from what is conveyed in the original. As for Hawkes, his rendering of the original in a subjunctive mood appears to be more appropriate in conveying what was meant by Keqing.



### 5.1.2.18 Construction eighteen: on the score of + NOM (Only Joly uses it once.)

E.g.23:

贾蓉进来向尤氏说道：“大老爷说家里有事，二老爷是不爱听戏、又怕人闹得慌，都才去了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.292)

大	老爷	说	家里	有	事
dà	lǎoye	shuō	jiālǐ	yǒu	shì
elder	master	say	at home	have	business

**Joly** (1892, pp.163-164)

“[T]he elder gentleman Mr. Chia She, who excused himself on the score of having at home something to attend to, and Mr. Secundus (Chia Cheng), who is not partial to theatrical performances and is always afraid that people will be too boisterous in their entertainments, have both of them taken their departure.”

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.293-295)

“Lord She has some business at home, and Lord Zheng has also left as he doesn’t care for theatricals or anything rowdy.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.232)

“Great-uncle She says he has business at home, and Great-uncle Zheng doesn’t like plays because he says he can’t stand the noise.”

EFS: [*Mr. Jia She says that he has something at home.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined structure (S ‘大老爷’ (‘elder master’) V ‘说’(‘say’) PP ‘家里’ (‘at home’) V ‘有’ (‘have’) O ‘事’ (‘business’)) does not denote causal meaning. In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘on the score of’. The reason why he introduces the causal meaning seems that he renders the verb ‘说’ (‘say’) into ‘excused’. Although ‘说’ (‘say’) in Chinese has a meaning of saying something as an excuse, this meaning is not seen from the original. In contrast, the Yangs omit rendering ‘说’. As the equivalent of ‘去’ (‘leave’), Joly chooses a formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘take their departure’.

**5.1.2.19 Summary:** Table 4 below summarizes the quantitative use of the NOM as a condenser of causal meaning. A total of 334 NOMs are found, which is considerably fewer than the NOMs used as a condenser of temporal meaning in section 5.1.1.

Table 4: The NOM as a condenser of causal meaning in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	for + NOM	90	41	31	162
2	by + NOM	23	16	19	58
3	(what) with + NOM	3/7	2/7	-/5	24
4	from + NOM	4	6	7	17
5	of + NOM	7	1	2	10
6	at + NOM	3	2	4	9
7	because of + NOM	-	6	2	8
8	through + NOM	1	2	4	7
9	out of + NOM	3	1	2	6
10	as a result of + NOM	1	3	2	6
11	in consequence of + NOM	-	-	4	4
12	thanks to + NOM	2	1	1	4
13	on account of + NOM	-	2	3	5
14	owing to + NOM	-	2	2	4
15	consequent upon + NOM	-	-	3	3
16	since + NOM	1	1	-	2
17	by dint of + NOM	-	1	1	2
18	due to + NOM	-	-	2	2
19	on the score of + NOM	-	-	1	1
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		145 (89/11/45)	94 (57/10/27)	95 (51/19/25)	334 (197/40/97)
Percentage		44%	28%	28%	100%

The Yangs make most use of 145 NOMs, accounting for 44% of the total number, while Hawkes and Joly evenly share the other 56% of the total. In terms of the three types of the NOM, the Yangs make most use of GNs and ZNs while Joly makes slightly more use of DN. In terms of the variety of the constructions, Joly makes most use of 18 types, followed by Hawkes who uses 15 types and the Yangs who use 11 types. In terms of the individual types of constructions, ‘for + NOM’ is most frequently registered in all the three versions. Within this type of construction, ‘for + fear (of something or that)’ is the most frequently used collocation as it occurs 39 times in the Yangs’ version, 14 times in Hawkes’ version, and 11 times in Joly’s version. This construction is found in collocation with verbs such as ‘apologize for + GN’, ‘attack someone for + GN’, ‘blame someone for + GN’, ‘bully someone for + GN’, ‘call someone to task for + GN’, ‘cane someone for + GN’, ‘criticize someone for + GN’,

‘envy someone for + GN’, ‘fine someone for + GN’, ‘forgive for + GN’, ‘laugh at someone for + GN’, ‘praise someone for + GN’, ‘punish someone for + GN’, ‘rebuke someone for + GN’, ‘reproach someone for + GN’, ‘scold someone for + GN’, ‘tease someone for + GN’, and so on. This also explains why GN is dominantly used in the three versions.

The translators’ stylistic features in various other aspects are summarized as follows. Joly chooses more nominalized structures introduced by formal prepositional phrases (such as ‘in consequence of’, ‘on account of’, ‘owing to’, ‘consequent upon’, ‘due to’, and ‘on the score of’) (see E.g.15, E.g.19, E.g.22, and E.g.23). Lexically, he also has several cases of formal lexical expressions (see E.g.8, E.g.9, and E.g.20). In addition, he uses more periphrastic predicate expressions (see E.g.2, E.g.11, E.g.16, and E.g.23), some of which are formal expressions (see E.g.16 and E.g.23). Moreover, there are several cases of cleft sentence structures and attributive structures in his version (see E.g.12, E.g.14, E.g.16, and E.g.23).

As for Hawkes, there are fewer formal nominalized constructions found in his version (see E.g.17 and E.g.18). He makes more use of explicitation technique (by addition) (see E.g.1, E.g.2, E.g.5, E.g.7, E.g.9, E.g.17, and E.g.19) than Joly (see E.g.6). These cases of explicitation are made either for emphasis or for the reader’s comprehension. His addition in E.g.1 of the hedge term ‘hope to’ emphasizes Jia Huan’s optimistic tone while in E.g.3 he even clearly tells the reader in brackets that he has made an explicitation. He has several cases of flexible translation (see E.g.1, E.g.3, E.g.5, and E.g.14), some of which show his translation from a semantically opposite side of the original (see E.g.1 and E.g.17). He uses fewer cases of periphrastic predicate expressions (see E.g.3 and E.g.18).

As for the Yangs, they do not use formal nominalized constructions at all. Instead, they make much more use of concise nominalized structures (see E.g.2, E.g.3, E.g.4, E.g.8, E.g.11,

E.g.16, E.g.17, and E.g.19) than Hawkes (see E.g.16). In E.g.16, their nominalized structure ‘thanks to Wang Ziteng’s recommendations’ makes implicit not only the object but also the adverbial ‘屡’ (‘repeatedly’) in the original. They make more frequent use of implicitation and omission (see E.g.7, E.g.12, E.g.14, E.g.17, and E.g.23). There are fewer cases of periphrastic predicate expressions in the examples given (see E.g.2 and E.g.4).

In terms of potential factors triggering nominalized structures, collocations may be a main factor. For example, of the 88 entries of the construction ‘for + NOM’ the Yangs use, 39 entries come from the collocation ‘for + fear (of)’; the translator’s economical considerations may be another factor (see E.g.1, E.g.2, and E.g.16).

In regard to the stylistic effect of nominalization, it gives a formal impression due to the use of formal prepositional phrases (see E.g.15, E.g.17, E.g.18, E.g.19, and E.g.23) as well as implicitation (see E.g.1, E.g.2, and E.g.3).

### **5.1.3 The NOM as a condenser of purposive meaning**

By purposive meaning, we mean that a nominalized structure expresses the intention of the action in its sentential predication. In our corpus, 13 types of constructions are found: ‘in + NOM’, ‘for + NOM’, ‘with the purpose of + NOM’, ‘with the intent of + NOM’, ‘for the sake of’, ‘for the purpose of + NOM’, ‘with the object of + NOM’, with a view to + NOM, ‘with the intention of + NOM’, ‘with a view of + NOM’, ‘with the view of + NOM’, ‘with the design of + NOM’, and ‘to the intent of + NOM’. Joly makes dominant use of 177 NOMs (including 59 GNs, 43 DNs, and 75 ZNs), followed by Hawkes who uses 64 NOMs (including 20 GNs, 36 DNs, and 8 ZNs) and the Yangs who use 25 NOMs (including 2 GNs, 13 DNs, and 10 ZNs).

**5.1.3.1 Construction one: in + NOM** (Joly makes dominant use of it 77 times, followed by Hawkes 16 times and the Yangs 12 times.)

E.g.1:

“我有一个孽根祸胎，是这家里的‘混世魔王’，今日因庙里还愿去了，尚未回来，晚间你看见便知了。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.76-78)

今日	因	庙里	还	愿	去	了
jīnrì	yīn	miàolǐ	huán	yuàn qù	le	
today	because	temple	fulfill	vow go	AM	

**Hawkes** (1973, p.97)

“I have a little monster of a son who tyrannizes over all the rest of this household. He has gone off to the temple today in fulfillment of a vow and is not yet back; but you will see what I mean this evening.”

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.77-79)

“He’s gone to a temple today in fulfilment of a vow, but you’ll see what he’s like when he comes back this evening.”

**Joly** (1892, p.47)

“He is gone to-day to pay his vows in the temple, and is not back yet, but you will see him in the evening, when you will readily be able to judge for yourself.”

EFS: [*He has gone off to a temple today so that he can pay his vow...*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a serial verbal structure where ‘去’ (‘go’) stands in a purposive relation with ‘还愿’ (‘fulfil vows’). In translating, both Hawkes and the Yangs choose a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘in’. These nominalized structures each make implicit the subject and modal verb in comparison with the EFS given. They look more formal than Joly’s infinitival structure due to the formal ‘fulfilment’.

Another difference among the translators is that Joly renders ‘庙里’ into an adverbial of place while Hawkes and the Yangs render it into the complement of the verb ‘去’ (‘go’). Both ways of translation are accurate. The Yangs choose to implicate the verbal clause ‘尚未回来’ (‘have not yet come back’) and convey that in the following part ‘when he comes back in the evening’.

E.g.2:

虽还有几个作粗活听唤的丫头，估量着叫不着他们，都出去寻伙觅伴的玩去了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.672)

都	出去	寻	伙	觅	伴
dōu	chūqù	xún	huǒ	mì	bàn
all	go out	search	friend	search	friend

**Joly** (1892, p.375)

[W]hile the several waiting-maids, who were in there besides to attend to the dirty work, and answer the calls, had, surmising that he would not requisition their services, one and all gone out in search of their friends and in quest of their companions.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.673)

The other maids who did the rougher work, not expecting to be summoned, had gone off in search of their friends.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.483)

[T]he few heavy-work maids left in attendance had all assumed that their services would not be required and had gone off in search of their gossips.

EFS: [they *had gone out and searched for their friends and companions*.]

Comment: In the original serial verb construction, ‘出去’ (‘go out’) stands in a purposive relation with both ‘寻伙’ (‘search for friends’) and ‘觅伴’ (‘search for companions’).

Joly chooses to nominalize both ‘寻伙’ and ‘觅伴’ and conveys the purposive relation by the preposition ‘in’. As ‘寻伙’ and ‘觅伴’ have the same meaning of ‘search for friends’, the Yangs choose to implicate one of them. Hawkes, in addition to doing the same implication, still chooses an archaic ‘gossips’ as the equivalent of either ‘伙’ or ‘伴’. This archaic term may confuse some readers as they may think that some maids in the novel enjoy gossiping. All the translators’ nominalized choices may derive from their use of ‘go in search’ as a collocation.

**5.1.3.2 Construction two: for + NOM** (Both Hawkes and Joly use it 39 times while the Yangs use it 13 times.)

E.g.3:

(1) 原来女娲氏炼石补天之时，(2) 于大荒山无稽崖炼成高经十二丈、方经二十四丈顽石三万六千五百零一块。

(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.4)

原来	女娲氏	炼石	补天	之时
yuánlái	nǚwā shì	liàn shí	bǔ tiān	zhī shí
originally	Nuwa née	melt down	rock repair	heaven ATM time

**Joly** (1892, p.2)

The Empress Nü Wo, (the goddess of works,) in fashioning blocks of stones, for the repair of the heavens, prepared, at the Ta Huang Hills and Wu Ch'i cave, 36, 501 blocks of rough stone, each twelve chang in height, and twenty-four chang square.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.5)

(1) When the goddess Nu Wa melted down rocks to repair the sky, (2) at Baseless Cliff in the Great Waste Mountain she made thirty-six thousand five hundred and one blocks of stone.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.47)

Long ago, when the goddess Nü-wa was repairing the sky, she melted down a great quantity of rock and, on the Incredible Craggs of the Great Fable Mountains, moulded the amalgam into thirty-six thousand, five hundred and one large building blocks, each measuring seventy-two feet by a hundred and forty-four feet square.

EFS: [When the goddess Nu Wa melted down rocks so that she could repair the sky]

Comment: Within the original structure (1) in the original, there is a serial verbal structure where ‘炼石’ (‘melt down rocks’) stands in a purposive relation with ‘补天’ (‘repair the heaven’).

The Yangs choose a finite clausal structure and an infinitival structure is used to display the original serial verbal structure. They make an implicitation by omitting rendering the measurement for each stone (‘高’ (‘height’) ‘经’ (‘longitude’) ‘十’ (‘ten’) ‘二’ (‘two’) ‘丈’ (‘zhang’), ‘方’ (‘square’) ‘经’ (‘longitude’) ‘二’ (‘two’) ‘十’ (‘ten’) ‘四’ (‘four’) ‘丈’ (‘zhang’)). Although Hawkes and Joly keep this measurement, their renderings are quite different. Hawkes domesticates ‘丈’ (as a unit of length equalling 3 and 1/3 meters) into ‘feet’ possibly for the benefit of the reader, while Joly foreignizes it by transliterating it into ‘chang’ in an implicit way, which may not benefit the reader.

Joly chooses two nominalized structures: one as a condenser of the temporal meaning and the other to display the purposive meaning. Both of them make implicit the subject. As a result, his version seems to give prominence to structure (2) in the original. In addition, he makes an explication by explaining ‘女娲氏’ (‘the Empress Nü Wo’) in brackets. Hawkes flexibly reproduces a complex sentence where ‘补天’ (‘repair the heaven’) becomes a

subordinate temporal clause while ‘炼石’ (‘melt down rocks’) becomes the main clause.

E.g.4:

递与贾瑞道：“这物出自太虚幻境空灵殿上，警幻仙子所制，专治邪思妄动之症，有济世保生之功。(1) 所以带他到世上，(2) 单与那些聪明杰俊、风雅王孙等看照。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.324)

单	与	那些	聪明	杰俊、	风雅	王孙	等	看照
dān	yǔ	nàxiē	cōngmíng	jiéjùn	fēngyǎ	wángsūn	děng	kànzhào
only	give	those	intelligent	handsome	refined	noble	descendant etc	look into

**The Yangs** (2003, p.325)

The Taoist (took from his wallet a mirror and, our addition) told Jia Rui, “It was made by the Goddess of Disenchantment to cure illnesses resulting from lust. Since it has the power to preserve men’s lives, I brought it to the world for the use of intelligent, handsome, high-minded young gentlemen.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.251)

“It has life-giving and restorative properties and has been brought into the world for the contemplation of those intelligent and handsome young gentlemen whose hearts are too susceptible to the charms of beauty.”

**Joly** (1892, p.182)

“Possessing, as it does, the virtue of relieving mankind and preserving life, (1) I have consequently brought it along with me into the world, (2) but I only give it to those intelligent preeminent and refined princely men to set their eyes on.”

EFS: [...I brought it to the world so that intelligent, handsome and refined princely men could look into it.]

Comment: In the original, structure (2) stands in a purposive relation with structure (1), although the relation is not explicitly marked. In translating, the Yangs seem to employ the underlined nominalized structure in order to avoid the occurrence of a long subject, as can be seen in comparison with the EFS given.

Hawkes’ nominalized choice may come from his same consideration as the Yangs given that the long subject is further modified by a relative clause ‘whose hearts are too susceptible to the charms of beauty’. This relative clause comes from his addition according to the original context, which makes explicit the Taoist’s purpose of bringing the mirror into the world. Joly chooses a finite clausal structure perhaps under the influence of the adverb ‘单’ (‘only’) in the original. In rendering ‘看照’ (‘look into (the mirror)’), Hawkes’ choice of



‘contemplation’ not only deviates semantically from the original but also gives a less immediate but more abstract impression than Joly’s choice of ‘set their eyes on’.

E.g.5:

贾蓉方回尤氏道：“（太爷）还说那《阴鹭文》，叫急急的刻了出来，印一万张散人。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.292）

印	一万	张	散	人
yìn	yīwàn	zhāng	sàn	rén
print ten thousand	copy		distribute (to)	people

**Hawkes** (1973, p.231)

“He also said he wanted the blocks for *Divine Rewards* to be cut as quickly as possible and ten thousand copies printed for free distribution.”

**Joly** (1892, p.163)

“He also went on to urge me to press the men to cut, with all despatch, the blocks for the Record of Meritorious Deeds, and to print ten thousand copies for distribution.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.293)

“He also wants to have ten thousand copies of his version of Rewards and Punishments printed and distributed as quickly as possible.”

EFS: [*and printed ten thousand copies so that they could be distributed.*]

Comment: In the original, ‘散’ (‘distribute’) constitutes a serial verb construction with ‘印’ (‘distribute’). In translating, both Hawkes and Joly choose a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘for’. Their nominalized choices are probably triggered by the omission of the agent of ‘散’ in the original, which is not traceable at all from the previous context. Their choice of the DN ‘distribution’ is an implicature in the sense that it portrays the action of ‘散’ less dynamically and more inactively, which seems discordant with the adverbial phrase ‘急急的’ (‘as quickly as possible’). In contrast, the Yangs’ choice of ‘distributed’ is more in agreement with the character’s wish. Hawkes makes an addition of ‘free’ perhaps in order to show that the character in the original was doing something charitable.

E.g.6:

想毕，遂命太监夏[守]忠到荣国府来下一道谕，命宝钗等只管在园中居住，不可禁约封锢，命宝玉仍随进去读书。（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.628）

命	宝玉	仍	随	进去	读书
mìng	bǎoyù	réng	suí	jìnqù	dúshū

order Baoyu still follow move in study

**Joly** (1892, p.351)

Pao-ch'ai and the other girls should live in the garden and that it should not be kept closed, and urged that Pao-yü should also shift into it, at his own pleasure, for the prosecution of his studies.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.629)

Having reached this decision, she sent the eunuch Xia Shouzhong to the Rong Mansion with the order: "Baochai and the other young ladies are to live in the Garden, which is not to be closed. Baoyu is to move in as well to continue his studies there."

**Hawkes** (1973, p.455)

Bao-chai and the other young ladies of the household are to reside in the Garden. The Garden is not to be kept closed. Bao-yu is to accompany the young ladies into the Garden and to continue his studies there.

EFS: [*ordered Baoyu to move in and continue his studies there.*]

Comment: In the original, '读书' ('study') constitutes a serial verb construction with '进去' ('move into the garden'). In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure. This structure looks formal due to the formal DN 'prosecution'. This formal choice may give an impression that Baoyu's studies are of importance. In contrast, both the Yangs and Hawkes choose a less formal infinitival structure. Unlike Joly who treats '读书' in a purposive relation with '进去', The Yangs and Hawkes treat them in a coordinate relation. Joly makes an addition of 'at his own pleasure', which may be due to his misunderstanding of the verb '随' ('follow') as the adverbial phrase '随意' ('at one's pleasure').

### 5.1.3.3 Construction three: with the purpose of + NOM (Only Joly uses it 16 times.)

E.g.7:

贾母起身进内间更衣，众人方各散出。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1534)

贾母 起身 进 内 间 更 衣

jiǎmǔ qǐshēn jìn nèi jiān gēng yī

Lady Jia rise enter inner room change dress

**Joly** (1893, p.476)

[D]owager lady Chia rose and penetrated into the inner chamber with the purpose of effecting a change in her costume, so the several inmates present could at last disperse and go their own way.

**Hawkes** (1977, pp.574-575)

[W]hen all had eaten and drunk, Grandmother Jia rose and went into an inner room to change out of her Court dress, which she had all this time been wearing. This was a signal for the others present to disperse.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1535)

The Lady Dowager rose and went into the inner room to change her clothes, whereupon the party broke up.

EFS: [*Lady Jia rose and entered the inner room in order that she could change her clothes...*]

Comment: In the original, ‘更衣’ (‘change dress’) and ‘进内间’ (‘enter the inner room’) constitute a serial verbal construction.

In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a prepositional phrase ‘with the purpose of’, which makes implicit the subject and modal verb in comparison with the EFS given. With regard to the verb ‘更’ (‘change’), Joly chooses a periphrastic predicate structure ‘effecting a change’ as an equivalent, which is formal as opposed to both the Yangs and Hawkes’ choice of the infinitive ‘to change’. As regards the verb ‘进’ (‘enter’), Joly’s choice of ‘penetrated’ is less accurate. In rendering ‘衣’ (‘dress’), Hawkes makes a semantic explication perhaps for the reader, as shown by ‘Court dress, which she had all this time been wearing’.

#### 5.1.3.4 Construction four: with the intent of + NOM (Only Joly uses it 9 times.)

E.g.8:

贾环便悄悄说道：“我母亲告诉我说，宝玉哥哥前日在太太屋里，拉着太太的丫头金钏儿强奸不遂，打了一顿。那金钏儿便赌气投井死了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.912)

拉	着	太太	的	丫头	金钏儿	强奸	不遂
lā	zhe	tàitai	de	yātou	jīnchuànr	qiángjiān	bùsuí
seize	PA	lady	ATM	maid	Jinchuanr	rape	fail

**Joly** (1893, p.135)

Chia Huan resumed his confidences in a low tone of voice. “My mother,” he resumed, “told me that when brother Pao-yü was, the other day, in Madame Wang’s apartments, he seized her servant-maid Chin Ch’uan-erh with the intent of dishonouring her. That as he failed to carry out his design, he gave her a thrashing, which so exasperated Chin Ch’uan-erh that she threw herself into the well and committed suicide....”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.913)

“My mother told me,” Huan went on in a whisper, “that the other day Brother Baoyu grabbed hold of Jinchuan in my lady’s room and tried to rape her. When she wouldn’t let him, he beat her. That’s why she drowned herself in a fit of passion.”

Hawkes (1977, p.146)

Jia Huan continued in a voice lowered almost to a whisper. “My mother told me that the day before yesterday, in Lady Wang’s room, my brother Bao-yu tried to rape one of Her Ladyship’s maids called Golden, and when she wouldn’t let him, he gave her a beating; and Golden was so upset that she threw herself in the well and was drowned.”

EFS: [*my brother Baoyu seized Jinchuanr in my lady’s room so that he could rape her.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Jia Huan informed his father against his elder brother Baoyu. With grudges against Baoyu, as Baoyu was born of a wife and he was born of a concubine, Jia Huan was exaggerating the intimate episode between Baoyu and his mother’s maid Jinchuanr. In the original, ‘拉’ (‘seize’) and ‘强奸’ (‘rape’) constitute a serial verb construction.

In translating ‘强奸’, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘with the intent of’. Lexically, he undertranslates ‘强奸’ (‘rape’) into ‘dishonouring’, which may soften Jia Huan’s slander. On the other hand, his rendering of ‘不遂’ (‘fail’) into ‘he failed to carry out his design’ seems superfluous as ‘he failed’ is clear enough to convey the meaning.

In rendering ‘打了一顿’ (‘give a beating’), Hawkes and Joly each choose a periphrastic expression: ‘gave (her) a beating’ and ‘gave (her) a thrashing’. As the equivalent of ‘打’ (‘beat’), Joly’s choice of ‘thrashing’ appears to give Jia Huan’s slander more weight.

**5.1.3.5 Construction five: for the sake of + NOM** (Joly uses it 7 times, Hawkes uses it twice, and the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.9:

宝玉不待说完，便答道：“正是呢，我们家却有个家塾，合族中有不能延师的，便可入塾读书。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.208)

入	塾	读书
rù	shú	dúshū
enter school		study

Joly (1892, p.117)

“But in our household, we have a family school, and those of our kindred who have no means sufficient to engage the services of a tutor are at liberty to come over for the sake of study.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.179)

“We have a private school in our family to which any members of the clan who can’t manage private tuition may send their children.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.209)

“Just what I think,” broke in Baoyu. “We have a school for members of our clan who can’t engage a tutor.”

EFS: [*We have a private school. Any members of the clan who can’t manage a tutor may enter the school and study.*]

Comment: In the original, ‘读书’ (‘study’) constitutes a serial verb construction with ‘入塾’ (‘enter the school’). In translating ‘读书’, Joly chooses a nominalized structure and denotes its logical relation with ‘入塾’ by a formal prepositional phrase ‘for the sake of’. In contrast, both Hawkes and the Yangs implicate it as they may think that ‘school’ presupposes ‘study’.

**5.1.3.6 Construction six: for the purpose of + NOM** (Joly uses it 5 times, Hawkes uses it 3 times, and the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.10:

(平儿) 忽见上回来打抽丰的那刘姥姥和板儿又来了,坐在那边屋里,还有张材家的、周瑞家的陪着,又有两三个丫头在地下倒口袋里的枣子、倭瓜并些野菜。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1084)

见	上回	来	打抽丰	的	那	刘姥姥	和	板儿	又	来	了
jiàn	shàng	huí	lái	dǎchōufēng	de	nà	liú	lǎolao	hé	bǎnr	yòu lái le
see	last time	come	ask for help	ATM	that	Liu	Granny	and	Banr	again	come AM

Joly (1893, p.232)

But unexpectedly she perceived that the old goody Liu, who had paid them a visit on a previous occasion for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary assistance, had come again with Pan Erh, and was seated in the opposite room, along with Chang Ts’ai’s wife and Chou Jui’s wife, who kept her company.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1085)

Xifeng was out when she got back. But seated in her room, accompanied by the wives of Zhang Cai and Zhou Rui, were Granny Liu and Baner who had called before to ask for help.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.264)

When she got there, however, it was not Xi-feng she found waiting for her, but the old countrywoman she had admitted on a previous occasion as a suppliant, Grannie Liu, with her little grandson Ban-er.

EFS: [*...visited them in order that they could ask for some help.*]

Comment: In the original, ‘来’ (‘come’) constitutes a serial verbal structure with ‘打抽丰’, which refers to the behavior of those people who are poor but unwilling to work. They try to make use of various relations and excuses to ask for money and goods.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure, which makes implicit the subject and modal verb. This structure is made formal due to the formal prepositional phrase ‘for the purpose of’ and the formal lexical expression ‘pecuniary assistance’. As regards ‘来’ (‘come’), their formal choice of the periphrastic predicate expression ‘paid them a visit’ seems to be out of place with the lower social status of Grannie Liu.

Hawkes makes two cases of explication by adding ‘the old countrywoman’ and ‘her little grandson’. Both cases convey to the reader the identity of both Grannie Liu and Banr.

The Yangs’ version is shorter than the other two versions not only because of Joly’s several formal and long expressions and Hawkes’ two cases of explication, but also due to the Yangs’ simple expression of ‘before’ (as opposed to ‘on a previous occasion’).

### 5.1.3.7 Construction seven: with the object of + NOM (Only Joly uses it 7 times.)

E.g.11:

宝玉笑道: “我才出来, 不过为尽个礼, 再去吃酒看戏。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1226)

不过 为 尽 个 礼

bùguò wèi jìn gè lǐ

simply for make CF offering

**Joly** (1893, p.309)

“I’ve come here now with the sole object of satisfying certain rites, and then going to partake of the banquet and be a spectator of the plays.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1227)

Baoyu grinned, “I’ve not been here long, and I only came to make a sacrifice before going to the feast and watching the show.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.360)

“It was all along my intention to go back to the party when I had made the offering.”

EFS: [*I simply came in order that I could make a sacrifice...*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Baoyu came to make an offering to Jin Chuanr in a convent. The underlined part ‘尽个礼’ (‘make a sacrifice’) denotes purposive meaning, as shown by the preposition ‘为’ (‘for’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘with the object of’. As the equivalent of ‘尽个礼’, Joly’s choice of ‘satisfying certain rites’ is formal as opposed to the Yangs’ periphrastic predicate expression ‘make a sacrifice’ and Hawkes’ choice of ‘made the offering’. In the Yangs’ version, two underlined nominalized structures are used perhaps due to the linear structure of the original where their corresponding parts ‘吃酒’ (‘drink wine’) and ‘看戏’ (‘watch plays’) share the subject ‘我’ (‘I’) with ‘尽个礼’. In contrast, Hawkes flexibly adapts ‘吃酒’ and ‘看戏’ to ‘the party’.

**5.1.3.8 Construction eight: with the view of + NOM** (Joly uses it 2 times while both Hawkes and the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.12:

李嬷嬷道：“想那日我眼错不见一会，不知是那一个没调教的，(1) 只图讨你的好儿，不管别人死活，(2) 给了你一口酒吃，葬送的我挨了两日骂。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.232)

只	图	讨	你的	好儿
zhǐ	tú	tǎo	nǐde	hǎor
merely	seek	curry	your	favor

**Joly** (1892, p.127)

“I remember the day when some ignorant fool or other, (1) merely with the view of pandering for your favour, (2) gave you only a drop of wine to drink, and how this brought reproaches upon me for a couple of days.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.192)

“But look at the trouble I got into the other day because when I had my back turned for a moment some wretched person who ought to have known better (2) gave you a sip or two (1) to humour you!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.233)

“But I haven’t forgotten the way they scolded me for two days on end just because some irresponsible fool (1) who wanted to get on the right side of you (2) gave you a sip of wine behind my back.”

EFS: [*I remember the day when some fool, in order that he could curry your favor, gave you...*]

Comment: In the original, Baoyu’s wet nurse tried to stop him from drinking wine at the

home of his maternal aunt in case she would be blamed again. The underlined structure (A ‘只’ (‘merely’) V ‘图’ (‘seek’) V ‘讨’ (‘curry’) O ‘你的好儿’ (‘your favor’)) implies purposive meaning.

In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘with the view of’. With regard to ‘讨你的好’, Joly’s choice of ‘pandering for your favor’ is literal as opposed to Hawkes’ choice of ‘humor’ and the Yangs’ choice of ‘get on the right side of you’. Hawkes flexibly exchanges the positions of structures (1) and (2) perhaps in order to emphasize structure (1).

**5.1.3.9 Construction nine: with the intention of + NOM** (Joly uses it 4 times, Hawkes uses it twice, and the Yangs do not use it.)

E.g.13:

(警幻) 向众姊妹道: “你等不知原委: 今日原欲往荣府去接绛珠, 适从宁府所过, 偶遇宁、荣二公之灵。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.140-142)

去 接 绛珠

qù jiē jiàng zhū

go fetch Jiangzhu

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.136-137)

“It is true that I set off for the Rong mansion with the intention of fetching Crimson Pearl, but as I was passing through the Ning mansion on my way, I happened to run into the Duke of Ning-guo and his brother the Duke of Rong-guo.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.141)

“I did set off to the Rong Mansion today to fetch Vermilion Pearl...”

**Joly** (1892, p.80)

“To-day I did mean to have gone to the Jung mansion to fetch Chiang Chu...”

EFS: [I went to the Rong Mansion today so that I could fetch Jiang Zhu...]

Comment: In the original, ‘接’ (‘fetch’) constitutes a serial verbal construction with ‘去’ (‘go’). In translating, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘with the intention of’, which makes implicit the subject and modal verb. Formal prepositional phrases like this are rarely seen in Hawkes’ version.



### 5.1.3.10 Construction ten: with the design of + NOM (Only Joly uses it twice.)

E.g.14:

贾政问道：“你道友二人在那庙焚修？”那僧笑道：“长官不须多话。(1) 因闻得府上人口不利，(2) 故特来医治。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.704)

故	特	来	医治
gù	tè	lái	yīzhì
so	so	come	cure

**Joly** (1893, pp.15-16)

“On what hill,” he asked those two persons, “do you cultivate the principles of reason? “Worthy official!” the bonze smiled, “you must not ask too many questions! It’s because we’ve learnt that there are inmates of your honorable mansion in a poor state of health that we come with the express design of working a cure.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.705)

Jia Zheng asked this pair which monastery they were from. “There is no need to inquire into that, sir,” replied the bonze with a smile. (1) We hear there is illness in your house and (2) have come to cure it.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.504)

Jia Zheng had them invited in and asked them what monastery they were from. The monk was genially dismissive: “There is no need for Your Worship to waste time on formalities. (1) I heard you had sickness in this house and (2) have come to cure it.”

EFS: [...we specially come so that we can cure it.]

Comment: The original dialogue between Baoyu’s father and two religious people is formally written in classical Chinese. ‘医治’ (‘cure’) constitutes a serial verb construction with ‘特来’ (‘come specially’). The whole construction stands in a causal relation with structure (1), as shown by the causal conjunction ‘故’ (‘so’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘with the (express) design of’, which makes implicit the subject and modal verb. Both the Yangs and Hawkes choose an infinitival structure. In rendering ‘医治’ (‘cure’), Joly chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘working a cure’. In addition, he uses a formal cleft sentence to reflect the causal relation between structures (1) and (2) while both the Yangs and Hawkes simply choose the coordinator ‘and’ to connect them. These two structures may account for

Joly's longer version in the sense that he uses over two times as many words as both the Yangs and Hawkes in rendering the original structures (1) and (2).

**5.1.3.11 Summary:** Table 5 below summarizes the quantitative use of the NOM as a condenser of purposive meaning. A total of 266 NOMs are found. Joly makes dominant use of 177 NOMs, accounting for 67% of the total number, while Hawkes uses 64 NOMs, accounting for 24% of the total, and the Yangs make least use of 25 NOMs, taking up the remaining 9%. Joly's dominance is to a large extent attributed to his 77 entries of the construction 'in + NOM. In terms of the variety of the constructions, Joly makes most use of 13 types, followed by Hawkes 6 types and the Yangs 2 types.

Table 5: The NOM as a condenser of purposive meaning in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	in + NOM	12	16	77	105
2	for + NOM	13	39	39	91
3	with the purpose of + NOM	-	-	16	16
4	<b>with the intent of + NOM</b>	-	-	9	9
5	<b>for the sake of + NOM</b>	-	2	7	9
6	<b>for the purpose of + NOM</b>	-	3	5	8
7	<b>with the object of + NOM</b>	-	-	7	7
8	<b>with a view to + NOM</b>	-	2	4	6
9	<b>with the intention of + NOM</b>	-	2	4	6
10	<b>with a view of + NOM</b>	-	-	4	4
11	<b>with the view of + NOM</b>	-	-	2	2
12	<b>with the design of + NOM</b>	-	-	2	2
13	<b>to the intent of + NOM</b>	-	-	1	1
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		25 (2/13/10)	64 (20/36/8)	177 (59/43/75)	266
Percentage		9%	24%	67%	100%

\* Bold-faced types of constructions are formal nominalized constructions.

In terms of the three categories of the NOM, Joly makes most use of every category, followed by Hawkes and the Yangs. In Joly's version, 16 out of 59 GNs collocate with the prepositional phrase 'with the purpose of', 9 GNs collocate with the prepositional phrase 'with the intent of', and 7 GN collocate with the prepositional phrase 'with the object of'. Out

of the 43 DNs, 24 DNs collocate with the preposition ‘for’ (with none of them appearing more than four times) and 10 DNs of ‘pursuit’ appear in the collocation ‘verb + in pursuit’. Among the 75 ZNs, 53 ZNs of ‘search’ appear in the collocation ‘verb + in search’ and 10 ZNs of ‘quest’ appear in the collocation ‘verb + in quest’. In Hawkes’ version, 11 out of 20 GNs collocate with the preposition ‘for’ and 26 out of 36 DNs collocate with the preposition ‘for’ (with none of them appearing more than six times). In the Yangs’ version, 9 ZNs of ‘search’ appear in the collocation ‘verb + in search’.

The translators’ stylistic features in various other aspects are summarized as follows. Joly uses over 40 entries of formal prepositional phrases (in boldface letters) in collocation with nominalized structures, which are seldom used by Hawkes and not used by the Yangs at all. He also uses four lexically formal expressions (see E.g.6, E.g.10, E.g.11, and E.g.12) and one formal cleft sentence structure (see E.g.14). Among the four periphrastic predicate expressions he uses, three are quite formal (see E.g.7, E.g.10, and E.g.14). He has several cases of explicitation (and addition) (see E.g.3 and E.g.6).

As for Hawkes, he seldom uses formal prepositional phrases in collocation with nominalized structures (see E.g.13). He has only one case of implicitation (see E.g.2) but has several cases of explicitation probably for the convenience of the reader (see E.g.3, E.g.4, E.g.5, E.g.7, and E.g.10). He explicitates by foreignization in E.g.3 while in E.g.7 he tells the reader in an explicit way that ‘衣’ (‘clothes’) is ‘court dress, which she had all this time been wearing’. He has one case of periphrastic predicate expression of ‘gave her a beating’ in E.g.8. In addition, he makes two flexible adjustments (see E.g.3 and E.g.12). In E.g.12, perhaps for the sake of emphasis, he moves the infinitival structure to the end of the sentence.

As for the Yangs, they have more cases of concise expressions (see E.g.3, E.g.7, E.g.10, and E.g.14). They also have several cases of implicitation (and omission) (see E.g.1, E.g.2, E.g.3, and E.g.9), which also contribute to their expression of conciseness. In E.g.3, they omit rendering the size of the stones while both Hawkes and Joly make that explicit. Their lexical implicitation in E.g.2 may perhaps be attributed to an attempt to avoid lexical repetition. They have an idiomatic expression of ‘get on the right side of you’ in E.g.12 and a periphrastic predicate expression (see E.g.11).

In regards to the potential factors triggering nominalization, nominalized structures are used perhaps to avoid the appearance of long subjects (see E.g.4). Collocations (such as ‘in + search (of)’, ‘in + quest (of)’, and ‘in + pursuit (of)’) constitute another potential factor (see E.g.2). Moreover, serial verb constructions in the original might still be a factor (see E.g.1 and E.g.5).

In regard to stylistic effect, nominalization gives a formal flavor due to its collocation with formal prepositional phrases (see E.g.6, E.g.8, E.g.9, E.g.10, and E.g.12) or formal nominalized structures (see E.g.7 and E.g.11). It represents implicitation in terms of omitting subjects and modal verbs (see all the examples given).

In difference to the NOM as a condenser of temporal and causal meanings which often find finite verbal structures as its alternative choices, the NOM as a condenser of purposive meaning finds numerous cases of infinitival structures as its alternative choices. However, this does not mean that the translators do not use finite verbal structures introduced by purposive prepositions or prepositional phrases (e.g., ‘in order that’ and ‘so that’) to denote purposive meaning. In the first 56 chapters, it is found that the collocation of ‘in order that’ with finite verbal clauses occurs 22 times in Joly’s version and 2 times in Hawkes’ version while the

collocation of ‘so that’ with finite verbal clauses finds 102 entries in the Yangs’ version, 199 entries in Hawkes’ version, and 338 entries in Joly’s version. Their different use also gives expression to their styles.

E.g.15:

**Joly** (1893, p.377)

Her wish was to lay the matter before Madame Wang in order that some one should be despatched to trace Liu Hsiang-lien and bring him back, but Pao-ch’ai speedily dissuaded her.

E.g.16:

**Hawkes** (1973, p.321)

I expect the kang was too hard for him and they have put him here so that he can lie a bit more easy.

#### 5.1.4 The NOM as a condenser of conditional meaning

The constructions with the NOM express the condition for the actions expressed by their correlated sentential predications. In our corpus, four types of constructions are found with this function: ‘by + NOM’, ‘in the event of + NOM’, ‘without + NOM’, and ‘on + NOM’. Joly makes most use of 71 NOMs (including 69 GNs, 1 DN, and 1 ZN), followed by the Yangs who use 23 NOMs (including 21 GNs and 2 DNs) and Hawkes who uses 20 GNs.

**5.1.4.1 Construction one: by + NOM** (Joly makes most use of it 45 times, followed by the Yangs 19 times and Hawkes 17 times.)

E.g.1:

只因那宝玉闻得傅试有个妹子，名唤傅秋芳，也是个琼闺秀玉，常闻人传说才貌俱全，虽自未亲睹，然遐思遥爱之心十分诚敬，不命她们进来，恐薄了傅秋芳，因此连忙命让进来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.972)

不	命	她们	进来
bú	mìng	tāmen	jìnlái
not	order	they	come in

**Joly** (1893, pp.170-171)

He had, it is true, not yet seen anything of her with his own eyes, but the sentiments, which made him think of her and cherish her, from a distance, were characterised by such extreme sincerity, that dreading lest he should, by refusing to admit the matrons, reflect discredit upon Fu Ch’iu-fang, he was prompted to lose no time in expressing a wish that they should be ushered in.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.973)

[A]nd although he had never seen her, his admiration for such a fine girl made him feel it would

be slighting her not to admit them. So he promptly invited them in.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.187)

Bao-yu had not actually seen her; but he had formed a picture of her in his imagination and worshipped her from afar. And since to have refused entry to the two old women would have been in his eyes tantamount to offering Qiu-fang an affront, he at once gave orders for them to be admitted.

EFS: [...if he did not order them to be admitted, he should slight Fu Qiu-fang...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure (A ‘不’ V ‘命’ O ‘他们’ V ‘进来’) implies conditional meaning according to the context.

In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition ‘by’, which makes implicit conditional meaning, the subject and tense in comparison to the EFS given. In contrast, the Yangs’ infinitival structure looks more concise. They also choose a nominalized structure in the position of subject ‘his admiration for such a fine girl’ (see sub-section 5.2.2), which makes implicit causal meaning and past tense.

As regards ‘不命...进来’ (‘not to order someone to come in), both Hawkes’ choice of ‘refuse entry’ and Joly’s choice of ‘refuse to admit’ seem to express a stronger tone than the Yangs’ choice of ‘not to admit’. In addition, as the equivalent of the verb ‘薄’ (‘slight’), both Hawkes’ choice of ‘offering an affront’ and Joly’s choice of ‘reflect discredit’ seem to be less accurate than the Yangs’ choice of ‘slight’. In addition, Joly’s use of ‘dreading lest’ is formal.

Some periphrastic expressions are used by the translators like ‘offering (Qiu-fang) an affront’ and ‘gave orders’.

E.g.2:

贾珍道：“再者年例送人请人，(1) 我把脸皮厚些，(2) 可以省些也就完了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1520)

我	把	脸皮	厚	些	可以	省	些
wǒ	bǎ	liǎnpí	hòu	xiē	kěyǐ	shěng	xiē
I		face skin	thicken	a bit	can	save	some (expenses)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1521)

“As for New-Year gifts and entertaining, by (1) not caring about appearances and (2) cutting down I shall get by.”

**Joly** (1893, p.468)

“It’s the custom, besides, at the end of the year to send presents to people and invite others; but (1) I’ll thicken the skin of my face a bit, (2) (and dispense with both), and have done.”

Hawkes (1977, p.563)

“And even in the case of these New Year expenses, (2) I suppose I *could* cut down on them if I really had to. (1) It would simply be a question of brazening it out.”

EFS: [...if I brazen it out and save some expenses, I can get by...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure (1) denotes conditional meaning, although it is not explicitly marked. This clausal structure is a ‘把’ construction, a syntactic feature unique to the Chinese language. ‘It is a device which uses the coverb ‘把’ to move a definite-referenced object to a position before the main verb. This leaves the space after the verb available to elements other than the object’ (Yip and Don, 2004, p.200). As for the ‘把’ construction in the original, it equals to ‘我厚脸皮些’ (S ‘我’ (‘I’) V ‘厚’ (‘thicken’) O ‘脸皮’ (‘the skin of my face’) C ‘些’ (‘a bit’)).

The Yangs choose two nominalized structures introduced by ‘by’, which make implicit conditional meaning, the subject and present tense. Their second nominalized structure even makes implicit the object. In contrast, Hawkes is more flexible in the sense that he renders them into two separate sentences. In addition, Hawkes makes an addition of ‘if I really had to’.

In correspondence to the original structure (1), Hawkes’ choice of ‘brazening it out’ and the Yangs’ choice of ‘not caring about appearances’ are both idiomatic while Joly’s choice of ‘thicken the skin of my face’ seems to be quite literal.

#### 5.1.4.2 Construction two: in the event of + NOM (Only Joly uses it 23 times.)

E.g.3:

鸳鸯冷笑道：“老太太在一日，我一日不离这里；(1) 若是老太太归西去了，他横竖还有三年的孝呢，没个(2) 娘才死了他先纳小老婆的！”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1300)

若是	老 太太	归 西	去 了	娘	才 死 了
ruòshì	lǎo tàitai	guī xī	qù le	niáng	cái sǐ le
if	old lady	go west	go PA	mother	just die PA

**Joly** (1893, p.352)

Yüan Yang smiled ironically. “I won’t leave this place so long as my old lady lives!” Yüan Yang protested. “(1) In the event of her ladyship departing this life, he’ll have, under any circumstances, to also go into mourning for three years; for there’s no such thing as starting by marrying a concubine, (2) soon after a mother’s death!”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.416)

“As long as Her Old Ladyship lives, I shall stay with Her Old Ladyship. And when all’s said and done, (1) even when the old dear goes to her rest, there are still the years of mourning. There would be no question of his taking a concubine (2) with his mother just dead.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1301)

“Pah! As long as the old lady lives, I shan’t leave this house. (1) If she passes away, he’ll have to observe three years’ mourning anyway: he can’t take a concubine (2) the moment his mother dies.”

EFS: [...If the old Ladyship passes away, he will have to observe three years’ mourning.]

Comment: The context in the original is that Yüan Yang, a senior and trustful maid of the Lady Dowager, would rather die than marry her son Jia She as his chamber wife. In the original, the underlined structure denotes conditional meaning, as shown by the conditional conjunction ‘若是’ (‘if’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘in the event of’, which appears to give Yüan Yang’s speech a formal impression. This formal flavor is strengthened by his choice of ‘her ladyship’ as the equivalent of ‘老太太’ (‘the old lady’). Joly chooses another nominalized structure ‘after a mother’s death’ which makes implicit present tense. However, his choice of ‘a mother’ (instead of ‘his mother’) as the equivalent of ‘娘’ (‘mother’) seems to be less accurate.

The Yangs’ finite clausal structures are simple and concise. Hawkes’ choice of ‘the old dear’ as the equivalent of ‘老太太’ is colloquial, which implies an intimate relationship between Yüan Yang and the Lady Dowager. In addition, he omits rendering ‘三’ (‘three’), which may result in the loss of the Chinese tradition in mourning.

In rendering ‘归西’ (‘go west’) which is a religious and euphemistic expression of ‘死’



(‘die’), all the translators choose euphemistic equivalents like ‘depart this life’, ‘pass away’, and ‘go to her rest’. In doing so, they succeed in conveying Yüan Yang’s respect for the old Lady.

E.g.4:

宝钗（对探春三人）道：“哪怕叶妈全不管，竟交与那一个，那是他们私情儿，有人说闲话，也就怨不到咱们身上了。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1622）

有人            说闲话

yǒurén    shuōxiánhuà

someone   gossip

**Joly** (1893, p.526)

“And if this dame Yeh can’t attend to everything herself, it won’t matter to whom she relegates some of her duties. In the event too of any one making any mean insinuations, the blame won’t fall on our shoulders.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1623)

“If there’s something she doesn’t understand, we shan’t have to tell her to consult Yinger’s mother, she may even leave the whole job to her that’s up to them. (1) But if anyone gossips (2) it won’t be our concern.”

**Hawkes** (1980, p.74)

“She will probably consult Oriole’s mother whenever there is anything she is not sure about in any case. She may even elect to hand over to her altogether. But that would be entirely a private matter between the two of them. (1) The other servants might resent it, (2) but at least they couldn’t blame us.”

EFS: [...if anyone gossips, the blame certainly won’t fall on us.]

Comment: The previous context in the original is that Pingr recommended Yingr’s mother to look after the flowers in the Grand Garden as her mother was a flower-growing expert. As Yingr worked for Baochai, Baochai did not agree on the recommendation as she was afraid that other people might complain about that. In the original, structure (1) implies conditional meaning.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase ‘in the event of’. In contrast, the Yangs’ finite clausal structure is concise and simple.

As the equivalent of ‘说闲话’ (‘gossip’), Joly’s choice of the periphrastic structure ‘make

any mean insinuations’ appears to be more formal and less accurate than the Yangs’ choice of ‘gossips’ while Hawkes’ choice of ‘resent’ seems to be deviant since although someone in the original might resent it, it is not seen from the original text.

#### 5.1.4.3 Construction three: without + NOM (The Yangs use it 4 times, followed by Hawkes 3 times and Joly twice.)

E.g.5:

(秦氏)含笑(对凤姐)说道:“婶子好睡啊!我今日回去,你也不送我一程。(1)因娘儿们素日相好,(2)我舍不得婶婶,(3)故来别你一别。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.330)

故	来	别		你	一	别
gù	lái	bié		nǐ	yī	bié
so	come	say goodbye (to)		you		say goodbye

**The Yangs** (2003, p.331)

“How you love to sleep, aunt!” cried Keqing playfully. “I’m going home today, yet you won’t even see me one stage of the way. But we’ve always been so close, I couldn’t go without coming to say goodbye.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.255)

“So fond of sleep, Auntie?” said Qin-shi with a gentle smile. “I shall have to begin my journey today without you to see me off. But never mind! Since you cannot come to me, I have come to you instead. We two have always been so close, I could not have borne to leave you without saying good-bye.”

**Joly** (1892, p.185)

“My dear sister-in-law,” she said as she smiled, “sleep in peace; I’m on my way back to-day, and won’t even you accompany me just one stage? But as you and I have been great friends all along, I cannot part from you, sister-in-law, (3) and have therefore come to take my leave of you.”

EFS: [As we have always been close, I cannot part from you, and therefore I come to say good-bye to you.]

Comment: The context in the original is that Keqing appeared in Xifeng’s dream and made a final wish to her. In the original, structure (3) denotes causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘故’ (‘so’). Structure (3) contains one colloquial and informal verbal expression ‘别你一别’ (‘say goodbye to you’), as marked by ‘一’ which is used in collocation with the reduplicated verb ‘别’ (‘say goodbye’).

In translating, both the Yangs and Hawkes choose a nominalized structure introduced by ‘without’. By doing so, they change the original causal meaning into conditional meaning

(while Joly still conveys the causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunct ‘therefore’). Both structures are made perhaps due to their economical consideration of omitting the subject. Hawkes omits rendering ‘来’ (‘come’).

As the correspondence of ‘别你一别’ (‘say goodbye to you’), Joly’s periphrastic predicate expression ‘take my leave (of you)’, more formal than the Yangs’ choice of ‘to say goodbye’ and Hawkes’ choice of ‘saying goodbye’, may result in misrepresenting the intimate relationship between Keqing and Xifeng. In addition, Joly seems to misinterpret the niece-and-auntie relationship, as shown by ‘sister-in-law’. In contrast, Hawkes gives a strongest expression of their intimate relationship, as shown by ‘I could not have borne to leave you’.

#### 5.1.4.4 Construction four: on + NOM (Only Joly uses it once.)

E.g.6:

只听凤姐与来升媳妇道：“如今可要依着我行，错我半点儿，管不得谁是有脸的，谁是没脸的，一例现清白处治。”  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.356)

错	我	半点儿
cuò	wǒ	bàndiǎnr
depart (from)	me	the least bit

**Joly** (1892, p.198)

“[F]or on the slightest disregard of my orders, I shall, with no discrimination between those who may be respectable and those who may not be, clearly and distinctly call all alike to account.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.272)

“From now on, whatever it is, you do it the way I tell you to, and anyone who departs by as much as a hair’s breadth from what I say is for it good and proper, no matter how senior or how important she thinks she is!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.357)

“The least disobedience will be dealt with publicly, no matter how much face the offender may have.”

EFS: [*If anyone departs from me for the least bit, he/she will be dealt with publicly.*]

Comment: This is one of the scenes where Xifeng, in her management of Keqing’s

funeral, was setting new rules to the servants in the Ningguo mansion. The original clausal structure (V ‘错’ (‘depart (from)’) O ‘我’ (‘me’) C ‘半点儿’ (‘the least bit’)) implies conditional meaning.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘on’, which makes implicit conditional meaning, the generic subject, and present tense. These aspects of implicitation seem to make Xifeng’s orders impersonal. He explicitates ‘错我’ as ‘disregard of my orders’.

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure in the position of subject as a condenser of conditional meaning (see sub-section 5.2.2). This nominalized structure is very concise as it, in addition to the above three aspects of implicitation, also makes implicit the object. As a result, Xifeng’s speech is made impersonal, unclear, as well as abstract. It seems that the Yangs and Joly’s nominalized choices are triggered by the ellipsis of the generic subject in the original.

As for Hawkes, he chooses a relative clause introduced by ‘who’, which makes implicit the original conditional meaning. However, he makes explicit the elliptic subject in the original, explicitates ‘我’ as ‘what I say’, and exaggerates ‘半点儿’ (‘the least bit’) as ‘as much as a hair’s breadth’. This exaggerated expression conveys Xifeng’s authority to the extreme.

**5.1.4.5 Summary:** Table 6 summarizes the quantitative use of the NOM as a condenser of conditional meaning. A total of 114 NOMs are found, which is much less than the number of the NOMs used as a condenser of temporal, causal, and purposive meanings in the above three sub-sections.

Joly makes dominant use of 71 NOMs, which accounts for 62% of the total number while the Yangs and Hawkes almost evenly share the remaining 40% of the total. Joly’s dominance is largely attributed to his use of the two types of constructions ‘by + NOM’ and ‘in the event

of + NOM’. In terms of the variety of the constructions, Joly takes a lead with four types while both the Yangs and Hawkes only use two types. In terms of the three categories of the NOM, GN is predominantly used in all the three versions.

Table 6: The NOM as a condenser of conditional meaning in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	by + NOM	19	17	45	81
2	in the event of + NOM	-	-	23	23
3	without + NOM	4	3	2	9
4	on + NOM	-	-	1	1
Total number (GN/DN/ZN)		23 (21/2/0)	20 (20/0/0)	71 (69/1/1)	114 (110/3/1)
Percentage		20%	18%	62%	100%

The translator’s stylistic features in various other aspects are summarized as follows. Joly uses 23 entries of the formal prepositional phrase ‘in the event of’, which is not seen in the other two versions at all. He chooses two lexically formal terms: ‘lest’ in E.g.1 and ‘her ladyship’ in E.g.3. In addition, he has two cases of formal periphrastic predicate expressions (e.g., ‘making insinuations’ and ‘take my leave’). Moreover, there are some idiomatic expressions in his version like ‘have done’ (see E.g.2) and ‘depart this life’ (see E.g.3). Furthermore, he has two cases of less accurate translation (see E.g.1 and E.g.3).

Hawkes makes use of some informal and colloquial expressions (see ‘old dear’ in E.g.3 and ‘saying good-bye’ in E.g.5). Like Joly, he also uses some periphrastic predicate expressions (see ‘gave orders’ and ‘offering an affront’ in E.g.1) and idiomatic expressions (see ‘brazening it out’ in E.g.2 and ‘goes to her rest’ in E.g.3). In addition, he has one case of addition (see E.g.2), two cases of omission (see E.g.3 and E.g.5), and some cases of flexible or exaggerated translation (see E.g.4 and E.g.6).

The Yangs’ way of expression is more concise, which can be seen in almost every example in this sub-section. Their concise way of expression is partly manifested in their

nominalized structures because they implicate subjects (see E.g.2 and E.g.5) and even subjects and objects (see E.g.6). Like Joly and Hawkes, they also use some idiomatic expressions (e.g., ‘get by’, and ‘pass away’). No cases of periphrastic predicate expressions are found in the examples given.

As for the potential factors triggering nominalization in translation, the omission of subjects in the original text might be one factor (see E.g.6), the translator’s economical considerations could be another factor (see E.g.5). All the nominalized structures given in the examples correspond to verbal predicate structures in the original.

In terms of the stylistic effect of nominalization, it affords a formal impression (see Joly’s choices in E.g.3 and E.g.4); it represents implication (see E.g.1, E.g.2, and E.g.5); it gives an impersonal flavor (see Joly’s choice in E.g.6); and it gives an unclear and abstract impression (see the Yangs’ choice in E.g.6).

Although the NOM as a condenser of conditional meaning is considerably less used in our corpus, there is no lack of conditional conjunctions in our corpus at all. For example, in the first 30 chapters of the three versions, the conditional conjunction ‘if’ occurs 502 times in Joly’s version, 624 times in the Yangs’ version, and 758 times in Hawkes’ version. Most of them are found in finite verbal structures conveying conditional meaning.

#### **5.1.5 The NOM as a condenser of concessive meaning**

The nominalized predication denotes the presence of a particular cause or condition which does not affect its correlated sentential predication, despite the fact that it is sometimes a barrier or precondition for the realization of the action. In our corpus, only 2 types of constructions are found: ‘in spite of + NOM’ and ‘despite + NOM’. Joly makes more use of 11 NOMs (including 6 GNs, 3 DNs, and 2 ZNs), followed by Hawkes who uses 6 NOMs

(including 2 GNs, 2 DNs, and 2 ZNs) and the Yangs who use 2 NOMs (including 1 GN and 1 DN).

**5.1.5.1 Construction one: in spite of + NOM** (Joly uses it 7 times, Hawkes uses it 6 times, and the Yangs use it only twice.)

E.g.1:

谁知 (1) 贾菌年纪虽小, (2) 志气最大, (3) 极是不怕人爱淘气的。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.264)

贾菌	年纪	虽	小
jiǎjūn	niánjì	suī	xiǎo
Jia Jun	age	though	being young

**Joly** (1892, p.145)

Who would have believed that (2) Chia Chün would, (1) in spite of being young in years, (2) have had an extremely strong mind, (3) and that he would be mostly up to mischief without the least fear of any one.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.212)

Though Jia Jun was among the youngest in the class, his tiny body contained a heroic soul. He was extremely mischievous and completely fearless.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.265)

This hot-tempered, fearless little scamp had watched indifferently.

EFS: [*Though Jia Jun was young...*]

Comment: The original sentence consists of three clausal structures sharing the subject ‘贾菌’ (‘Jia Jun’). Structure (1) denotes concessive meaning, as explicitly shown by the concessive conjunction ‘虽’ (‘though’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by ‘in spite of’. He chooses this structure perhaps due to his economical consideration as the subject omitted is anaphorically traceable as Chia Chün. His literal rendering of ‘年纪虽小’ into ‘being young in years’ is superfluous as ‘being young’ is already clear. In contrast, perhaps for the convenience of the reader, Hawkes makes a semantic explication by adding ‘in the class’.

The Yangs make a structural shift of clause (1) into an adjective ‘little’. Moreover, they make another two structural shifts of clauses (2) and (3) into adjectives ‘hot-tempered’ and

‘fearless’. Thanks to these adjustments, their version looks more succinct. However, their coordination of the three adjectives makes implicit the concessive meaning emphasized in the original.

E.g.2:

幸而身边还有两个旧日的丫鬟伏侍，主仆三人，日夜作些针线发卖，帮着父亲过活。(1) 那封肃虽然日日抱怨，  
(2) 然也无可奈何了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.32)

那	封肃	虽然	日	日	抱怨
nà	fēngsù	suīrán	rì	rì	bàoyuàn
that	Feng Su	though	day	day	complain

**Joly** (1892, p.19)

She had fortunately still by her side, to wait upon her, two servant girls, who had been with her in days gone by; and the three of them, mistress as well as servants, occupied themselves day and night with needlework, to assist her father in his daily expenses. This Feng Su had after all, in spite of his daily murmurings against his bad luck, no help but to submit to the inevitable.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.33)

For his part, grumble as he might, he had to lump it.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.65)

The latter still found daily occasion to complain, but there was very little he could do about it.

EFS: [*Although that Fengsu complained everyday, there was nothing he could do about it.*]

Comment: In the original, structure (1) (S ‘那封肃’ (‘that Feng Su’) AP ‘日日’ (‘on a daily basis’) VP ‘抱怨’ (‘complain’)) denotes concessive meaning, as shown by the concessive conjunction ‘虽然’ (‘though’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure introduced by the prepositional phrase ‘in spite of’, which makes implicit past tense. He makes a semantic explication of ‘against his bad luck’. As the equivalent of ‘抱怨’ (‘complain’), Joly’s choice of ‘murmurings’ in plural form appears to convey Feng Su’s complaint in a stronger and repetitive way.

In contrast, the Yangs’ clausal structure looks quite concise mainly because they omit rendering ‘日日’ (‘on a daily basis’). This omission may reduce Feng Su’s grumble somewhat. However, their putting the predication ‘grumble’ in front of the whole clause is formal. As for



Hawkes, he flexibly chooses to convey the original conditional meaning through the adversative ‘but’.

#### 5.1.5.2 Construction two: despite + NOM (Only Joly uses it 4 times.)

E.g.3:

因说道：“大人既知他的底细，如何连他置买房舍这样大事倒不晓得了？”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.910）

大人	既	知	他的	底细
dàrén	jì	zhī	tāde	dǐxì
Sir.	since	know his		exact details

**Joly** (1893, p.134)

“Sir,” he consequently remarked aloud, “how is it that despite your acquaintance with all these minute details, you have no inkling of his having purchased a house?”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.911)

So he said, “If you know so much, sir, how is it you are ignorant of something as important as his purchase of property?”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.144)

“Since you have managed to find out so much about him,” he said, finding his tongue at last, “I’m surprised that so important a thing as buying a house should have escaped you.”

EFS: [*Since you know his exact details...*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined verbal clausal structure (S ‘大人’ (‘Sir’) V ‘知’ (‘know’) O ‘他的底细’ (‘his exact details’)) does not imply conditional meaning but causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction ‘既’ (‘since’).

Joly chooses a nominalized structure, which makes implicit present tense. This structure is made formal due to the rather formal preposition ‘despite’ as well as the formal DN ‘acquaintance’ (as opposed to ‘find out’ and ‘know’ in the other two versions).

The Yangs’ conditional clausal structure, simple and concise, conveys Baoyu’s doubt about what the other character said. As for Hawkes, he makes two semantic cases of explicitation by adding the hedge expression ‘managed to’ as well as ‘finding his tongue as last’. His second addition functions as a cohesive link with its previous context where Baoyu was too stunned to reply to the other character.

**5.1.5.3 Summary:** Table 7 below summarizes the quantitative use of the NOM as a condenser of concessive meaning. A total of 19 NOMs are found, slightly less than the NOMs used as a condenser of conditional meaning, and considerably less than the NOMs used as a condenser of the other three logical meanings.

Table 7: The NOM as a condenser of concessive meaning in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	in spite of + NOM	2	6	7	15
2	despite + NOM	-	-	4	4
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		2 (1/1/0)	6 (2/2/2)	11 (6/3/2)	19
Percentage		10.53%	31.58%	57.89%	100%

Joly makes more use of 11 NOMs, followed by Hawkes 6 NOMs and the Yangs 2 NOMs.

In addition, he uses one more type of construction than both the Yangs and Hawkes.

As for the translator's stylistic features in various other aspects, Joly chooses two nominalized structures introduced by the formal preposition 'despite', which is not found in the other two versions; his lexical choice of 'acquaintance' in E.g.3 is also formal; and he has one case of explicitation (see E.g.2), one case of superfluous translation (see E.g.1), and one case of mistranslation of the original causal meaning (see E.g.3).

In Hawkes' version, several cases of explicitation are found (see E.g.1 and E.g.3). His addition of 'finding his tongue at last' in E.g.3 functions as an appropriate link with its previous context. These cases to some extent facilitate readers' comprehension of the novel.

As for the Yangs, they choose concise expressions in all the examples. Their concise expression in E.g.1 comes from their several structural shifts of the original structures (which ends up making implicit the conditional meaning conveyed in the original) while their concise expression in E.g.2 results from a lexical omission. In E.g.2, they also choose a formal structure.

As for the potential factors triggering nominalized structures, the translator's economical considerations (see E.g.1) might be one of the factors. As for the stylistic effect of nominalization, it gives a repetitive impression (see E.g.2); and it gives a formal flavor (see E.g.3). Nominalized structures in the examples given correspond to verbal or adjectival predicate clausal structures.

Although the NOM as a condenser of concessive meaning is considerably less used in our corpus, it is found that there is no lack of concessive conjunctions. Take the concessive conjunction 'although' for example. In the first 30 chapters of the three versions, it occurs 126 times in the Yangs' version, 150 times in Hawkes' version, and 167 times in Joly's version. A large number of them are used in combination with copula structures like E.g.4 or verbless structures like E.g.5, E.g.6, and E.g.7.

E.g.4:

**The Yangs** (2003, p.326)

This increased the Lady Dowager's distress, but they had to prepare with all speed for Daiyu's departure; and although Baoyu was most upset he could hardly come between her and her father.

E.g.5:

**The Yangs** (2003, p.577)

Although tempted to join the girls, he was afraid that would make them gloat and give him even more talkings-to in future.

E.g.6:

**Joly** (1893, pp.31-32)

Although unable to discriminate the numerous species, her gaze became so transfixed by their respective variegated and bright plumage and by their exceptional beauty that she halted.

E.g.7:

**Joly** (1892, p.17)

His father-in-law, Feng Su, by name, was a native of Ta Ju Chou. Although only a labourer, he was nevertheless in easy circumstances at home.

### 5.1.6 Summary

Table 8 below shows the quantitative use of the NOM as adverbial condensing temporal, causal, purposive, conditional and concessive meanings. A total of 2413 NOMs are found.

Joly makes predominant use of 1202 NOMs, accounting for 50% of the total number, followed by the Yangs who use 636 NOMs and Hawkes who uses 575 NOMs. In terms of the three categories of the NOM, GN is most frequently used in all the three versions. Specifically, Joly makes most use of all the three types. Hawkes makes slightly more use of GNs than the Yangs while the Yangs make slightly more use of both DN and ZNs than Hawkes. In terms of the types of constructions, Joly still keeps the lead by using 50 types, followed by Hawkes who uses 36 types and the Yangs who use 26 types.

Table 8: The NOM as adverbial in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	The NOM as adverbial	Types of constructions used/Number of the NOMs used			Total Number
		The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	
1	The NOM condensing temporal meaning	10/441	12/391	13/848	1680
2	The NOM condensing causal meaning	11/145	15/94	18/95	334
3	The NOM condensing purposive meaning	2/25	6/64	13/177	266
4	The NOM condensing conditional meaning	2/23	2/20	4/71	114
5	The NOM condensing concessive meaning	1/2	1/6	2/11	19
Total Number		26/636	36/575	50/1202	2413
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		353/154/129	376/116/83	609/343/250	
Percentage		26%	24%	50%	100%

In terms of the most frequently-used types of constructions, there are seven types in Joly's version (i.e., 'after + NOM' (322 entries), 'upon + NOM' (208 entries), 'on + NOM' (160 entries), 'at + NOM' (99 entries), 'in + NOM' (87 entries), 'for + NOM' (70 entries), and 'by + NOM' (64 entries), which account for 84% of the total number of the NOMs as

adverbial he uses; there are five types in the Yangs' version (i.e., 'after + NOM' (241 entries), 'for + NOM' (103 entries), 'before + NOM' (66 entries), 'at + NOM' (57 entries), and 'on + NOM' (34 entries)), which account for 79% of the total number of the NOMs as adverbial they use; and there are four types in Hawkes' version (i.e., 'after + NOM' (209 entries), 'for + NOM' (80 entries), 'before + NOM' (75 entries), and 'on + NOM' (49 entries)), which account for 72% of the total number of the NOMs as adverbial he uses. With regard to the most frequently-used types of collocations, there are five types in Joly's version (i.e., 'upon hearing' (88 entries), 'on return' (58 entries), 'at (the) sight' (54 entries), 'in search' (46 entries), and 'after listening' (34 entries)) while there are two in the Yangs' version (i.e., 'at (the) sight' (37 entries) and 'for fear' (39 entries)). However, there is no type of collocation used for more than seven times in Hawkes' version. The translators' differences in terms of favorite types of constructions and collocations show that Joly uses the NOMs in a more patterned way while Hawkes uses them in a less focused and more flexible way.

Apart from the various differences among the translators in their use of the NOM, there are also some similarities. On the one hand, they all make most use of the NOMs as a condenser of temporal meaning; on the other hand, they all make most use of GNs, followed by DN and ZNs. In addition, there are numerous cases where nominalization is used by all the translators to correspond to a same clausal structure in the original (see 5.1.1 E.g.24, E.g.25, and E.g.34; 5.1.2 E.g.4 and E.g.19; 5.1.3 E.g.2).

The translator's stylistic features in various other aspects are summarized as follows. Joly makes more frequent use of nominalized structures introduced by formal prepositional phrases (see 5.1.1 E.g.32 and E.g.33; 5.1.2 E.g.19 and E.g.23; 5.1.3 E.g.8 and E.g.12; 5.1.4 E.g.3 and E.g.4; 5.1.5 E.g.3). His formal style is also manifest in his lexical choices (see 5.1.1

E.g.10 and E.g.11; 5.1.2 E.g.20; 5.1.3 E.g.11 and E.g.12; 5.1.4 E.g.1; 5.1.5 E.g.3). He makes predominant use of periphrastic predicate expressions, some of which are stylistically formal (see 5.1.1 E.g.6 and E.g.12; 5.1.2 E.g.16 and E.g.23; 5.1.3 E.g.7, E.g.10, and E.g.14; 5.1.4 E.g.5). He has several cases of literal translation (see 5.1.1 E.g.20, E.g.23, and E.g.28; 5.1.2 E.g.20; 5.1.3 E.g.2). In 5.1.3 E.g.2, his literal rendering of the original lexical repetition may confuse the reader although it manifests one feature of the Chinese language. However, he seldom makes use of the techniques of explicitation (and addition) (see 5.1.3 E.g.3) and implicitation (and omission) (see 5.1.1 E.g.20). There are more cases of cleft sentence structures and attributive structures in his version (see 5.1.1 E.g.13 and E.g.29; 5.1.2 E.g.12, E.g.14, E.g.16, and E.g.23; 5.1.3 E.g.14).

Hawkes occasionally collocates formal prepositional phrases with nominalized structures (see 5.1.2 E.g.17 and E.g.18; 5.1.3 E.g.13). In addition, he makes most frequent use of explicitation (and addition) (see 5.1.1 E.g.2, E.g.11, E.g.27, and E.g.29; 5.1.2 E.g.17; 5.1.3 E.g.4 and E.g.7; 5.1.5 E.g.1). This technique is mainly used to provide more information to the reader and for emphasis. Moreover, he is more flexible in making lexical and syntactic adjustments (see 5.1.1 E.g.21, E.g.22, and E.g.27; 5.1.2 E.g.1 and E.g.5; 5.1.3 E.g.12; 5.1.4 E.g.2). In 5.1.1 E.g.27, Hawkes adds ‘private’ and flexibly renders ‘小老婆’ (‘concubine’) into ‘young girl’ as he may consider it improper for a mother to gossip about her own son, especially in view of his noble status. He seldom makes use of implicitation (and omission) (see 5.1.3 E.g.2; 5.1.4 E.g.5). He uses fewer cases of periphrastic predicate expressions (see 5.1.1 E.g.19 and E.g.33; 5.1.2 E.g.3 and E.g.18; 5.1.3 E.g.8; 5.1.4 E.g.1).

As for the Yangs, they seldom combine formal prepositional phrases with nominalized structures. They make more use of concise nominalized structures as a manifestation of

implication (see 5.1.1 E.g.12, E.g.19, E.g.20, and E.g.25; 5.1.2 E.g.3, E.g.11, E.g.16, and E.g.19; 5.1.4 E.g.6). In 5.1.4 E.g.6, their nominalized structure ‘the least obedience’ is very concise in terms of making implicit both the subject and object. This concise expression gives a full manifestation of Xifeng’s authority. They make most frequent use of implication (and omission) (see 5.1.2 E.g.7, E.g.12, and E.g.14; 5.1.3 E.g.2 and E.g.3; 5.1.5 E.g.2). In addition, like Hawkes, they also make some (lexical and syntactic) adjustments which may contribute to their expression of conciseness (see 5.1.1 E.g.22; 5.1.2 E.g.12; 5.1.5 E.g.1). In 5.1.5 E.g.1, their use of three structural shifts from clauses in the original to adjectives makes their version much more concise. Furthermore, they seldom make use of explicitation (and addition) (see 5.1.1 E.g.2). Like Hawkes, they also use fewer cases of periphrastic predicate expressions (see 5.1.1 E.g.12; 5.1.3 E.g.11).

In terms of potential factors triggering nominalized structures in translation, they may be mainly influenced by the grammatical features of the Chinese language, the translator’s economical considerations, the translator’s stylistic considerations, the translator’s individual style, as well as formal context in the original. Nominalized structures in the examples given in 5.1 all correspond to verbal/adjectival predicate clausal structures in the original.

Grammatical features of the Chinese language may constitute one main triggering factor. The omission of subjects or agents in the original is a potential factor. In translating, the translator may choose a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to a passive clausal structure (see 5.1.1 E.g.1, E.g.5, and E.g.8). The omission of subjects in linear structures which consist of several verbal actions in a temporal consecutive relation may also trigger nominalized structures (see 5.1.1 E.g.4, E.g.18, and E.g.23). Moreover, the general reference of subjects may also trigger nominalized structures (see 5.1.1 E.g.24; 5.1.4 E.g.6).

Nominalized structures may still be triggered by intransitive verbs in the original adverbial structures which are transitive in English. By choosing nominalized structures, the translator does not have to interpret what the objects of those transitive verbs are (see 5.1.1 E.g.35). Furthermore, serial verb constructions in the original may trigger nominalized structures. In translating, the translator may choose a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to an infinitival structure. Numerous cases of nominalized structures in Joly's version correspond to serial verb constructions in the original text (see 5.1.3 E.g.1, E.g.6, and E.g.14).

The translator's economical considerations may constitute another main triggering factor. By economical considerations, we mean the considerations of 'reduc[ing] the length or complexity or any utterance or message so that information that is redundant and/or recoverable from the context tends to be omitted' (Cristofaro, 2003, p.248). In relation to nominalized structures, the translator may choose to leave out whatever he/they may afford to leave out without affecting the communicative value of the sentence like verbal categories of tense (see 5.1.1 E.g.10; 5.1.2 E.g.22; 5.1.5 E.g.3), perfect aspect (see 5.1.2 E.g.13), voice (see 5.1.1 E.g.31), modality (see all the examples in 5.1.3), and subject (see 5.1.2 E.g.17).

In addition to the translator's economical considerations, the translator's stylistic considerations may also constitute a main triggering factor. It involves the following three aspects. Nominalized structures, due to their noun-like formal features, are used perhaps to achieve syntactic consistency or symmetry (see 5.1.1 E.g.2 and E.g.6). Moreover, the translator may choose a nominalized structure so as to avoid the appearance in its corresponding finite clausal structure of a long subject (see 5.1.1 E.g.29 and E.g.34; 5.1.3 E.g.4). In addition, collocations (such as 'for + fear', 'in + search (of)', 'in + quest (of)', and 'in + pursuit (of)') may constitute another potential factor (see 5.1.2 E.g.7; 5.1.3 E.g.2).



Formal context may still trigger nominalized structures. In 5.1.2 E.g.18, Hawkes' nominalized structure introduced by a formal prepositional phrase 'owing to' may come for his consideration of the noble identity of the two Dukes.

In regard to the stylistic effect of nominalized structures, they represent implicitation; they give a formal impression due to formal prepositional phrases or formal NOMs (see 5.1.1 E.g.13; 5.1.3 E.g.6); they give an authoritative and impersonal flavor (see 5.1.4 E.g.6); and they give a less immediate impression (see 5.1.1 E.g.19 and E.g.21).

## 5.2 The NOM in the position of subject

In addition to functioning as adverbial, the NOM can also function at the formal syntactic level as subject. In this position, it may condense nominal *that*-clauses and adverbial finite clauses. In this sub-section, we present the NOM in the position of subject as a condenser of nominal *that*-clauses. In the next sub-section, we will show how the NOM in the position of subject condense adverbial finite clauses.

### 5.2.1 The NOM as a condenser of nominal *that*-clauses

When the NOM appears in the position of subject, it can condense nominal *that*-clauses. In the explicit structures, we reconstruct clauses which actualize the nominalizer marker *that*. Hawkes uses 6 NOMs (including 2 GNs and 4 DNPs), Joly uses 5 NOMs (including 1 GN and 4 DNPs), and the Yangs use 4 NOMs (including 2 GN and 2 DNPs).

E.g.1:

那仙姑道：“今忽与尔相逢，亦非偶然。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.130)

今 忽 与 尔 相逢

jīn hū yǔ ěr xiāngféng

today suddenly with you encounter

**Hawkes** (1973, p.130)

The fairy woman replied, “My meeting you here today is no accident but a part of the same project.”

**Joly** (1892, p.75)

“My encounter with you now is also not a matter of accident!”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.131)

“It is no accident that we have met.”

EFS: [*That I have encountered you today is no accident.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure is A ‘今’ (‘today’) A ‘忽’ (‘suddenly’) PP ‘与尔’ (‘with you’) VP ‘相逢’ (‘encounter’). In order to convey the formal language of the fairy woman, the authors chose ‘相逢’ (‘encounter’) as a formal expression of ‘相遇’ (‘meet’).

Both Hawkes and Joly choose a nominalized structure, which makes implicit present perfect aspect. The Yangs’ choice of the clausal structure is concise as they omit rendering the adverbs ‘今’ (‘today’) and ‘忽’ (‘suddenly’). Lexically, it is only Joly who matches the formal language of the fairy women by choosing ‘encounter’ as the equivalent of ‘相逢’.

E.g.2:

贾芸笑道：“叔叔如今可大安了？”宝玉道：“大好了。我倒听见说你辛苦了好几天。”贾芸道：“辛苦也是该当的。叔叔大安了，也是我们一家子的造化。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.718）

叔叔	大	安	了
shūshū	dà	ān	le
uncle	fully recover	AM	

**Joly** (1893, p.22)

But are you quite right once more?” “All right!” answered Pao-yü. “I heard that you’ve been put to much trouble and inconvenience on a good number of days!” “Had I even had any trouble to bear,” added Chia Yün, “it would have been my duty to bear it. But your complete recovery, uncle, is really a blessing to our whole family.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.719)

“Have you recovered completely?” “Yes, thank you. I heard you were quite worn out after all those days’ hard work.” “That’s just as it should be. Your recovery, uncle, is a blessing to our whole family.”

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.512-513)

“Are you quite better now?” “Quite better, thank you. I hear you’ve been very busy these last few days.” “That’s as it should be,” said Jia Yun. “But I’m glad you are better, Uncle. That’s a piece of good fortune for *all* of us.”

EFS: [*That you have fully recovered is a blessing to our whole family.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure is S ‘叔叔’ (‘uncle’) A ‘大’ (‘fully’) V ‘安’ (‘recover’). ‘叔叔如今大安了’ (‘have you recovered completely now’) was previously asked by Jia Yun and received a positive answer from Baoyu.

The Yangs and Joly each choose a nominalized structure, which makes implicit present perfect aspect. The Yangs’ nominalized structure manifests the cohesive function of nominalization. In terms of stylistic effect, both nominalized structures seem to give a formal impression as opposed to Hawkes’ choice of ‘you are better’ which appears to be less formal and more colloquial. In addition, Hawkes adds ‘But I’m glad’ while the Yangs omit rendering the adverb ‘大’ (‘fully’).

E.g.3:

黛玉道：“你的那些姑娘们也该教训教训，只是论理我不该说。今儿得罪了我的事小，倘或明儿宝姑娘来，什么贝姑娘来，也得罪了，事情岂不大了！”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.768)

今儿 得罪      了    我    的    事    小  
jīnr dézuì    le    wǒ   de   shī   xiao  
today offend   AM me   ATM thing small

**Joly** (1893, p.51)

“Those girls of yours,” continued Tai-yü, “should be given a lesson, but properly speaking it isn’t for me to mention anything about it. Their present insult to me is a mere trifle.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.769)

“Those maids of yours deserve one, although of course that’s not for me to say. It doesn’t matter their offending me, but think what trouble there’ll be if next time they offend your precious Baochai!”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.44)

“I think some of your young ladies could *do* with a good talking-to,” said Dai-yu, “though it’s not really for me to say so. It’s a good job it was only me they were rude to.”

EFS: [That they offended me today is not serious.]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a noun phrase with ‘事’ (‘thing’) as its head noun. This noun phrase is modified by a subject-omitted clausal structure (A ‘今儿’ (‘today’) VP ‘得罪’ (‘offend’) AM ‘了’ O ‘我’ (‘me’)), as shown by the attributive marker ‘的’. According to the context, Daiyu was angry as Baoyu’s maids did not open the door for her.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure in the position of subject while the Yangs choose a nominalized structure in the position of object as complement of the verb ‘matter’ (see 5.3.1). Both of them make implicit past tense. As the equivalent of ‘得罪’ (‘offend’), Joly’s choice of ‘insult’ seems to be less accurate and stronger in tone. Hawkes’ translation of ‘小’ (‘small’) into ‘it is a good job’ appears to be colloquial. In addition, he flexibly puts ‘我’ (‘me’) as a focus of his cleft sentence perhaps for emphasis.

### **5.2.2 The NOM as a condenser of adverbial clauses**

In the previous sub-section, we have illustrated how the NOM functions in the position of subject as a condenser of *that*-clauses. In this sub-section, we show how the NOM functions in the position of subject as a condenser of adverbial clauses of various meanings. Our data show that the NOM can condense temporal, causal, and conditional meanings. In the explicit structures, we reconstruct finite clauses of time, cause, and condition. As Chinese often omits conjunctions, and most of the nominalized structures used by the translators in the position of subject correspond in the original text to verbal clausal structures which omit conjunctions, sometimes it is not easy to determine exactly whether a nominalized structure corresponds to a temporal or causal clause in the original. Therefore, we only count the number of the NOMs used as a condenser of temporal/causal meanings. The Yangs make most use of 43 NOMs (including 5 GNs, 27 DNs, and 11 ZNs), followed by Hawkes who uses 36 NOMs (including 3 GNs, 27DNs, and 6 ZNs) and Joly who uses 26 NOMs (including 25 DNs and 1 ZN).

#### **5.2.2.1 The NOM as a condenser of temporal meaning**

The NOM occupying the slot of subject may condense the action which is simultaneous or posterior in relation to the action expressed by its correlated sentential predication.

E.g.4:

龙颜大怒，即批革职。该部文书一到，本府官员无不喜悦。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.36)

该	部	文书	一	到
gāi	bù	wénshū	yī	dào
the	ministry	edict		arrive

**The Yangs** (2003, p.37)

The Emperor, much incensed, sanctioned his dismissal. The arrival of this edict rejoiced the hearts of all officials in the Prefecture.

**Joly** (1892, p.22)

The Dragon countenance of the Emperor was considerably incensed. His Majesty lost no time in issuing commands, in reply to the Memorial, that he should be deprived of his official status. On the arrival of the despatch from the Board, great was the joy felt by every officer, without exception, of the prefecture in which he had held office.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.69)

The imperial eye, lighting on this report, kindled with wrath. Yu-cun's instant dismissal was commanded. The officials at the Prefecture, when notice that he was to be cashiered arrived from the Ministry, rejoiced to a man.

EFS: [*When the edict arrived from the board, all officials rejoiced to a man.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure denotes temporal meaning, as shown by ‘一’ as a signal of an immediate continuation of two events. In translating, the Yangs choose a concise nominalized structure, which makes implicit past tense. Their omission of ‘该部’ (‘the Ministry’) also contributes to their concise expression. Joly also chooses a nominalized structure, but as temporal adverbial. Hawkes’ corresponding version is longer as he makes an explicitation by adding ‘he was to be cashiered’.

E.g.5:

(1) 进门一见其态，早已魂飞魄散，也不用情谈款叙，便宽衣动作起来。谁知这媳妇有天生的奇趣，(2) 一经男子挨身，便觉遍身筋骨瘫软，使男子如卧绵上。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.584)

进	门	一	见	其	态		一	经	男子	挨	身
jìn	mén	yī	jiàn	qí	tài		yī	jīng	nánzǐ	āi	shēn
enter	door		see	her	appearance			after	man	contact	body

**The Yangs** (2003, p.585)

(1) The mere sight of her threw him into such a frenzy that with no preliminary professions of love he flung off his clothes and set to work. Now this woman was so curiously constituted that (2) the touch of a man seemed to melt her very bones so that he felt as if bedded in cotton-wool.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.426)

(1) The mere sight of her proved so potent a stimulant that without wasting any time on tender

preliminaries, he took down his trousers and set to work at once. Now this wife of Duo's had a physical peculiarity which was that (2) as soon as the man's body came into contact with her own she felt a delicious melting sensation invading her limbs, rendering her body soft and yielding to that of her partner, so that he had the impression of lying on a heap of down.

**Joly** (1892, p.326)

(1) As soon as he gazed upon her face, he lost control over his senses, and without even one word of ordinary greeting or commonplace remark, they forthwith, fervently indulged in a most endearing tete-a-tete. This woman possessed, who could have thought it, a strange natural charm; for (2) as soon as any one of her lovers came within any close distance of her, he speedily could not but notice that her very tendons and bones mollified, paralysed-like from feeling, so that his was the sensation of basking in a soft bower of love.

EFS: [(1) *When he saw her, he lost control over his senses...* (2) *This wife of Duo's had a physical peculiarity which was that when a man's body touched her, she felt a delicious melting sensation invading her limbs...*]

Comment: The original structures (1) and (2) are both modified by ‘一’, which signals an immediate continuation of two events. In translating, the Yangs reproduce them as two nominalized structures. While their nominalized structure (1) makes implicit the subject, their nominalized structure (2) makes implicit the object. Joly's choices are more explicit in the sense that they seem to give a more immediate and vivid description of Jia Lian's impatience as well as Muddy Worm's physical peculiarity. In sharp contrast with the Yangs and Joly, Hawkes chooses one nominalized structure (1) and one finite clausal structure (2).

With regard to ‘男子’ (‘man’), Hawkes' choice of ‘the man’, as opposed to the Yangs' choice of ‘a man’ and Joly's choice of ‘any one of her lovers’, appears to be less accurate since the authors did not intend here to confine ‘男子’ to any particular person but to give a general portrayal of the physical peculiarity of this woman. However, Hawkes' choice of ‘the man's body’ as the equivalent of ‘男子’ is an explicitation. Corresponding to the verb ‘挨’ (‘contact’), Joly's choice of ‘came within any close distance’ seems to be less accurate.

E.g.6:

于是贾政方择日题本。本上之日，奉朱批准奏：次年正月十五上元之日，恩准贾妃省亲。贾府领了此恩旨，益发昼夜不闲，年也不曾好生过的。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.470)

贾	府	领	了	此	恩	旨
jiǎ	fǔ	lǐng	le	cǐ	ēn	zhǐ
Jia	mansion	receive	AM	this	honored	edict

**Hawkes** (1973, p.353)

The receipt of this reply seemed to throw the Jia family into an even greater frenzy of preparation than before, so that even its New Year celebrations that year were somewhat scamped.

**Joly** (1892, p.266)

Upon the receipt of this decree, with which the Chia family was honored, they had still less leisure, both by day as well as by night; so much so that they could not even properly observe the new year festivities.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.471)

The Imperial Consort would be permitted to visit her parents for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the first month the following year. This threw the whole household into such a commotion that, hard at work day and night, they scarcely had time to celebrate the New Year.

EFS: [*After/Since the Jia Mansion received this honored decree, they began preparing even harder...* ]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure (S ‘贾府’ (‘the Jia family’) V ‘领’ (‘receive’) AM ‘了’ O ‘此恩旨’ (‘this honoured decree’)) makes the conjunction elliptic. In translating, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure in the position of subject while Joly chooses a nominalized structure as (temporal/causal) adverbial. Their nominalized choices are potentially triggered by the ellipsis of the conjunction in the original. In contrast, the Yangs choose a very concise pronoun ‘this’. Lexically, Joly literally renders ‘恩’ into ‘with which the Chia family was honoured’.

#### 5.2.2.2 The NOM as a condenser of causal meaning

The NOM occupying the slot of subject can also function in a construction which denotes the cause of the completion (or incompletion) of the action expressed by its correlated sentential predication. As an explicit predication, we have a finite clause of causal meaning.

E.g.7:

少时薛宝钗赶来，愈觉继续难舍。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1005)

少时， 薛宝钗 赶来

shǎoshí xuēbǎochāi gǎnlái

Shortly Xue Baochai come

**Hawkes** (1977, p.211)

The arrival a few moments later of her dear Bao-chai, who had hurried over specially to see her off, made going back seem even more unbearable.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1004)

Baochai's arrival presently increased her reluctance to leave.

**Joly** (1893, p.191)

But when shortly Pao-ch'ai ran over to find her, she felt so much the more drawn towards them, that she could not brook to part from them.

EFS: [Since Baochai came shortly, Xiangyun... ]

Comment: The original underlined part is a clausal structure (AP ‘少时’ (‘shortly’) S ‘薛宝钗’ (‘Xue Baochai’) VP ‘赶来’ (‘come’)). In translating, both Hawkes and the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, both of which make implicit past tense. There are two cases of explicitation by addition in Hawkes’ version. His addition of ‘who had hurried over specially to see her off’ may trigger his nominalized structure since otherwise a long subject will appear in its corresponding finite clausal structure. His addition of ‘her dear’ makes explicit the close relationship between Baochai and Xiangyun (who was leaving). In contrast, Joly uses a finite verbal structure introduced by the conjunction ‘when’.

E.g.8:

(1) 况且贾珍、尤氏又待得很好，反转怒为喜的，(2) 又说一会子话儿，方家去了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.276)

况且 贾珍、 尤氏 又 待 得 很 好

kuàngqiě jiǎzhēn yóushì yòu dài de hén hǎo

moreover JiaZhen Madame You also treat CM very kindly

**The Yangs** (2003, p.277)

(1) Moreover Jia Zhen's and Madam You's kind reception had transformed her indignation into pleasure. (2) She chatted a little longer, then took her leave.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.221)

(1) Now that Cousin Zhen and You-shi were being so nice to her, her anger gradually gave way to pleasure, and (2) after gossiping a while longer she went off home.



**Joly** (1892, p.153)

Besides, (1) As Chia Chen and Mrs. Yu had given her a most cordial reception, her resentment was transformed into pleasure, so that (2) after a while spent in a further chat about one thing and another, she at length returned to her home.

EFS: [*Since Jia Zhen and his wife treated her very kindly, she transformed her indignation into pleasure.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined clausal structure (1) implies causal meaning. In translating it, both Hawkes and Joly choose a finite clausal structure introduced by ‘now that’ and ‘as’ while the Yangs choose a nominalized structure, which makes implicit causal meaning and the object. In this sense, their nominalized choice is made perhaps due to their economical considerations.

With regard to ‘待’ (‘treat’) as a simplified expression of ‘对待’ (‘treat’), both the Yangs and Joly misinterpret it as a formal term of ‘接待’ (‘receive’). Their misinterpretation is obvious since according to the previous context Jia Huang’s family was so much lower than Jia Zhen’s family in wealth and social status that they often depended on Madam You to make ends meet. With regard to ‘很好’, Joly’s choice of ‘most cordial’ seems to be less accurate and more exaggerated. As the equivalent of ‘待’, Joly chooses a formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘given (her) a (most cordial) reception’ while as the equivalent of ‘去’ (‘leave’), the Yangs choose a formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘took her leave’. In contrast, Hawkes’ translation of structure (1) in the original seems to be less formal and more colloquial.

The underlined clausal structure (2) in the original denotes temporal meaning. In translating, Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure as temporal adverbial while the Yangs choose a finite clausal structure. In contrast, Joly chooses a prepositional phrase where ‘about one thing and another’ comes from his addition.

E.g.9:

(1) 偏那秦钟秉赋最弱, (2) 因在郊外受了些风霜, (3) 又与智能儿偷期缱绻, (4) 未免失于调养, (5) 回来时便咳嗽伤风, (6) 懒进饮食, (7) 大有不胜之态, (8) 遂不敢出门, (9) 只在家中养息。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.398)

因 在 郊外 受 了 些 风 霜 又 与 智能儿 偷期 缱绻  
yīn zài jiāowài shòu le xiē fēng shuāng yòu yǔ zhìnéngr tōuqī quǎnqiǎn  
since in countryside catch AM some wind frost also with Zhinengr secretly have an affair

Hawkes (1973, p.302)

(1) But unfortunately Qin Zhong's always sickly constitution (4) had been much neglected during their two-day excursion into the country, (2) and the unwonted exposure to wind and cold and (3) immoderate indulgence in secret frolic with Sapiaientia had resulted (5) on his return in a cough and chill (6) accompanied by total loss of appetite...

Joly (1892, p.223)

(1) But as it happened that Ch'in Chung, who was naturally of an extremely delicate physique, (2) caught somewhat of a chill in the country and (3) clandestinely indulged, besides, in an intimacy with Chih Neng, (4) which unavoidably made him fail to take good care of himself, (5) he was, shortly after his return, troubled with a cough and a feverish cold, (6) with nausea for drink and food, (7) and fell into such an extremely poor state of health that (8) he simply kept indoors and nursed himself.

The Yangs (2003, p.399)

(1) but Qin Zhong had a weak constitution, (2) and a cold he had caught in the country following (3) his secret affair with Zhineng had upset him; thus on his return to town he developed a cough and lost his appetite completely...

EFS: [...since he caught some wind and cold and indulged in secret frolic with Zhineng, ... ]

Comment: The discursual feature of topic-comment in Chinese finds another vivid manifestation in the original: once the topical subject '秦钟' ('Qin Zhong') is introduced in the first clause, the subsequent eight short clauses of comment continue to refer to it without any explicit mention of it in any form. In the original, both structures (1) and (2) denote causal meaning, as shown by the causal conjunction '因' ('since').

If formal correspondence were maintained in the English target language, the end product would be a series of unrelated sentences or clauses strung together, as shown in Joly's longer version. Perhaps for the sake of maintaining a smooth flow of the discourse, Hawkes flexibly nominalizes the original clausal structures (2) and (3) and denotes their causal meanings by the verbal phrase 'result in'. In addition, he makes two cases of addition: 'immoderate' and 'unwonted'.

In this example, Hawkes' two nominalized structures manifest implication in the sense that they express the semantic meaning of their corresponding verbal clausal structures in a grammatically less complex and lexically more condensed way (in comparison with Joly's two finite clausal structures). Hawkes uses altogether fourteen words in his nominalized structures (which include two words of addition) while Joly uses seventeen words in his underlined finite clausal structures.

E.g.10:

呵呵大笑道：“符早已有了，前日原要送去的，(1) 不指望娘娘来作好事，(2) 就混忘了。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.814)

不指望	娘娘	来	作	好	事
bú zhǐwàng	niángniang	lái	zuò	hǎo	shì
unexpectedly	Empress	come	do	good	deed

**Joly** (1893, pp.77-78)

“Hah, hah,” roared the Taoist Chang, “The talisman of ‘Recorded Name’ is ready long ago. I meant to have sent it over the day before yesterday, but (1) the unforeseen visit of the Empress to perform meritorious deeds (2) upset my equilibrium, and made me quite forget it.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.815)

Zhang the Taoist roared with laughter. “The talisman was ready long ago and I was meaning to send it, but (1) when Her Highness ordered this mass to be held (2) I forgot.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.77)

Abbot Zhang once more quaked with laughter. “Yes, the amulet has been ready for some time. I was going to send it to you two days ago, but then (1) Her Grace unexpectedly asked us for this Pro Viventibus and (2) I stupidly forgot all about it.”

EFS: [*Since the Empress unexpectedly came and asked us for this mass to be held, I stupidly forgot...*]

Comment: In the original, structure (1) is AP ‘不指望’ (‘unexpectedly’) S ‘娘娘’ (‘empress’) V ‘来’ (‘come’) V ‘作’ (‘do’) O ‘好事’ (‘good deeds’). It seems that this structure makes implicit causal meaning. In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure while the Yangs choose a finite clausal structure introduced by ‘when’, which denotes temporal/causal meaning.

As the equivalents of ‘不料’ (‘unexpectedly’) and ‘混’ (‘foolishly’) which are both omitted

in the Yangs' version, Joly's choices of 'unforeseen' and 'upset my equilibrium' appear to be more formal. In addition, he literally renders '好事' into 'meritorious deeds'.

### 5.2.2.3 The NOM as a condenser of conditional meaning

In addition to condensing time and cause, the NOM occupying the slot of subject can also condense the condition of the action expressed by its correlated sentential predication. The Yangs make most use of 16 NOMs (including 9 GNs, 5 DNs, and 2 ZNs) followed by Hawkes who uses 10 NOMs (including 6 GNs and 4 DNs) and Joly who only uses 1 DN.

E.g.11:

(北静王) 水溶又 (对贾政) 道: “小王虽不才, 却多蒙海上众名士凡至都者, 未有不另垂青目。是以寒第高人颇聚。(1) 令郎常去谈会谈会, (2) 则学问可以日进矣。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.378)

令郎	常	去	谈	会	谈	会
língláng	cháng	qù	tán	huì	tán	huì
(your) esteemed son	often	go	converse	meet	converse	meet

**The Yangs** (2003, p.379)

“For although untalented myself, I am honored by visits from scholars of note from all parts of the empire when they come to the capital. Hence my poor abode is frequented by eminent men, and (1) conversation with them (2) should improve his knowledge.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.289)

“(1) By constantly mixing and conversing with such people at my palace, (2) your son could do much to improve his education.”

**Joly** (1892, p.212)

“Hence it is that in my mean abode, eminent worthies rendezvous; (1) and were your esteemed son to come, as often as he can, and converse with them and meet them, his knowledge would, in that case, have every opportunity of making daily strides towards improvement.”

EFS: [*If your esteemed son were to come and converse with them as often as possible, he could do much to improve his education.*]

Comment: The original is part of the very formal dialogue between the Prince of Beijing and Baoyu's father, which occurred during the funeral procession of the Jia family. However, when the authors created the character of the Prince who was still a young man not much older than Baoyu, they also realized that to assign him a perfect formal speech in terms of lexis and grammar would distract from the verisimilitude of the character and strain the

imagination of the reader. Therefore, they made his speech less than perfect by allowing some vernacular Chinese to creep in, as shown by the verbal overlapping 谈 (‘converse’) 会 (‘meet’) 谈 (‘converse’) 会 (‘meet’), which often occurs in colloquial Chinese.

The Yangs choose a terse nominalized structure, which may come from their economical considerations of the subject and conditional meaning. They also omit rendering ‘常’ (‘often’). Hawkes also chooses a nominalized structure (as conditional adverbial), which also makes implicit conditional meaning and the subject. Joly’s signal of the conditional meaning by subject-operator inversion is formal. In handling ‘令郎’ (‘your esteemed son’), Joly keeps its honorific semantic feature while both the Yangs and Hawkes lose it in their respective nominalized structures.

E.g.12:

(贾珍)又问(熙凤):“妹妹还是住在这里,还是天天来呢?若是天天来,越发辛苦了。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.348)

若是	天天	来
ruòshì	tiāntiān	lái
if	every day	come

**The Yangs** (2003, p.349)

“Would you prefer to stay here or to come over every day?” Jia Zhen asked her. “Coming over every day might be rather tiring.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.269)

“Will you stay here with us,” Cousin Zhen asked her, “or will you be coming over every day from the other house? If you intend to come over from the other house every day, it will greatly add to your burdens.”

**Joly** (1892, p.196)

“Will you, cousin,” he went on to question, “take up your quarters here or will you come every day? should you cross over, day after day, it will be ever so much more fatiguing for you.”

EFS: [If you come over every day, it might be rather tiring...]

Comment: The previous context is that Xifeng agreed to help Jia Zhen manage the domestic affairs of the Ningguo mansion during the funeral of Keqing. The original structure (AP ‘天天’ (‘everyday’) V ‘来’ (‘come’)) denotes conditional meaning, as shown by the

conditional conjunction ‘若是’ (‘if’).

The Yangs choose a succinct nominalized structure, which makes implicit conditional meaning and the subject. This structure conveys a somewhat direct and stiff tone. Their nominalized structure also gives an expression of the cohesive function of nominalization in the sense that it links with the previous part ‘come over every day’. In contrast, Joly and Hawkes’ clausal structures are more like the language of a consultation. Hawkes’ addition of the hedge expression ‘tend to’ remarkably conveys this consultation. However, Joly’s choice of ‘cross over’ as the equivalent of ‘来’ (‘come’) is not very clear in meaning. With regard to ‘辛苦’ (‘be tiring’), Joly’s choice of ‘be fatiguing’ is formal.

E.g.13:

李纨道：“原是依我评论，不与你们相干，再有多说者必罚。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1026)

再 有 多 说 者 必 罚

zài yǒu duō shuō zhě bì fá

still have more say person must penalize

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1027)

“I’m the arbiter,” insisted Li Wan. “You’ve no say in the matter. Any more argument will be penalized.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.225)

“You agreed to abide by my decisions,” said Li Wan. “I don’t think the rest of you have any say in the matter. If anyone questions a decision of mine in future, he will have to pay a penalty.”

**Joly** (1893, p.201)

“You should,” argued Li Wan, “fall in with my judgment; this is no business of any of you, so whoever says anything more will have to pay a penalty.”

EFS: [*if there is someone who says anything more, he will be penalized.*]

Comment: The original concerns a family poetry-writing competition going on among the young people, with Li Wan (Baoyu’s elder sister-in-law) elected as judge. The underlined structure (A ‘再’ (‘still’) V ‘有’ (‘have’) A ‘多’ (‘more’) V ‘说’ (‘say’) O ‘者’ (‘person’)) denotes conditional meaning according to the context.

The Yangs choose a concise nominalized structure, which makes implicit conditional

meaning and the subject. The implication of the conditional meaning manifests the presupposition function of nominalization. Corresponding to ‘说’ (‘say’), both the Yangs’ choice of ‘argument’ and Hawkes’ choice of ‘question a decision of mine’ are more explicit than Joly’s literal choice of ‘say’ since they make clear its contextual meaning. In terms of stylistic effect, the Yangs’ nominalized expression may contribute to the portrayal of Li Wan as an authoritative arbitrator as it is more like the language of an order conveying a stronger and more direct tone. Actually, the Yangs’ direct rendering of ‘罚’ into ‘penalize’ may also contribute to this stronger tone as opposed to ‘pay a penalty’ rendered by Hawkes and Joly.

### 5.2.3 Summary

Altogether 147 NOMs are found in the position of subject (see Table 9 below). In comparison with the NOMs as adverbial in section 5.1, the NOMs in the position of subject are significantly less used in all the three versions.

Table 9: The NOM in the position of subject in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

The NOM in the position of subject		The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
The NOM condensing nominal <i>that</i> -clauses		4	6	5	15
The NOM condensing adverbial clauses	Temporal/Causal meaning	43	36	26	105
	Conditional meaning	16	10	1	27
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)		63 (16/34/13)	52 (11/35/6)	32 (1/30/1)	147
Percentage		43%	35%	22%	100%

The Yangs make most use of 63 NOMs, taking up 43% of the total number, while Joly makes least use of 32 NOMs, merely accounting for 22% of the total. Hawkes stands between the Yangs and Joly by using 52 NOMs, taking up 35% of the total. In terms of the three types of the NOM, DN is frequently used in all the three versions, followed by GN and ZN. Specifically speaking, Hawkes makes slightly more use of DNs while the Yangs make more use of GNs and ZNs. In addition, it is also shown in Table 9 that the Yangs use more NOMs

both as a condenser of temporal/causal meanings and as a condenser of conditional meaning. In condensing temporal/causal meanings, the DN 'sight' which mostly corresponds to '见/看/看见' ('see') in the original enjoys common preference in all the three versions in the sense that the Yangs use it as many as 15 times, Hawkes uses it 14 times, and Joly also uses it 10 times. The Yangs also use the DN 'thought' 4 times.

The translators' stylistic features in various other aspects are summarized as follows. There are more cases of formal expressions in Joly's version (e.g., 'encounter' in E.g.1, 'upset my equilibrium' in E.g.10, and 'fatiguing' in E.g.12). He also chooses one (formal) periphrastic predicate expression: 'given a reception' in E.g.8. There are several cases of literal translation in his version (e.g., E.g.10). He also has several cases of less accurate translation (see E.g.3, E.g.5, and E.g.8), and one case of addition (see E.g.8).

Hawkes' way of expression is less formal and sometimes more colloquial (see E.g.1, E.g.2, E.g.3, and E.g.8). In addition, he makes more use of explicitation (and addition) perhaps for the consideration of the reader (see 'But I am glad' in E.g.2; 'he was to be cashiered' in E.g.4; 'her dear' and 'who had hurried over specially to see her off' in E.g.7; 'intend to' in E.g.12). Hawkes is flexible in rendering the original words according to their contextual meanings rather than denotative meanings (see E.g.3, E.g.10, and E.g.13).

In the Yangs' version, most of their nominalized structures are very concise (see E.g.2, E.g.4, E.g.5, E.g.11, and E.g.13). They make more use of implicitation (and omission) (see E.g.1, E.g.2, E.g.4, E.g.6, E.g.10, and E.g.11). In E.g.6, they even choose the pronoun 'this' to implicitly refer to the original clausal structure. There is one case of formal periphrastic predicate expression: 'took her leave' in E.g.8.

The nominalized structures in the position of subject all correspond to verbal predicate



clausal structures in the original, as shown by the examples given in this section. With regard to the potential factors triggering nominalized structures, the translator's economical considerations may be a triggering factor (see E.g.2, E.g.3, E.g.4, E.g.5, E.g.8, E.g.11, and E.g.13). Maintaining a smooth flow of the discourse might be another potential factor (see E.g.9). In addition, the omission of logical conjunctions in the original may make it difficult to interpret on the part of the translator whether an original clausal structure denotes temporal or causal meaning. This omission may trigger the translator to choose nominalized structures since they may leave open possibilities to determine what logical meanings their corresponding semantic units in the original represent (see E.g.6). Moreover, nominalized structures are used perhaps to avoid the appearance of long subjects (see E.g.7).

In terms of the stylistic effect of nominalized structures, their presence gives a formal impression (see E.g.1 and E.g.10), a direct and authoritative flavor (see E.g.13), and a less immediate impression (see E.g.5).

### **5.3 The NOM in the position of object**

The NOM, in addition to occurring as adverbial and in the position of subject, can also occur in the position of object complementing verbs, adjectives, and nouns, condensing finite clausal structures. For verbs, adjectives, and nouns that can be complemented by finite clausal structures, we have consulted two English grammar books: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al., 1985) and *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999).

#### **5.3.1 The NOM as complement of verbs**

With regard to the verbs complemented by the NOM, we include verbs (e.g., *propose*, *hear*) and prepositional verbs (e.g., *insist on*, *hear of*). The verbs and prepositional verbs

found complemented by the NOM in our corpus are: *announce, complain of, deny, ensure, fear, find, foretell, hear/hear of, inform of, insist on/upon, inspect, know of, learn of, mean, mind, notice, order, promise, propose, recollect, regret, remember, report, suggest, and tell/tell of*. The Yangs make more use of 62 NOMs (including 38 GNs, 16 DNs, and 8 ZNs), followed by Hawkes who uses 51 NOMs (including 29 GNs, 17 DNs, and 5 ZNs) and Joly who uses 37 NOMs (including 23 GNs, 11 DNs, and 3 ZNs).

E.g.1:

探春笑道：“我早起一肚子气，(1) 听他来了，忽然想起他主子来，素日当家，使出来的好撒野的奴才，(2) 我见了他更生了气。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.1616-1618)

听 她 来 了      我 见 了 她  
tīng tā lái le      wǒ jiàn le tā  
hear she come PA      I see AM her

**Joly** (1893, p.523)

“Early this morning,” T’an Ch’un laughingly observed, “I was very cross, but (1) as soon as I heard of her (P’ing Erh’s) arrival, I casually remembered that her mistress employed, during her time, such domestics as were up to all kinds of larks, and (2) at the sight of her, I got more cross than ever.”

**The Yangs** (2003, pp.1617-1619)

“I was in a bad temper this morning,” said Tanchun. “(1) When I heard she’d come I suddenly thought of her mistress and of how insubordinate all the servants have grown under her management. (2) So the sight of Pinger made me ever angrier.”

**Hawkes** (1980, p.71)

“And I was so angry this morning,” said Tan-chun. “(1) When I heard that Patience had come, I suddenly thought of her mistress and the insufferable behaviour of those henchwomen of hers - which she, no doubt, encourages and (2) it made me even angrier.”

EFS: [...when I heard that she had come, I suddenly thought of her mistress...]

EFS: [...when I saw her...]

Comment: The original underlined part (1) is a verbal clausal structure where the verb ‘听’ (‘hear’) is followed by a clause as its object (‘S ‘她’ (‘she’) V ‘来’ (‘come’) AM ‘了’). The structure (2) is a clausal structure (S ‘我’ (‘I’) V ‘见’ (‘see’) AM ‘了’ O ‘她’ (‘her’)).

In translating the original structure (1), Joly chooses a nominalized structure as complement of the prepositional verb ‘heard of’ (which makes implicit past perfect aspect)

while both the Yangs and Hawkes each choose a finite clausal structure. As it appears in direct speech, Joly's nominalized structure seems to give a formal impression. In fact, this formal effect is already conveyed by his choice of 'cross' as the equivalent of '一肚子气' ('a stomachful of pent-up anger'). In comparison, the Yangs' choice of 'in a bad temper' and Hawkes' choice of 'angry' seem to be less formal. In rendering '她' ('her'), Joly makes an explicitation by adding 'P'ing Erh's' in brackets.

In translating the original structure (2), Joly chooses a nominalized structure as (temporal) adverbial while the Yangs choose a nominalized structure in the position of subject. Both structures make implicit past tense. In contrast, Hawkes chooses the pronoun 'it' with no clear reference.

E.g.2:

偏生这日贾政回家的早，正在书房中与相公清客们闲话。见宝玉进来请安，回说上学去，便冷笑道：“你如果再提‘上学’两个字，连我也羞死了。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.252）

回说	上学去
huíshuō	shàngxué qù
report	go to school

**The Yangs** (2003, p.253)

Jia Zheng happened to have come home early today. He was talking with some secretaries and protégés when Baoyu went in to pay his respects and announce his departure to school. His father laughed scornfully. "Don't make me die of shame with this talk about school."

**Hawkes** (1973, p.203)

Hearing him announce that he was off to school to resume his studies, Jia Zheng smiled sarcastically. "I think you had better not use that word 'studies' again in my hearing, unless you want to make me blush for you."

**Joly** (1892, p.137)

Suddenly perceiving Pao-yü come in to pay his respects, and report that he was about to go to school, Chia Cheng gave a sardonic smile. "If you do again," he remarked, "make allusions to the words going to school, you'll make even me blush to death with shame!"

EFS: [*Suddenly perceiving Baoyu come to pay his respects and report that he was about to go to school...*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a clausal structure where the verbal phrase '回说' ('report') is followed by a verbal object '上学去' ('go to school'). In translating,

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure as complement of the verb ‘announce’, which makes implicit future tense. This structure appears to be formal due to the formal DN ‘departure’ and the verb ‘announce’ (as the equivalent of ‘回说’).

As the equivalent of ‘回说’, Joly’s choice of ‘report’ seems to convey Jia Zheng as an authoritative father. With regard to ‘上学去’, Hawkes makes an explicitation by adding ‘resume his studies’ perhaps for emphasis. Joly chooses two periphrastic predicate expressions: ‘gave a (sardonic) smile’ and ‘make allusions’.

E.g.3:

正闹着，人回：“苏州去的人昭儿来了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.366)

苏州	去	的	人	昭儿	来	了
sūzhōu	qù	de	rén	zhāor	lái	le
Su Zhou	go	ATM	person	Zhaor	come	AM

**Hawkes** (1973, p.280)

While Bao-yu was inspecting the book, a servant announced the arrival of Shiner, one of the boys who had accompanied Jia Lian to Yangchow.

**Joly** (1892, p.205)

A servant came in to announce that Chao Erh, who had gone to Su Chow, had returned.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.367)

Just then someone announced that Zhaoer was back from Suzhou.

EFS: [A servant came in to announce that Zhaor, the person who went to Su Zhou, had arrived.]

Comment: In the original, the head noun ‘昭儿’ (‘Zhaor’) has ‘人’ (‘person’) as its appositive element. This appositive element is modified by a verbal structure ‘苏州去’ (‘went to Su Zhou’) as its attributive element, as shown by the attributive marker ‘的’.

Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure perhaps in order to avoid the occurrence in its corresponding finite structure of a long subject. He makes explicit the identity of Zhaor by relating him to his master Jia Lian perhaps for the benefit of the reader. Joly changes the whole appositive element ‘苏州去的人’ (‘the person who went to Su Zhou’) into an attributive clause (‘who had gone to Su Chow’), while the Yangs choose to simplify the appositive

element as a prepositional phrase ‘from Suzhou’.

E.g.4:

这士隐正痴想，忽见隔壁葫芦庙内，寄居一穷儒——姓贾名化，字时飞，别号雨村者，走了出来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.18)

忽	见	隔壁	葫芦庙	内	寄居	一	穷	儒
hū	jiàn	gébì	húlumiào	nèi	jìjū	yī	qióng	rú
suddenly	see	next door	gourd temple	inside	live	one	poor	scholar

姓	贾	名	化，	字	时飞，	别号	雨村	者	走	了	出来
xìng	jiǎ	míng	huà,	zì	shífēi,	biéhào	yǔcūn	zhě	zǒu	le	chūlái
surname	Jia	name	hua,	style name	Shifei,	nickname	Yucun	person	walk	AM	come up

**Joly** (1892, p.10)

While Shih-yin gave way to these foolish reflections, he suddenly noticed the arrival of a penniless scholar, Chia by surname, Hua by name, Shih-fei by style and Yu-ts'un by nickname, who had taken up his quarters in the Gourd temple next door.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.19)

His rueful reflections were cut short by the arrival of a poor scholar who lived next door in Gourd Temple. His name was Jia Hua, his courtesy name Shifei, and his pen-name Yucun.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.56)

He was still standing outside his door brooding when Jia Yu-cun, the poor student who lodged at the Bottle-gourd Temple next door, came up to him.

EFS: [*While Shiyin was brooding, he suddenly noticed that a poor scholar, Chia by surname, Hua by name, Shifei by style and Yusun by nickname, who lived next door in the Gourd temple, came up to him.*]

Comment: In the original, the head noun ‘穷儒’ (‘a poor scholar’) is not only pre-modified by a verbal structure ‘隔壁葫芦庙内寄居’ (‘lived next door in Gourd Temple’) as its attributive element but also post-modified by three appositive elements ‘姓贾名化’ (‘Jia by surname and Hua by name’), ‘字时飞’ (‘Shifei by style’), ‘别号雨村者’ (‘Yucun by nickname’) which are used quite commonly by famous and literary people in ancient China.

Joly chooses a nominalized structure perhaps in order to avoid the occurrence of a long subject, as shown in the EFS. Arguably out of a similar consideration, the Yangs go one step further by treating the appositive elements in a separate sentence. In contrast, Hawkes chooses to implicate by omitting the three appositive elements probably for fear of overloading the

text with too much information unfamiliar to the target reader. However, his choice ends up writing off one typical aspect of the traditional Chinese naming system.

E.g.5:

宝玉也无法了，只好笑问道：“你哄我也罢了，怎么说我父亲呢？(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.726)

你 哄 我

nǐ hǒngwǒ

you fool me

**Joly** (1893, p.27)

Pao-yü too had then no other alternative but to smile. “I don’t mind your playing your larks on me; but why,” he inquired, “did you mention my father?”

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.518-519)

“I don’t mind being made a fool of,” he said, “but I think it was going a bit far to bring my father into it.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.727)

“I don’t mind your fooling me,” he said, “but why pretend to be my father?”

EFS: [*I don’t mind that you are making a fool of me.*]

Comment: This is one of few examples where all the translators choose a nominalized structure in the position of object complementing a verb which corresponds to the same clausal structure in the original. In translating, all the translators choose a nominalized structure as complement of the verb ‘mind’. They also make implicit (present progressive) tense. As the equivalent of ‘哄’ (‘fool’), both Joly and Hawkes choose a periphrastic predicate expression: ‘made a fool’ and ‘playing your larks’.

E.g.6:

袭人只得唤起两个丫鬟来，一同宝钗出怡红院，自往凤姐这里来。果然是告诉他这话，又叫他与王夫人叩头，且不必见贾母去，倒把袭人不好意思的。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.994)

果然是 告诉 她 这 话

guǒránshì gàosu tā zhè huà

really tell her this word

**The Yangs** (2003, p.995)

Then Xiren woke two of the other girls and left Happy Red Court with Baochai, going on alone to Xifeng’s quarters. There she was indeed informed of her promotion and told to go and kowtow to Lady Wang, but not to trouble the Lady Dowager. Xiren was quite overwhelmed.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.204)

When she got there she was, as Bao-chai had predicted, formally acquainted with the new arrangements concerning her pay and status that had just been made for her by Lady Wang. She was told that she should go over to Lady Wang's to kowtow her thanks, but that there was no need for her to see Grandmother Jia.

**Joly** (1893, p.185)

It was indeed to communicate to her what had been decided about her, and to explain to her, as well, that though she could go and prostrate herself before Madame Wang, she could dispense with seeing dowager lady Chia.

EFS: [*There she was indeed informed of this news...*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Baoyu's mother Lady Wang instructed Xifeng to increase the monthly allowance of Baoyu's senior maid Xiren on the one hand and on the other hand to pay her at the same rate as the two concubines of Baoyu's father would enjoy in future. Xiren's enjoying a higher rate in payment implies Lady Wang's promotion of her in status as Baoyu's concubine or chamber wife. ‘这话’ (‘this word’) refers to Lady Wang's arrangements for Xiren.

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure as complement of the prepositional verb ‘inform of’, which gives a very concise and precise summary of what ‘这话’ represents. The conciseness of the Yangs' choice can be clearly seen in comparison with Hawkes' explicit choice which details everything. Hawkes also makes an explication by adding ‘formally’ in rendering ‘告诉’ (‘tell’). In contrast, Joly's treatment of ‘这话’ (‘this news’) as a *what*-clause is also appropriate.

E.g.7:

宝玉听了，忙笑道：“你又多心了。(1) 我说往咱们家来，(2) 必定是奴才不成？说亲戚就使不得？”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.520)

我	说	往	咱们	家	来
wǒ	shuō	wǎng	zánmen	jiā	lái
I	say	towards	our	family	come

**The Yangs** (2003, p.521)

Baoyu retorted with a smile. “Don't be so touchy,” “(1) Living in our house (2) doesn't have to mean being a slave. Couldn't she be our relative?”

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.385-386)

‘How touchy you are!’ said Bao-yu. “(1) Having her to live with us (2) doesn’t have to mean as a servant, does it? It could mean as a bride.”

**Joly** (1892, pp.291-292)

“Here you are again with your touchiness!” Pao-yü eagerly exclaimed smiling, “(1) if I said that she should come to our house, (2) does it necessarily imply that she should be a servant? and wouldn’t it do were I to mention that she should come as a relative!”

EFS: [*If I said that she should come to our house, does it necessarily mean that she should be a servant?*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Xiren misunderstood Baoyu when he said that he wanted her cousin to live in their house. Structure (1) stands in a conditional relation with structure (2), although it is not explicitly marked.

The Yangs choose two nominalized structures (i.e., one in the position of subject and the other in the position of object) while Joly chooses two finite clausal structures. In comparison, the Yangs’ choice seems to be more straightforward in conveying Baoyu’s assertion while Joly’s expression appears to be less direct. As for Hawkes, he chooses a nominalized structure corresponding to structure (1). His use of the tag question ‘does it’ may weaken the force of Baoyu’s negative assertion.

E.g.8:

李嬷嬷（对宝玉）道：“不中用！当着老太太、太太，哪怕你吃一坛呢！”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.232）

哪怕	你	吃	一	坛	呢
nǎpà	nǐ	chī	yī	tá	ne
even if	you	drink	one	jar	PA

**The Yangs** (2003, p.233)

“No, you don’t! If the Lady Dowager or Lady Wang were here I wouldn’t mind your drinking a whole jarful.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.192)

“It’s no good!” said Nanny Li. “I don’t mind if you drink a hogshead as long as your grandmother or your mother is there.”

**Joly** (1892, p.127)

“It’s no use,” nurse Li replied, “Were your grandmother and mother present, I wouldn’t care if you drank a whole jar.”

EFS: [*...I wouldn’t mind even if you drink a whole jarful.*]



Comment: In the original, Baoyu's wet-nurse Nanny Li tried to stop him from drinking wine as she was afraid of being scolded again. The underlined part denotes concessive meaning, as shown by '哪怕' ('even if').

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure. This structure gives a slightly formal impression as compared to its alternative structure 'I wouldn't mind you drinking a whole jarful'. As for Hawkes, his domesticating choice of 'hogshead' as the equivalent of '坛' ('jar') might be even unfamiliar to some target readers. Joly's lexical choice of 'present' corresponding to '当着' seems to be more formal than 'here' in the direct speech. Both Hawkes and Joly render '老太太' ('Lady Dowager') and '太太' ('Lady Wang') from the perspective of Baoyu into 'your grandmother' and 'your mother' whereas the Yangs use 'the Lady Dowager' and 'Lady Wang'.

E.g.9:

宝、林二个不防，都吓了一跳，回头看时，只见凤姐跳了进来，笑道：“老太太在那里抱怨天抱怨地，只叫我来瞧瞧你们好了没有。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.840)

只	叫	我	来	瞧瞧	你们	好	了	没有
zhǐ	jiào	wǒ	lái	qiáoqiao	nǐmén	hǎo	le	méiyǒu
Just	ask	I	come	look	you	reconcile	AM	not

**Joly** (1893, p.92)

Turning round to see who it was, they caught sight of lady Feng running in, laughing and shouting. "Our old lady," she said, "is over there, giving way to anger against heaven and earth. She would insist upon my coming to find out whether you were reconciled or not."

**Hawkes** (1977, p.96)

"She insisted that I should come over and see if you were both all right."

**The Yangs** (2003, p.841)

"She insisted I come to see if you'd made it up."

EFS: [*She insisted that I come over and see if you'd made it up.*]

Comment: The context in the original is that Xifeng was asked to come and see whether Baoyu and Daiyu had made it up after a quarrel. The verb '好' is an informal and colloquial expression of '和好' ('reconcile').

In translating the underlined part, Joly chooses a nominalized structure, which makes implicit the modal verb. His formal choice of ‘reconciled’ as the equivalent of the informal and colloquial verbal expression ‘好’ (‘all right’) appears to go against the light atmosphere Xifeng was trying to create in the original.

In contrast, Hawkes’ choice of ‘all right’ as the equivalent of the verb ‘好’, although stylistically proper, seems to be less explicit than the Yangs’ choice of ‘make up’. The Yangs omit the modal verb ‘should’ and ‘that’.

E.g.10:

(熙凤) 说罢, 又吩咐按数发与茶叶、油烛、鸡毛掸子、笤帚等物。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.358)

吩咐 按数 发 与 茶叶 油烛 鸡毛掸子 笤帚 等物

fēnfù ànshù fā yǔ chá yè yóuzhú jīmáodǎnzǐ tiáozhǒu dēngwù

order according to number distribute to tea oil candle feather whisk broom other things

**The Yangs** (2003, p.359)

Xifeng then ordered the distribution of supplies of tea, oil, candles, feather whisks, brooms and so forth.

**Joly** (1892, p.200)

When she had done speaking, she went on to give orders that tea, oil, candles, feather dusters, brooms and other necessities should be issued, according to the fixed quantities.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.274)

Xi-feng now proceeded to supervise the distribution of supplies of tea, oil, candles, feather-dusters, and brooms to some of her work-parties.

EFS: [*Xifeng ordered that tea, oil, candles, feather whisks, brooms and so forth should be distributed according to the fixed number.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a clausal structure where the verbal phrase ‘吩咐’ (‘order’) is followed by a subject-omitted clausal structure as its object. Its structure is AP ‘按数’ (‘according to the fixed quantities’) V ‘发’ (‘distribute’) P ‘与’ (‘to’) O ‘茶叶’ (‘tea’), ‘油烛’ (‘oil and candle’), ‘鸡毛掸子’ (‘feather whisk’), ‘笤帚’ (‘broom’), ‘等物’ (‘other things’).

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure perhaps to avoid the occurrence of a long

subject in its corresponding finite clausal structure, as shown by the EFS. The ellipsis of the subject may have prompted Joly to choose the passive clausal structure. Lexically, both the Yangs and Hawkes omit rendering ‘按数’ while Joly renders ‘吩咐’ into a periphrastic predicate expression ‘give orders’.

### 5.3.2 The NOM as complement of adjectives

In this function, the NOM complements a semantic relationship projected by its superordinate adjectives. This complementation takes the form of a prepositional phrase (i.e., ‘of’ + NOM). In our corpus, 9 kinds of adjectives are found: *afraid (of)*, *aware (of)*, *confident (of)*, *conscious (of)*, *convinced (of)*, *fearful (of)*, *scared (of)*, *sure (of)*, and *terrified (of)*. Joly uses 14 NOMs (including 1 GN and 13 DNs), the Yangs use 13 GNs, and Hawkes uses 10 NOMs (including 9 GNs and 1 DN).

E.g.11:

惜春笑回道：“天气寒冷了，胶性皆凝涩不润，画了不好看，故此收起来。”（曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1430）

画	了	恐	不	好	看
huà	le	kǒng	bù	hǎo	kàn
paint	PA	be afraid	not	good	look

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1431)

Xichun explained that it was difficult to mix colours in such cold weather, as they congealed. “I was afraid of spoiling it, so I’ve put it away,” she concluded.

**Hawkes** (1977, p.503)

“The glue gets tacky in this cold weather,” said Xi-chun. “It stops the paint from going on properly. I’ve put the painting away because I was afraid it might get spoiled.”

**Joly** (1893, p.420)

“The weather is so bitterly cold,” Hsi Ch’un consequently explained smiling, “that the glue, whose property is mainly to coagulate, cannot be moistened, so I feared that, were I to have gone on with the painting, it wouldn’t be worth looking at; and I therefore put it away.”

EFS: [It might get spoiled if I continued to paint, so I have put it away.]

Comment: The original underlined structure consists of the conditional clause (‘画了’ (‘if I paint’)) and the underlined main clause ‘不好看’ (‘the painting might get spoiled’).

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure as complement of ‘afraid of’, which makes implicit the modal verb. This nominalized structure shows that the Yangs interpret ‘Xichun’ as being responsible for spoiling the painting. However, according to the context, it is the cold weather that Xichun held responsible. In contrast, Hawkes makes a correct interpretation in the passive clausal structure. Both the Yangs and Hawkes make an implicature by omitting rendering ‘画了’ as they may think it semantically superfluous.

As for Joly, his formal rendering may not be quite appropriate for the direct speech of a granddaughter to her grandmother, as shown by his choice of the serious term ‘fear’ and by his choice of the conjunctive mood. In addition, his rendering of ‘不好看’ (‘it might get spoiled’) into ‘not worth looking at’ seems to be less accurate.

E.g.12:

宝玉听了这话，忙赶近前拉他，说道：“好妹妹，你错怪了我。(1) 林妹妹个多心的人。(2) 别人分分知道，(3) 不肯说出来，(4) 也皆因怕他恼。(5) 谁知你不防头就说了出来，(6) 他岂不恼你。(7) 我是怕你得罪了人，(8) 所以才使眼色。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.600)

也	皆	因	怕	他	恼
yě	jiē	yīn	pà	tā	nǎo
also	all	because	afraid	she	get angry

**Hawkes** (1973, p.437)

Bao-yu chanced to overhear this remark and hurried in to her: “You’re wrong to be offended with me, coz. (2) The others all know (1) how sensitive Cousin Lin is, and (3) they wouldn’t answer because (4) they were afraid of upsetting her. (5) When you suddenly spoke up without realizing, (6) I knew she was bound to be upset, (8) and that’s the reason why I looked at you like that. I was worried for your sake, (7) because I was afraid she would be offended with you.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.601)

Baoyu overheard this exchange and hurried in to take Xiangyun by the hand. “Dear cousin, you’ve got me wrong,” he said. “(1) Daiyu is so terribly sensitive that (3) the others didn’t name her (4) for fear of upsetting her. (6) How could she help being annoyed, (5) the way you blurted it out? (8) I looked at you warningly (7) because I didn’t want you to hurt her feelings.”

**Joly** (1892, pp.335-336)

Pao-yü, at these words, lost no time in pressing forward. “My dear cousin,” he urged; “you’re wrong in bearing me a grudge! (1) My cousin Lin is a girl so very touchy, that (2) though every one else distinctly knew (of the resemblance), (3) they wouldn’t speak out; and (4) all because they were afraid that she would get angry; (5) but unexpectedly out you came with it, at a moment when off your guard; and (6) how ever couldn’t she but feel hurt? and (7) it’s because I was in dread that you would give offence to people (8) that I then winked at you.”

EFS: [...they were afraid that she would/might get angry...]

Comment: This example shows that Joly closely follows the original in the sense that the original eight numbered semantic units find exact reproduction in his version. This literal translation reduces him to frequently resorting to some connective devices such as ‘and’ in structures (4), (6), and (7) as well as ‘;’ in structures (3), (4), and (5). He chooses a periphrastic predicate expression ‘give offence’ as the equivalent of ‘得罪’ (‘offend’).

In comparison, the Yangs and Hawkes make a number of adjustments arguably out of the need to conform to the linguistic characteristics of the target language. Hawkes combines the original structures (1) and (2), structures (3) and (4), as well as structures (5) and (6). He nominalizes the original structure (4), which makes implicit the modal verb. In rendering structure (7), he not only makes an explication by adding ‘I was worried for your sake’ (which he may think could provide more justification for Baoyu’s wink at Xiangyun), but also flexibly renders structure (7) into a passive structure perhaps in order to make Baoyu’s tone less direct and strong.

In contrast, the Yangs combine structures (1) and (3), structures (4), (5), and (6), as well as structures (7) and (8). They nominalize the original structure (4), which also makes implicit the modal verb. They make an implicitation by omitting rendering structure (2) ‘别人分明知道’ (‘other people clearly know about it’) as they may think that structure (3) ‘不肯说出来’ (‘they did not name her’) already presupposes it.

E.g.13:

雨村忙笑问：“老兄何日到此，弟竟不知。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.40)

弟	竟	不	知
di	jìng	bù	zhī
younger brother	yet	not	know

**Joly** (1892, p.25)

“When did you get here?” Yü-ts’un eagerly inquired also smilingly. “I wasn’t in the least aware

of your arrival.”

**The Yangs** (2003, p.41)

“When did you arrive, brother?” asked Yucun cheerfully. “I’d no idea you were in these parts.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.72)

“My dear fellow! How long have you been here? I really had no idea you were in these parts.”

EFS: [*Your younger brother wasn’t aware.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a verbal clausal structure. In translating, Joly chooses a nominalized structure as complement of ‘aware of’, which makes implicit tense. No translator reflects the double features of ‘弟’ (‘younger brother’) as both a subject and a self-depreciative term. As a result, Yucun’s polite civilities in the original are lost.

### **5.3.3 The NOM as complement of nouns**

On the formal-syntactic plane, the NOM can also occupy the position of object complementing nouns. The NOM attaches itself to its head-noun through prepositions (with *of* as the most common preposition). The syntactic relation of post-modification between the NOM and its head-noun, depending on its function, involves three relations of relativization, apposition, and complementation. Hawkes makes more use of 58 NOMs (including 41 GNs, 16 DNs, and 1 ZN), followed by the Yangs 35 NOMs (23 GNs and 12 DNs) and Joly 26 NOMs (13 GNs, 11 DNs, and 2 ZNs).

#### **5.3.3.1 The NOM in a relative relation to its head noun**

By relative relation, we mean that the missing element in the relative clausal structure condensed by the nominalized structure corresponds semantically to its head noun. The structural location of this missing element is referred to as a ‘gap’ (Biber et al., 1999, p.609), which could occur in the position of subject, object, or adverbial. In our corpus, we find no cases where the gap occurs in the subject position but three cases where it occurs in the object position (one from Joly’s version and the other two from the Yangs’ version). We also find

numerous cases where the gap occurs in the adverbial position with *circumstance*, *place*, *time*, *reason*, and *way* as head nouns.

E.g.14:

那薛蟠三杯下肚，不觉忘了情，拉着云儿的手，笑道：“(1) 你把那梯己新样儿的曲子唱个我听，我吃一坛如何？”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.782)

**Joly** (1893, p.58)

By the time, however, that Hsüeh P'an had had his third cup, he of a sudden lost control over his feelings, and clasping Yün Erh's hand in his: "Do sing me," he smiled, "that novel ballad of your own composition; and I'll drink a whole jar full. Eh, will you?"

**The Yangs** (2003, p.783)

"Sing a nice new song for me," he begged, "and I'll drink a whole jarful of wine. How about it?"

**Hawkes** (1977, p.53)

"If you'd sing me a nice new song - one of your specials, I'd drink a whole jarful for you. How about it, eh?"

EFS: [*If you sing me a nice new song, I would drink a whole jarful of wine.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part in structure (1) is characteristic of Chinese noun phrases in the sense that all the modifying elements ('那' ('that'), '梯己', '新样儿' ('new')) must accumulate in front of the head noun '曲子' ('song'). As a classical Chinese term, '梯己' means '体己' ('one's own').

In translating '梯己', Joly chooses a nominalized structure 'your own composition' as a condenser of the finite clausal structure 'you have composed by yourself'. In contrast, the Yangs omit rendering it. Joly's rendering of the colloquial term '新样儿' ('new') into 'novel' seems to be more formal than 'nice new' in the other two versions.

E.g.15:

诗后便是此石坠落之乡，投胎之处，亲自经历的一段陈迹故事。其中家庭闺阁琐事，以及闲情诗词倒还全备，或可适趣解闷；然朝代年纪、地舆邦国却反失落无考。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.6)

投胎	之 处
tóutāi	zhī chù
reincarnate	ATM place

**The Yangs** (2003, p.7)

There followed the name of the region where the Stone fell, the place of its incarnation, and the

story of its adventures including trivial family affairs and light verses written to amuse idle hours.

**Joly** (1892, pp.3-4)

On the surface, the record of the spot where it would fall, the place of its birth, as well as various family trifles and trivial love affairs of young ladies was still complete.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.49)

The inscription named the country where it had been born, and went into considerable detail about its domestic life, youthful amours, and even the verses, mottoes and riddles it had written.

EFS: [There followed name of the region where the Stone fell, the place where it was incarnated, and the story of its adventures...]

Comment: In the original, the underlined part is a noun phrase where its head noun ‘处’ (‘place’) is modified by a clausal structure ‘(此石)投胎’ (‘the stone was incarnated’). In translating, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure ‘its incarnation’ as a condenser of its finite clausal structure ‘it was incarnated’, which stands in a relative relation to its head noun ‘the place’. Likewise, Joly chooses a nominalized structure ‘its birth’ as a condenser of its finite clausal structure ‘it was born’, which also stands in a relative relation to its head noun ‘the place’. The nominalized structures chosen by the Yangs and Joly constitute a sharp contrast with their previous finite clausal structures ‘(the region where) the Stone fell’ and ‘(the spot where) it would fall’ since the nominalized structures and their previous clausal structures are all post-modifying structures. This inconsistent treatment may reveal the translators’ automated use of ‘birth’ and ‘incarnation’ as lexical terms rather than NOMs transformed from finite verbs ‘bear’ and ‘incarnate’.

E.g.16:

鹦哥笑道：“正在这里伤心呢，自己淌眼抹泪的，说：‘今儿才来，就惹出你家哥儿的狂病来，倘或摔坏了那玉，岂不是因我之过。’” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.90)

今儿	才	来
jīnr	cái	lái
today	just	come

**The Yangs** (2003, p.91)

“Miss Lin has been in tears all this time, she’s so upset,” said Yingge. “The very day of her arrival, she says, she’s made our young master fly into a tantrum.”



**Hawkes** (1973, p.106)

“She has just been crying her eyes out because she says she only just arrived here today, and yet already she has started young hopeful off on one of his turns.”

**Joly** (1892, p.54)

“It’s only to-day that I’ve come,” she said, “and I’ve already been the cause of the outbreak of your young master’s failing.”

EFS: [*The vey day when she arrived*]

Comment: In translating the original underlined part, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure (as a condenser of the finite clausal structure ‘(when) she arrived’), which stands in a relative relation to its head noun ‘the very day’. In contrast, Hawkes chooses a finite clausal structure while Joly chooses a cleft sentence which appears to give focus to the adverb ‘今儿’ (‘today’) in the original.

### 5.3.3.2 The NOM in an appositive relation to its head noun

In difference from the head noun of the NOM which stands in a relative relation to the finite clausal structure condensed by the NOM functions as an obligatory element of object or adverbial in the clausal structure, the head noun of the NOM which stands in an appositive relation with the finite clausal structure condensed by the NOM has no real function as an element in the clausal structure. By appositive relation, we mean a semantic link of two co-referential units of the same syntactic rank: the head noun on one side, the NOM on the other side.

E.g.17:

在路不记其日。那日，已将入都时，忽闻得母舅王子腾升了九省统制，奉旨出都查边。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.112)

母舅	王子腾	升	了	九省	统制
mǔjiù	wángzǐténg	shēng	le	jiǔshěng	tǒng zhì
maternal uncle	Wang Ziteng	promote	AM	nine provinces	commander-in-chief

**The Yangs** (2003, p.113)

After some days on the road they were approaching the capital when word came of the promotion of his uncle Wang Ziteng to the post of Commander-in-Chief of Nine Provinces with orders to inspect the borders.

**Hawkes** (1973, pp.119-120)

Of the journey our story gives no record, except to say that on the last day, when they were about to enter the capital, they heard news that Xue Pan's uncle Wang Zi-teng had just been promoted C.-in-C. Northern Provinces with instructions to leave the capital on a tour of frontier inspection.

**Joly** (1892, p.66)

He had been on his journey how many days, he had not reckoned, when, on a certain day, as they were about to enter the capital, he furthermore heard that his maternal uncle, Wang Tzu-t'eng, had been raised to the rank of Supreme Governor of nine provinces, and had been honoured with an Imperial command to leave the capital and inspect the frontiers.

EFS: [*He further heard that his maternal uncle Wang Ziteng had been promoted to the Commander-in-Chief of Nine Provinces.*]

Comment: The original underlined structure is the object of the verb ‘闻’ (‘hear’). Its structure (S ‘母舅王子腾’ (‘maternal uncle Wang Ziteng’) V ‘升’ (‘promote’) AM ‘了’ O ‘九省统制’ (‘Commander-in-Chief of Nine Provinces’)) denotes passive meaning with the agent omitted and untraceable.

In translating the original underlined part, both Hawkes and Joly choose a finite clausal structure while the Yangs choose a nominalized structure as a condenser of its finite clausal structure ‘his uncle Wang Ziteng was promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief of Nine Provinces’, which stands in an appositive relation to its head noun ‘word’. The omission of the agent in the original may trigger this nominalized structure.

### 5.3.3.3 The NOM in a complementation relation to its head noun

In addition to the appositive relation, the NOM can also stand in a complementation relation to its head noun. In this relation, the NOM seems to complete the meaning of its head noun in accordance with the valency of the verb from which it is transformed.

E.g.18:

自在炕上拈线，见他进来，便问那去了一日。贾芸恐他母亲生气，便不说起卜世仁的事来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.662)

贾芸	恐	他	母亲	生气
jiǎyún	kǒng	tā	mǔqīn	shēngqì
Jia Yun	be afraid	his	mother	get angry

**The Yangs** (2003, p.663)

His mother, who was rolling thread on the kang, asked where he had been all day. For fear of vexing her he made no mention of going to see her brother.

**Joly** (1892, p.369)

As soon as she saw him enter, she inquired where he had been the whole day long, in reply to which Chia Yün, fearing lest his parent should be angry, forthwith made no allusion to what transpired with Pu Shih-jen.

**Hawkes** (1973, p.477)

He did not like to mention that he had been to see her brother in case she was angry.

EFS: [Since he was afraid that his mother would be angry. . .]

Comment: In translating the original underlined part, the Yangs choose a nominalized structure as complement of the NOM ‘fear’, which makes implicit the modal verb. As a result, it is impossible to know whether his mother ‘might’, ‘should’ or ‘would’ get angry. In contrast, Hawkes chooses a finite clausal structure introduced by ‘in case’, which seems to be less formal. Joly’s choice of ‘lest’ is formal. Corresponding to ‘不说起’ (‘not mention’), Joly chooses a formal periphrastic predicate expression ‘made no allusion’ while the Yangs choose a periphrastic predicate expression ‘made no mention’.

E.g.19:

麝月忙披衣起来道：“咱们叫起他来，穿好衣服，抬过熏笼去，再叫他们进来。老嬷嬷们已经说过，不叫他在这屋里，怕过了病气。如今叫他们看见咱们挤在一处，又该唠叨了。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1488)

怕 过 了 病气

pà guò le bingqì

fear catch PA sickness

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1489)

(Sheyue said to Qingwen, our addition), “Let’s get him up and dressed first, and move away this clothes-warmer before we call the others,” she proposed. “The nurses said he wasn’t to sleep in this room for fear of infection. If we let them see us all crowded together in here, they’ll start nagging again.”

**Joly** (1893, p.453)

“The old nurses told us not to allow him to stay in this room for fear the virus of the disease should pass on to him; so now if they see us bundled up together in one place, they’re bound to kick up another row.”

**Hawkes** (1977, p.543)

“The old women have already said that he’s not to sleep in the same room as you in case he catches your sickness. We shall never hear the end of it, if they find out that we’ve been sleeping all crowded up together like this.”

EFS: [*The old nurses told us not to allow him to say in this room because they were afraid that he would catch your sickness.*]

Comment: The original concerns Baoyu and his two senior maids Sheyue and Qingwen who was still sick with a cold caught previously. The underlined part is a clausal structure where the verb ‘怕’ (‘fear’) is followed by a clause as its object (V ‘过’ (‘catch’) PA ‘了’ O ‘病气’ (‘sickness’)). Sheyue could have expressed the underlined part to Qingwen in another way of ‘怕过了你的病气’ which makes explicit ‘你的’ (‘your’) as the possessive of ‘病气’. However, she did not say so since she was clearly aware from the previous context that Qingwen disliked people talking about her sickness.

The Yangs choose a nominalized structure ‘infection’ as complement of the NOM ‘fear’. Their nominalized choice may come from their consciousness of the co-text of the original where ‘你的’ (‘your’) as the possessive pronoun of ‘病气’ (‘sickness’) is omitted so as not to provoke Qingwen. As the equivalent of the verb ‘过’ (‘infect’), the Yangs’ choice of ‘infection’ appears to be more formal than Hawkes’ choice of ‘catch’.

Hawkes makes a class-shift of the verb ‘怕’ (‘fear’) into ‘in case’, which necessitates a finite clausal structure to follow. In the clausal structure, he makes an explicitation by adding the agent omitted in the original, as shown by ‘your sickness’. As for Joly, his choice of ‘the virus of the disease’ as the equivalent of ‘病气’ sounds medically flavored and may make Skybright’s sickness sound quite serious and even frightening.

E.g.20:

这件事待要放下，心内又放不下；待要问去，又怕人猜疑。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.710)

又	怕	人	猜疑
yòu	pà	rén	cāiyí
also	be afraid	people	suspect

**Hawkes** (1973, p.507)

Though Crimson could still not dismiss the matter entirely from her mind, she did not ask anyone about it for fear of arousing their suspicions.

**The Yangs** (2003, p.711)

Though Xiaohong did not want to drop the matter, neither did she want to arouse the suspicions of others by questioning the young man.

**Joly** (1893, p.18)

Now she had a mind to drop the whole question, but she could not reconcile herself to it; and now she longed to go and ask him about it, but fears rose in her mind lest people should entertain any suspicions as to the relations that existed between them.

EFS: [*because she was afraid that other people might harbour suspicions.*]

Comment: In the original, the underlined structure consists of the verb ‘怕’ (‘fear’) and the clausal structure (S ‘人’ (‘people’) VP ‘猜疑’ (‘suspect’)) as its object. ‘猜疑’ is used here as an intransitive verb.

Hawkes chooses a nominalized structure ‘arousing their suspicions’ as complement of the NOM ‘fear’. This structure is potentially triggered by the intransitive verb ‘猜疑’. Joly chooses a finite clausal structure, which makes explicit the object of ‘猜疑’, as shown by ‘as to the relations that existed between them’. However, his version appears to be formal due to the conjunction ‘lest’ and the periphrastic predicate expression ‘entertain any suspicions’.

#### 5.3.4 Summary

A total of 306 NOMs are found in the position of object, complementing verbs, adjectives, and nouns (see Table 10 below). The NOMs in the position of object are significantly less used than the NOMs as adverbial, but more frequent than the NOMs in the position of subject.

Table 10: The NOM in the position of object in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

The NOM in the position of object	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
The NOM complementing verbs	62 (38/16/8)	51 (29/17/5)	37(23/11/3)	150
The NOM complementing adjectives	13 (13/0/0)	10 (9/1/0)	14 (1/13/0)	37
The NOM complementing nouns	35 (23/12/0)	58 (41/16/1)	26 (13/11/2)	119
Total Number (GN/DN/ZN)	110 (74/28/8)	119 (79/34/6)	77 (37/35/5)	306
Percentage	36%	39%	25%	100%

Hawkes makes most use of 119 NOMs, taking up 39% of the total number, while Joly makes least use of 77 NOMs, accounting for 25% of the total. The Yangs stand between them

by using 110 NOMs, accounting for 36% of the total. In terms of the three categories of the NOM, GN is most frequently used in all the three versions, followed by DN and ZN. Specifically speaking, Hawkes makes more use of GNs, Joly makes slightly more use of DNs, and the Yangs make slightly more use of ZNs. In terms of complementation, the Yangs use more NOMs complementing verbs, Joly uses more NOMs complementing adjectives, and Hawkes uses more NOMs complementing nouns.

In terms of the NOM complementing verbs, the 62 NOMs in the Yangs' version involve 21 verbs, out of which 5 verbs occur not less than 4 times (4 times for 'suggest' and 'complain of' respectively, 5 times for 'announce', and 13 times for 'mind' and 'insist on' respectively). All the 5 entries of 'announce' are followed by DNs while all the 13 entries of 'mind' and 'insist on' are followed by GNs. The 51 NOMs in Hawkes' version involve 13 verbs, out of which 4 verbs occur more than 4 times (5 times for 'mind' and 'remember' respectively, 9 times for 'announce' and 20 times for 'insist on'). All the 9 entries of 'announce' collocate with the DN 'arrival' while all the 20 entries of 'insist on' collocate with GNs. The 37 NOMs in Joly's version involve 10 verbs, out of which only 2 verbs occur more than 4 times (5 times for 'hear of', and 10 times for 'insist upon' in collocation with GNs). Obviously, the prepositional verb 'insist on/upon' ('坚持/执意') finds common preference among the translators.

In terms of the NOM complementing adjectives, the 14 NOMs in Joly's version involve 4 adjectives ('aware (of)' with 7 entries, 'conscious (of)' with 4 entries, 'afraid (of)' with 2 entries, and 'convinced (of)' with 1 entry); the 13 NOMs in the Yangs' version involve two adjectives ('afraid (of)' with 11 entries and 'terrified (of)' with 2 entries); the 10 NOMs in Hawkes' version involve 6 adjectives ('aware (of)' with 3 entries, 'sure (of)' and 'afraid (of)'

with 2 entries respectively, and ‘confident (of)’, ‘scared (of)’, and fearful (‘of’) with 1 entry respectively).

In terms of the NOM complementing nouns, the NOMs complementing the noun ‘fear’ (‘恐/怕/恐怕’) find common preference: 8 out of the 23 NOMs in Joly’s version, 12 out of the 33 NOMs in the Yangs’ version, and 14 out of the 50 NOMs in Hawkes’ version.

The stylistic features of the translators in various other aspects are summarized as follows. Joly makes more frequent use of formal expressions (see ‘cross’ in E.g.1, ‘present’ in E.g.8, ‘reconcile’ in E.g.9, ‘fear’ in E.g.11, ‘novel’ in E.g.14, and ‘lest’ in E.g.18 and E.g.20). In E.g.9, a deliberately used term ‘好’ (‘make up’) by the authors as a simplified and colloquial expression of ‘和好’ (‘reconcile’) finds a formal and serious correspondent ‘reconcile’ in Joly’s version. He makes more use of periphrastic predicate expressions (see ‘gave a smile’ and ‘make allusions’ in E.g.2, ‘playing larks’ in E.g.5, ‘caught sight’ in E.g.9, ‘give orders’ in E.g.10, ‘give offence’ in E.g.12, and ‘entertain any suspicions’ in E.g.20), some of which are formal (e.g., ‘make allusions’, ‘give offence’, and ‘entertain any suspicions’). He has one case of explicitation (see E.g.1).

Hawkes makes more frequent use of explicitation (and addition) (see E.g.2, E.g.3, E.g.6, and E.g.12). In E.g.6, his explicitation of the original noun ‘这话’ (‘this news’) details everything about Lady Wang’s arrangements for Xiren. He also has several cases of implicitation (and omission) (see E.g.4, E.g.10, and E.g.11). In E.g.4, although his implicitation of the three appositive elements may come from his worry about overloading the text with too much information unfamiliar to the reader, this practice ends up writing off one typical aspect of the traditional Chinese naming system. In addition, he has several cases of idiomatic or informal expressions (see ‘angry’ in E.g.1, ‘all right’ in E.g.9, and ‘in case’ in

E.g.18 and E.g.19). Moreover, He has one case of periphrastic predicate expression (see ‘made a fool’ in E.g.5).

As for the Yangs, they make more frequent use of concise expressions (see E.g.3 and E.g.9). In E.g.3 they simplify the original appositive element as a prepositional phrase ‘from Suzhou’ while in E.g.9 they simplify their translation to the extreme (in comparison with Hawkes). In addition, there are several cases of implicitation (and omission) (see E.g.10, E.g.11, E.g.12, and E.g.14). They choose several cases of formal expressions (see E.g.2 and E.g.8). Moreover, they have one case of periphrastic predicate structure (see E.g.18). They have one case of mistranslation (see E.g.11).

Nominalized structures in the examples given all correspond to verbal predicate clausal or verbal structures in the original. With regard to the factors triggering nominalized structures, the omission of agents in the original perhaps brings about nominalized structures as alternative expressions of finite passive clausal structures (see E.g.17). Intransitive verbs in the original may also trigger nominalized structures (see E.g.20). In addition, nominalized structures are used perhaps in order to avoid the occurrence of long subjects (see E.g.3, E.g.4, and E.g.10). Moreover, a nominalized structure may be influenced by lexicalization (see E.g.15). In other words, some NOMs may be used by the translator as lexical terms rather than as the transform of verbs. Furthermore, the context and co-text of the original may also influence nominalized structures. The omission of the possessive pronoun in E.g.19 may have prompted the Yangs to choose a nominalized structure as they are aware that its presence is annoying to the character concerned.

In terms of the stylistic effect of nominalized structures, they represent implicitation (see E.g.5 and E.g.18); they give a formal impression (see E.g.2 and E.g.8) and a direct and



straightforward effect (see E.g.7).

### **5.3.5 The NOM in periphrastic predicate constructions**

It is generally agreed in English that ‘the verb is the centre of sentence grammar’, while ‘the vocabulary is noun-centred’ (Algeo, 1995, p.203). In other words, English is a verbal language from the grammatical perspective, but a nominal language from the lexical perspective. However, ‘somewhere near the middle of the magnetic field of the language where grammar and lexis meet’, ‘a grammatical/lexical construction’ may come into being like *have a look* (ibid).

This kind of construction has no standard accepted names, although it has been named as ‘group-verb’ (Poutsma, 1926), ‘complex verb’ (Olsson, 1961; Nickel, 1968), ‘verbo-nominal phrase’ (Rensky, 1964), ‘periphrastic verbal construction’ (Wierzbicka, 1982), ‘periphrastic phrase’, ‘composite predicate’, or ‘complex predicate’ (Cattell, 1984), ‘extended predicate’, ‘expanded predicate’, or ‘stretched predicate’ (Quirk et al., 1985), ‘verbo-nominal construction’ (Akimoto, 1989), ‘V + N construction’ (Stein & Quirk, 1991), and ‘expanded predicate’ (Algeo, 1995).

Likewise, the verb and its object in the construction have no uniform names as well. As for the verb, Jespersen refers to it as ‘light verb’ or ‘insignificant verb’ (1942, p.117), while Poutsma names it as ‘connective verb’, ‘copula’, or ‘verb with a vague meaning’ (1926, pp.394-395). Cattell addresses it as ‘light verb’ (1984, p.20) or ‘lexically empty verb’ (1984, p.9, note 9), while Algeo (1995) treats it as ‘(semantically) general verb’. Brinton (1996, p.186) uses the term ‘function verb’. As for the etymology of the verb, Brinton (1996, p.186) points out that ‘the verb is usually a native verb, most commonly *give*, *have*, *make*, and *take*, but also *be*, *come*, *do*, *get*, or *put* and, more recently, Latinate verbs such as *perform*,

*formulate, effect, pay, offer, or obtain*'. With regard to the object in this configuration, it is addressed as 'nexus substantive' or 'verbal nexus-word' (Jespersen, 1924, pp.133-144), 'noun of action' (Poutsma, 1926, pp.394-395), 'deverbal nominal' or 'predicational noun' (Cattell, 1984, p.2), 'eventive object' (Quirk et al., 1985, p.750), 'eventive noun' (Algeo, 1995, p.208), and 'deverbative noun' (Brinton, 1996, p.186).

This kind of construction is an idiomatic construction in which the verb is semantically general or less specific and its object is semantically more specific. The objective noun in the construction constitutes the 'lexical center' (Algeo, 1995, pp.203-204), carrying the 'lexical load' (Live, 1973, p.31), and serving as the focus of meaning, while the verb becomes the 'grammatical center' (Live, 1973, p.31; Algeo, 1995, p.203), playing primarily a connective role. The noun is 'deverbative, either identical in form to its corresponding verbal stem or phonologically or derivationally related to it' (Brinton, 1996, p.187). The construction as a whole 'generally corresponds to the simple verb etymologically related to the deverbative noun', and is 'sometimes seen [by some scholars such as Nickel (1968) and Cattell (1984)] as deriving transformationally from it' (Brinton, 1996, p.187). In our study, we name the construction as periphrastic predicate construction where the verb is called light verb and the noun is called the nominal.

This periphrastic predicate construction could date back to Middle or even Old English, according to Beise (1941, pp.298-302) and Visser (1970, pp.138-141). Scholars make almost identical comments on it: it is a 'very marked feature of the English language' (Beise, 1941, p.298) or 'a fact of English grammar' (Live, 1973, p.40), and there is a 'strong tendency' (Curme, 1931, p.22), a 'general tendency' (Jespersen, 1942, p.117), or a 'marked tendency' (Poutsma, 1926, p.394; Nickel, 1978, p.64) to use it in Modern English.

The periphrastic predicate construction enjoys numerous syntactic functions. First, it provides adjectival modification for the nominal, as in *have a quick/brief/careful look*. Second, it may ‘intransitivize the verb by permitting its use without its otherwise obligatory patient object’, as in *give approval* (cf. *approve something*) (Brinton, 1996, p.195). Third, it may facilitate coordination, as in *Grandpa had a drink, dinner, and a nap* (cf. *Grandpa drank, dined, and napped*). Fourth, the verbal content can be iterated by pluralization of the nominal, as in *make inquiries*.

In our study, the periphrastic predicate construction is subject to the following requirements. First, the light verb includes not only the five more common verbs (*do, give, have, make, and take*) but also another 26 verbs: *administer, bear, cast, catch, dance, effect, entertain, exercise, foster, get, harbour, hold, institute, issue, lay, offer, pass, pay, place, play, present, prosecute, put, sing, undergo, and work*. Cognate object constructions are excluded in our study where a verb’s object is cognate with the verb like *dream a dream* and *sleep a sleep*. Second, the nominal in the construction should be etymologically related to the simple verb. This condition applies to examples such as *catch a glimpse* and *effect no suspicion*. Third, constructions are excluded where their objects are not semantically related to the verbs from which they are derived. For example, *take account of, make a difference*. In the following, we will give some examples of how periphrastic predicate constructions are used in the three versions of *HLM*.

(1) Constructions introduced by ‘do’: ‘do calculation’, ‘do flit’, ‘do harm’, ‘do reading’, ‘do sweep’, ‘do talking’, ‘do thinking’, ‘do washing’, etc.

E.g.1:

当日林如海教女以惜福养身，云饭后务待饭粒咽完，过一时再吃茶，方不伤脾胃。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.80)

**Joly** (1892, pp.48-49)

the Lin family had impressed upon the mind of their daughter that in order to show regard to

happiness, and to preserve good health, it was essential after every meal to wait a while, before drinking any tea, so that it should not do any harm to the intestines.

(2) Constructions introduced by 'give': 'give birth', 'give a chuckle', 'give consent', 'give cry', 'give a diagnosis', 'give effect', 'give encouragement', 'give an explanation', 'give expression', 'give a giggle', 'give a grin', 'give guidance', 'give indication', 'give instructions', 'give judgment', 'give a kick', 'give a kiss', 'give a laugh', 'give a lecture', 'give a look', 'give notice', 'give offence', 'give orders', 'give a pinch', 'give preferences', 'give a push', 'give reception', 'give record', 'give a reply', 'give a scolding', 'give a shake', 'give a shove', 'give a shock', 'give a shout', 'give a sign', 'give a slap', 'give a smile', 'give a sniff', 'give a squeeze', 'give a start', 'give a tap', 'give thanks', 'give thought', 'give treatment', 'give trouble', 'give a tug', 'give utterance', 'give vent', etc.

E.g.2:

雨村此时已有七八分酒意，狂兴不禁，乃对月当杯，口号一绝云。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.22)

Hawkes (1973, p.60)

Yu-cun, was seized with an irrepressible excitement to which he presently gave expression in the form of a quatrain.

(3) Constructions introduced by 'have': 'have consideration', 'have a consultation', 'have a conversation', 'have discussions', 'have a drink', 'have a fight', 'have a glance', 'have a glimpse', 'have intercourse', 'have a laugh', 'have a look', 'have suspicions', 'have a talk', 'have a taste', 'have objection', 'have pity', 'have a quarrel', 'have a recollection', 'have a record', 'have regard', 'have a romp', 'have a row', 'have a spite', 'have a taste', 'have a try', 'have a visit', 'have a wash', etc.

E.g.3:

“他们大家商量着立个方子，吃了也不见效。” (曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.276)

Hawkes (1973, p.221)

“Then they have long discussions while they decide on a prescription.”

(4) Constructions introduced by 'make': 'make acknowledgment', 'make acquaintance', 'make adjustment', 'make allusion', 'make alternation', 'make amends', 'make appeals', 'make appearance', 'make an application', 'make arrangements', 'make arrest', 'make assertions', 'make an assessment', 'make a bow', 'make a change', 'make a choice', 'make a claim', 'make a confession', 'make a copy', 'make desist', 'make a display', 'make entrance', 'make entreaties', 'make entry', 'make an exhibition', 'make exhortations', 'make a fool', 'make a grab', 'make a guess', 'make haste', 'make inquiries', 'make insinuations', 'make an inspection', 'make a kowtow', 'make a movement', 'make objection', 'make payment', 'make preparations', 'make pretence', 'make pronouncement', 'make provision', 'make purchase', 'make remonstrance', 'make a reply', 'make a request', 'make requital', 'make a response', 'make reverence', 'make salutations', 'make a selection', 'make a sweep', 'make use', etc.

E.g.4:

“小人暗中嘱托拐子，令其实招。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.108)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.109)

“I'll see to it that the kidnapper makes a full confession.”

**Hawkes** (1973, p.116)

“I shall secretly instruct the kidnapper to make a full confession.”

**Joly** (1892, p.63)

“Your servant will be in the background to speak to the kidnapper and urge him to make a full confession.”

(5) Constructions introduced by ‘take’: ‘take departure’, ‘take a dislike’, ‘take a fancy’, ‘take a fright’, ‘take heed’, ‘take leave’, ‘take a look’, ‘take notice’, ‘take offend’, ‘take pity’, ‘take possession’, ‘take punishment’, ‘take receipt’, ‘take a rest’, ‘take a sip’, ‘take thought’, etc.

E.g.5:

士隐待客既散，知雨村自便，也不去再邀了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.20)

**Joly** (1892, p.12)

When the guests had taken their leave, Shih-yin did not go back to rejoin Yu-ts'un, as he had come to know that he had already left.

(6) Constructions introduced by ‘administer’: ‘administer a kick’ and ‘administer a slap’.

E.g.6:

板儿一见了，便吵着要肉吃，刘姥姥一巴掌打了他去。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.178)

**Joly** (1892, p.98)

As soon as Pan Erh perceived (all these delicacies), and would have some meat to eat, but goody Liu administered to him such a slap, that he had to keep away.

(7) Constructions introduced by ‘bear’: ‘bear resemblance’.

E.g.7:

宝玉诧异道：“除了我们大观园，竟又有这个园子？”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1636)

**Hawkes** (1980, p.85)

He was in a garden, which, he remarked with surprise, bore some resemblance to Prospect Garden.

(8) Constructions introduced by ‘cast’: ‘cast a glance’.

E.g.8:

说到这里，便回头四顾一看。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.912)

**Joly** (1893, p.135)

At this point, he turned his head, and cast a glance in all four quarters.

(9) Constructions introduced by ‘catch’: ‘catch sight’ and ‘catch a glimpse’.

E.g.9:

贾芸往外瞧时，看是一个十六七岁的丫头，生得倒也细巧干净。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.666)

**Joly** (1892, p.372)

As soon however as the maid caught a glimpse of Chia Yün, she speedily turned herself round and withdrew out of sight.

(10) Constructions introduced by ‘dance’: ‘dance attendance’.

E.g.10:

贾母道：“到明日，我在正面楼上，你在旁边楼上，你也不用到我这边来立规矩，好不好？”  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.804)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.805)

“I’ll sit in the main balcony and you can watch from one of the side ones, will that suit you? Then you won’t have to dance attendance on me.”

(11) Constructions introduced by ‘effect’: ‘effect alternation’, ‘effect a cure’, ‘effect preparations’, ‘effect a reduction’, ‘effect retrenchment’, ‘effect salvation’, etc.

E.g.11:

“谁知道这拐子又偷卖与了薛家，他意欲卷了两家的银子，再逃往他乡去。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.102)

**Joly** (1892, p.60)

“This kidnapper quietly disposed of her again by sale to the Hsueh family; his intention being to pocket the price-money from both parties, and effect his escape.”

(12) Constructions introduced by ‘entertain’: ‘entertain fears’, ‘entertain hopes’, ‘entertain respect’, ‘entertain a wish’, etc.

E.g.12:

“众人见乩仙批语与拐子相符，余者自然也不虚了。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.108)

**Joly** (1892, p.63)

“[W]hen people find that the response of the divining spirit harmonizes with the statements of the kidnapper, they will, as a matter of course, entertain no suspicion.”

(13) Constructions introduced by ‘exercise’: ‘exercise check’, ‘exercise control’, ‘exercise influence’, ‘exercise inspection’, ‘exercise restraint’, ‘exercise supervision’, etc.

E.g.13:

凤姐吩咐道：“来升家的，每日揽总查看。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.356)

**Joly** (1892, p.199)

“You, Lai Sheng’s wife, will every day have to exercise general supervision and inspection.”

(14) Constructions introduced by ‘foster’: ‘foster thought’.

E.g.14:

雨村此时已有七八分酒意，狂兴不禁，乃对月寓怀，口号一绝云。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.22)

**Joly** (1892, p.14)

As he gazed at the moon, he fostered thoughts, to which he gave vent by the recital of a double couplet.

(15) Constructions introduced by ‘get’: ‘get a beating’, ‘get blame’, ‘get laugh’, ‘get scolding’, ‘get soaking’, ‘get thrashing’, ‘get whacking’, etc.

E.g.15:

“婶子若不借，又说我不会说话了，又挨一顿好打呢。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.182-184)

**Hawkes** (1973, p.163)

“If you won’t lend it, my father will say that I didn’t ask properly and I shall get a beating.”

(16) Constructions introduced by ‘harbour’: ‘harbour fear’ and ‘harbour suspicion’.

E.g.16:

如今宝钗恐怕宝玉教训他，倒没意思，便连忙替贾环掩饰。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.552)

**Joly** (1892, p.311)

Pao-ch’ai harboured fears lest, on this occasion, Pao-yü should call him to book, and put him out of face, and she there and then lost no time in taking Chia Huan’s part with a view to screening him.

(17) Constructions introduced by ‘hold’: ‘hold consultation’, ‘hold an inspection’, etc.

E.g.17:

贾璉一径出来，和林之孝来商议，着人去作好作歹，许了二百两发送才罢。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1256)

**Joly** (1893, p.326)

Chia Lien straightway made his exit. He came and held consultation with Lin Chih-hsiao, and then directed the servants to go and use some fair means, others harsh.

(18) Constructions introduced by ‘institute’: ‘institute search’ and ‘institute inquiries’.

E.g.18:

封氏闻得此信，哭了死去活来，只得与父亲商议，遣人各处访寻。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.32)

**Joly** (1892, p.19)

[B]ut her only alternative was to consult with her father, and to despatch servants on all sides to institute inquiries.

(19) Constructions introduced by ‘issue’: ‘issue commands’, ‘issue directions’, etc.

E.g.19:

凤姐听了，便命歇了再走。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.380)

**Joly** (1892, p.214)

Lady Feng speedily issued orders that they should have a rest, before they prosecuted their way.

(20) Constructions introduced by ‘lay’: ‘lay hold’.

E.g.20:

不意被秦业知觉，将智能逐出，将秦钟打了一顿。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.402)

**Joly** (1892, p.226)

[H]er visit came to be known by Ch’in Yeh, who drove Chih Neng away and laid hold of Ch’in Chung and gave him a flogging.

(21) Constructions introduced by ‘offer’: ‘offer an apology’, ‘offer resistance’, etc.

E.g.21:

宝玉听如此说，想一想，竟大有情理，也就不生别论了。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.88)

**Hawkes** (1973, p.104)

And Bao-yu, after reflecting for a moment or two on what she had said, offered no further resistance.

(22) Constructions introduced by ‘pass’: ‘pass observation’ and ‘pass judgment’.

E.g.22:

一从陶令平章后，千古高风说到今。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1066)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1067)

Ever since Tao Yuanming of old passed judgement, This flower’s worth has been sung through the centuries.

(23) Constructions introduced by ‘pay’: ‘pay deference’, ‘pay heed’, ‘pay salutations’, ‘pay a thought’, ‘pay a visit’, etc.



E.g.23:

雨村收了银衣，不过略谢一语，并不介意。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.24)

**Joly** (1892, p.15)

[H]e paid no thought whatever to the gifts, but went again drinking his wine.

(24) Constructions introduced by ‘place’: ‘place reliance’.

E.g.24:

贾琏明仗着贾母素日疼他们，连母亲、婶母也无关碍，故逞强闹了来。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1242)

**Joly** (1893, p.319)

Chia Lien evidently placed such thorough reliance upon the love, which old lady Chia had all along lavished upon them, that he entertained little regard even for his mother or his aunt, so he came, with perfect effrontery, to stir up a disturbance in their presence.

(25) Constructions introduced by ‘play’: ‘play larks’ and ‘play tricks’.

E.g.25:

宝玉也无法了，只好笑因道：“你哄我也罢了，怎么说我父亲呢？”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.726)

**Joly** (1893, p.27)

“I don’t mind your playing your larks on me; but why, he inquired, did you mention my father?”

(26) Constructions introduced by ‘present’: ‘present congratulations’.

E.g.26:

不想林黛玉因遇见史湘云约他来与袭人道喜，二人来至院中，见静悄悄的，湘云便转身先到厢房里去找袭人。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.992)

**Joly** (1893, p.183)

At quite an unforeseen moment-for Lin Tai-yü had met Shih Hsiang-yün and asked her to come along with her and present her congratulations to Hsi Jen-these two girls made their appearance in the court.

(27) Constructions introduced by ‘prosecute’: ‘prosecute a chat’, ‘prosecute a laugh’, ‘prosecute a perusal’, ‘prosecute a search’, ‘prosecute studies’, etc.

E.g.27:

遂又往后看，只见画着一张弓，弓上挂着香橼。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.136)

**Joly** (1892, p.78)

[H]e prosecuted a further perusal of what came next, when he caught sight of a picture of a bow.

(28) Constructions introduced by ‘put’: ‘put an end’ and ‘put a stop’.

E.g.28:

此時王子騰的夫人也在这里，都一齐来时，宝玉益发拿刀弄杖，寻死觅活的。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.698)

**Joly** (1893, p.12)

Pao-yü behaved more and more as if determined to clutch a sword or seize a spear to put an end to his existence.

(29) Constructions introduced by ‘sing’: ‘sing praises’.

E.g.29:

“怨不得云丫头说你好，我往日见他赞你，我还不受用，昨儿我亲自经过，才知道了。”  
(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.1276)

**The Yangs** (2003, p.1277)

Diayu exclaimed, “I used to be sceptical when she sang your praises, but not after my own recent experience.”

(30) Constructions introduced by ‘undergo’: ‘undergo alternation’, ‘undergo no change’, ‘undergo improvement’, etc.

E.g.30:

门子道：“虽隔了七八年，如今十二三岁的光景，其模样虽然出脱得齐整，然大概自是不改”。(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, pp.102-104)

**Joly** (1892, p.60)

Her mien has assumed a more surpassingly lovely appearance, her general features have, on the other hand, undergone no change.

(31) Constructions introduced by ‘work’: ‘work a cure’, etc.

E.g.31:

那僧笑道：“因闻得府上人口不利，故特来医治。”(曹雪芹 & 高鹗, 2003, p.704)

**Joly** (1893, pp.15-16)

“It’s because we’ve learnt that there are inmates of your honorable mansion in a poor state of health that we come with the express design of working a cure.”

In addition to these examples, we have also given in the previous sections of this chapter examples of periphrastic predicate constructions used by the translators. Generally speaking,

Joly makes most use of (formal) periphrastic predicate constructions, followed by Hawkes and the Yangs. For a detailed (quantitative and qualitative) analysis of periphrastic predicate constructions used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*, refer to the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### 6.0 Overview

This chapter starts with our findings of the main characteristics of the NOM used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*, followed by a general evaluation of the translators' individual styles in *HLM* translation and a summary of the potential factors triggering the NOM in *HLM* translation, and ends by an examination of the NOM in the translation of other Chinese literary prose works.

### 6.1 Main characteristics of the NOM used in the three versions of *HLM*

In this section, the main characteristics of the NOMs used in the three versions of *HLM* are presented in terms of their differences and similarities. As shown in Table 11 below, Joly makes greater use of the NOMs in terms of both total number (1311 NOMs) and average coverage (1/337). As for the Yangs and Hawkes, they make similar use of the NOMs in terms of total number: 809 NOMs as compared to 746 NOMs. However, since Hawkes uses around 100,000 words in his version more than the Yangs do in their version, there is a greater difference between the two versions in terms of average NOM coverage: 1/347 in the Yangs' version as opposed to 1/516 in Hawkes' version.

Table 11: The NOM used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

The NOM	The Yangs' version	Hawkes' version	Joly's version
As adverbial	636 (79%)	575 (77%)	1202 (92%)
In the position of subject	63 (8%)	52 (7%)	32 (2%)
In the position of object	110 (13%)	119 (16%)	77 (6%)
Total number	809 (100%)	746 (100%)	1311 (100%)
Total number (GN/DN/ZN)	443/216/150 (55%/27%/18%)	466/185/95 (62%/25%/13%)	647/408/256 (49%/31%/20%)
Number of words covered	280, 745	384, 848	441, 939
Average coverage	1/347	1/516	1/337
Dialogue/narrative	294/515 (36%/64%)	212/534 (28%/72%)	336/935 (26%/74%)

In terms of the syntactic categories of the NOM, Joly makes most use of 1202 NOMs as adverbial as well as least use of 32 NOMs in the position of subject and 77 NOMs in the position of object; The Yangs make most use of 63 NOMs in the position of subject while Hawkes makes most use of 119 NOMs in the position of object. We will try to explain why Joly uses the NOMs in such a way in the next section 6.2.

As for the types of constructions, Joly makes most use of 50 types, followed by Hawkes 36 types and the Yangs 26 types (see Table 8). In terms of the types of formal constructions, Joly also takes the lead by using 21 types (which cover 56% of the 194 formal constructions altogether used in the three versions), followed by Hawkes 9 types and the Yangs 2 types.

Table 12: Types of formal constructions used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Order	Types of constructions used	The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total Number
1	in the course of + NOM	5	13	8	26
2	previous to + NOM	-	-	3	3
3	prior to + NOM	-	1	-	1
4	subsequent to + NOM	-	-	1	1
5	in consequence of + NOM	-	-	4	4
6	owing to + NOM	-	2	2	4
7	consequent upon + NOM	-	-	3	3
8	on the score of + NOM	-	-	1	1
9	due to + NOM	-	-	2	2
10	on account of + NOM	-	2	3	5
11	for + NOM (fear)	39	14	11	64
12	with the intent of + NOM	-	-	9	9
13	for the sake of + NOM	-	2	7	9
14	for the purpose of + NOM	-	3	5	8
15	with the object of + NOM	-	-	7	7
16	with a view to + NOM	-	2	4	6
17	with the intention of + NOM	-	2	4	6
18	with a view of + NOM	-	-	4	4
19	with the view of + NOM	-	-	2	2
20	with the design of + NOM	-	-	2	2
21	despite + NOM	-	-	4	4
22	in the event of + NOM	-	-	23	23
Total number/Percentage		44 (23%)	41 (21%)	109 (56%)	194 (100%)

Apart from the above differences, there are some similarities of the NOMs found in the three versions. It is found that the NOM is predominantly used as adverbial, followed by its use in the position of object and subject. This predominance ranges from 77% of the total number of the NOMs used in Hawkes' version up to 92% of the total number of the NOMs used in Joly's version. The NOM as adverbial is found predominantly used as a condenser of temporal meaning. In addition, it is found that GN is prevalently more used, followed by DN and ZN. This prevalence ranges from 49% GNs of the total number in Joly's version up to 62% GNs of the total number in Hawkes' version. Moreover, the NOM is found to be predominantly more used in the narrative than in dialogue (64% against 36% in the Yangs' version, 72% against 28% in Hawkes' version, and 74% against 26% in Joly's version). Furthermore, there are numerous cases where nominalization is used by all the translators to correspond to a same clausal structure in the original (see 5.1.1 E.g.24, E.g.25, and E.g.34; 5.1.2 E.g.4 and E.g.19; 5.1.3 E.g.2; 5.3.1 E.g.5). In addition, NOMs are found in the metrical verses of all the three versions, but their total number does not exceed ten.

## **6.2 A general evaluation of the translators' individual styles in *HLM* translation**

In the previous section, we have given a quantitative summary of how the NOMs are used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*. This section is concerned with a general evaluation of the translators' individual styles in *HLM* translation.

### **6.2.1 Joly's individual style**

Joly makes predominant use of 21 types of formal constructions (which cover 56% of the 194 formal constructions jointly used in the three versions) as compared with Hawkes 9 types and the Yangs 2 types (see Table 12 above). He makes predominant use of formal

prepositional phrases in collocation with nominalized structures (as a condenser of purposive meaning).

In addition to formal constructions, his version has also seen a larger number of formal lexical expressions (see 5.1.1 E.g.3, E.g.10 and E.g.11; 5.1.2 E.g.20; 5.1.3 E.g.6; 5.1.5 E.g.3; 5.2.1 E.g.1; 5.2.2 E.g.10 and E.g.12; 5.3.1 E.g.8 and E.g.9; 5.3.3 E.g.18, E.g.19, and E.g.20). In 5.1.1 E.g.11, a simple and daily term ‘梳洗’ (‘wash and dress’) has become a highly formal collocation (‘perform her toilette and ablutions’) made up of four lexical items, of which three words (‘perform’, ‘toilette’, and ‘ablutions’) are stylistically formal. In 5.1.2 E.g.20, his choice of the formal term ‘advanced’ as the equivalent of ‘老’ (‘old’) may incur some misunderstanding from the reader that Madam You was singing Jiao Da praises rather than complaining about him.

He also makes a greater use of periphrastic predicate structures, which far exceeds in both number and percentage the joint use of the periphrastic predicate constructions by the Yangs and Hawkes. As can be seen from Table 13 below, Joly makes most use of the constructions introduced by all the categories of verbs. Numerous periphrastic predicate constructions Joly chooses to use are formal expressions (e.g., 5.1.1 E.g.1 ‘hold an inspection’, E.g.6 ‘held (further) consultation’, and E.g.7 ‘entertained no wish’; 5.1.2 E.g.16 ‘institute (minute) inquiries’; 5.1.3 E.g.7 ‘effect a change’; 5.1.4 E.g.4 ‘make (any mean) insinuations’ and E.g.5 ‘take my leave’; 5.2.2 E.g.8 ‘give (her a most cordial) a reception’; 5.3.1 E.g.2 ‘make allusions’; 5.3.3 E.g.18 ‘made no allusion’ and E.g.20 ‘entertain (any) suspicions’). In 5.1.4 E.g.5, his formal choice of ‘take my leave (of you)’, as the equivalent of the informal and colloquial verbal structure ‘别你一别’ (‘say goodbye to you’), goes against the intimate relationship between Keqing and Xifeng.

Table 13: Periphrastic predicate constructions used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

Periphrastic predicate constructions		The Yangs	Hawkes	Joly	Total number
1	Do + NOM	4	5	12	21
2	Give + NOM	86	154	331	571
3	Have + NOM	108	117	184	409
4	Make + NOM	98	156	279	533
5	Take + NOM	92	101	112	305
6	Another 26 kinds of verbs + NOM	85	78	460	623
Total number		473	611	1378	2462
Percentage		19%	25%	56%	100%

He has more cases of (strictly) literal translation (see 5.1.1 E.g.20, E.g.23, and E.g.28; 5.1.3 E.g.2; 5.1.4 E.g.2; 5.2.2 E.g.10; 5.3.2 E.g.11). In 5.1.1 E.g.28, in the rendering of Madame You's dialogue with Lady Wang which involves Lady Wang, Joly rigidly renders 'Lady Wang' into 'Lady Wang' rather than 'you', which may sound confusing to the target reader. In 5.3.2 E.g.11, instead of switching to the more hypotactic structures of idiomatic English, he has closely followed the strong leaning of the Chinese language towards parataxis. This gives rise to the frequent occurrence of the conjunctions 'and' and semicolons in his version.

His strict adherence to the original may explain his significantly more limited use of the technique of explicitation (and addition) (see 5.1.5 E.g.2; 5.3.1 E.g.1; 5.3.3 E.g.20). His explicitation in 5.3.1 E.g.1 is made in brackets and the other two cases of explicitation are made which make explicit the objects of the original intransitive verbs.

In addition, he has more cases of less accurate translation or mistranslation (see 5.1.1 E.g.7, E.g.8, E.g.9, E.g.26, and E.g.34; 5.1.3 E.g.6; 5.2.2 E.g.5 and E.g.8). These cases may to some extent indicate that he is less sensitive to and less familiar with the original than Hawkes and the Yangs.

Generally speaking, Joly adopts a formal and strictly literal way in rendering *HLM*. His literal style may have prompted him to follow the original verbal clausal structures, which



may partially explain why he makes least use of the NOMs in the position of subject and object. His adherence to some particular nominalized constructions ('after + NOM' (322 entries), 'upon + NOM' (208 entries), 'on + NOM' (160 entries), 'at + NOM' (99 entries), 'in + NOM' (87 entries), 'for + NOM' (70 entries), and 'by + NOM' (64 entries)) as well as some particular collocations (i.e., 'upon hearing' (88 entries), 'on return' (58 entries), 'at (the) sight' (53 entries), 'in search' (46 entries), and 'after listening' (34 entries)) may partially explain his predominantly greater use of the NOMs as adverbial. His formal style may partially explain his predominant use of the NOMs in collocation with formal prepositional phrases as well as his greater use of those NOMs which have formal effect.

### **6.2.2 Hawkes' individual style**

Hawkes uses fewer types of most frequently-used constructions and fewer types of most frequently-used collocations (see 5.1.6). This shows that he uses the NOMs in a less focused but more flexible way than both Joly and the Yangs.

He makes least use of the NOMs in collocation with formal prepositions or prepositional phrases, which only account for 21% of the 194 formal constructions altogether used in the three versions (see Table 12). Instead, he makes most use of less formal expressions (see 5.1.1 E.g.28; 5.1.2 E.g.4 and E.g.8; 5.1.4 E.g.5; 5.2.1 E.g.2 and E.g.3; 5.2.2 E.g.8; 5.3.1 E.g.9 and E.g.18).

He makes less use of periphrastic predicate constructions. Those constructions appearing in the examples given are 5.1.1 E.g.12 'have a look', E.g.19 'caught sight', and E.g.33 'made their reverence'; 5.1.2 E.g.3 'get a beating' and E.g.18 'give (the lad proper) guidance'; 5.1.3 E.g.8 'gave (her) a beating'; 5.1.4 E.g.1 'offering (Qiu-fang) an affront' and 'gave orders'; 5.3.1 E.g.5 'made a fool'. Most of these expressions are less formal.

He makes most frequent use of the technique of explicitation (and addition) (see 5.1.1 E.g.2, E.g.6, E.g.8, E.g.11, E.g.27, and E.g.29; 5.1.2 E.g.4, E.g.17, and E.g.19; 5.1.3 E.g.4, E.g.5, and E.g.7 E.g.10; 5.1.5 E.g.1; 5.2.1 E.g.1 and E.g.2; 5.2.2 E.g.4, E.g.7, E.g.9, and E.g.12; 5.3.1 E.g.2, E.g.3, and E.g.6; 5.3.2 E.g.12 and E.g.13). One of the cases of explicitation is directly made in brackets (see 5.1.2 E.g.3). The three cases of explicitation come from his addition of hedge terms (see 5.1.2 E.g.1; 5.1.5 E.g.3; 5.2.2 E.g.12). In 5.1.2 E.g.1, Hawkes' explicitation of 'hope to' contributes more to the pessimistic tone of the character Jia Huan. In addition, some cases of explicitation may show his consideration of the characters concerned in the novel. In 5.1.1 E.g.27, he adds 'private' since he may consider it improper for a mother to gossip about her own son, especially in view of his noble status. Some of the cases are related to time and places (see 5.1.1 E.g.2, E.g.25, and E.g.29; 5.1.2 E.g.19).

In addition to explicitation (and addition), he also makes more use of lexical and syntactic adjustments (see 5.1.1 E.g.9, E.g.21, E.g.22, E.g.23, and E.g.27; 5.1.2 E.g.1, E.g.3, and E.g.5; 5.1.3 E.g.12; 5.1.4 E.g.2; 5.2.1 E.g.3; 5.3.2 E.g.12). These adjustments may be made from the opposite side of the original text (see 5.1.2 E.g.1 and E.g.17), for emphasis (see 5.1.3 E.g.12), due to the complicated structures (see 5.1.1 E.g.9) or repetitive structures in the original (see 5.1.3 E.g.2), due to his sensitivity to the original context (see 5.1.1 E.g.21; 5.3.2 E.g.12). In 5.1.1 E.g.23, his rendering of the underlined part may come from his consideration that Daiyu's direct complaint towards Baoyu might make him unhappy. In addition, some of his adjustments may give a full display of the temperament and personality of the characters. In 5.1.1 E.g.7, his choice of 'taste' as the equivalent of '到' ('come to') gives a vivid metaphorization of Baoyu's enjoyment of the countryside. In 5.1.4 E.g.6, his exaggerated

choice of ‘as much as a hair’s breadth from what I say’ as counterpart of ‘错我半点’ (‘the least bit’) typifies Hawkes’ imagination and conveys the character’s authority to the extreme.

However, his most frequent use of explicitation (and addition) does not prevent his occasional application of implicitation (and omission) (see 5.1.1 E.g.11; 5.1.4 E.g.3 and E.g.5; 5.3.1 E.g.4 and E.g.10; 5.3.2 E.g.11). In 5.3.1 E.g.4, he omits rendering the three post-modifiers of their head noun. In addition, he chooses to omit 85% of the 34 occurrences of the construction ‘after + listening’ in Joly’s version which corresponds to ‘听了’ in the original on the one hand, and on the other hand he chooses to omit 80% of the 88 occurrences of the construction ‘upon + hearing’ in Joly’s version which also corresponds to ‘听了’ in the original.

Generally speaking, Hawkes adopts a flexible and informal style in rendering the original. His flexible and informal style may partially explain his use of the NOMs as an alternative of finite clausal structures and in collocation with more informal prepositional phrases.

### **6.2.3 The Yangs’ individual style**

The Yangs make considerably less use of nominalized structures introduced by formal prepositions in terms of both number and variety (see Table 12). These cases of formal constructions merely account for 23% of the 194 formal constructions altogether used in the three versions (see Table 12). On the other hand, they merely occasionally choose formal lexical expressions and syntactic structures (see 5.1.1 E.g.7; 5.1.5 E.g.2; 5.3.1 E.g.2 and E.g.8).

They make less use of periphrastic predicate constructions than Joly and Hawkes. Those appear in the examples given are 5.1.1 E.g.12 ‘have a look’ and E.g.25 ‘taken a fancy’; 5.1.2 E.g.2 ‘given another (sound) thrashing’ and E.g.4 ‘gave a (scornful) laugh’; 5.1.3 E.g.11

‘make a sacrifice’; 5.2.2 E.g.8 ‘took her leave’; 5.3.3 E.g.18 ‘made no mention’), most of which are less formal.

They make most frequent use of the technique of implicitation (and omission) (see 5.1.1 E.g.1, E.g.4, E.g.9, and E.g.32; 5.1.2 E.g.7, E.g.14, and E.g.23; 5.1.3 E.g.3; 5.1.5 E.g.2; 5.2.1 E.g.1 and E.g.2; 5.2.2 E.g.10 and E.g.11; 5.3.1 E.g.10; 5.3.2 E.g.11 and E.g.12). Some cases of implicitation are made perhaps because the Yangs think they are already presupposed (see 5.3.2 E.g.11 and E.g.12), or due to the complexity of the original structures (see 5.1.3 E.g.3). In addition, the Yangs also choose to omit 85% of the 34 occurrences of the construction ‘after + listening’ in Joly’s version which corresponds to ‘听了’ in the original on the one hand, and on the other hand chooses to omit 80% of the 88 occurrences of the construction ‘upon + hearing’ in Joly’s version which also corresponds to ‘听了’ in the original.

They make more frequent use of concise expressions (see 5.1.1 E.g.6 and E.g.29; 5.1.2 E.g.12 and E.g.13; 5.1.4 E.g.3 and E.g.4; 5.1.5 E.g.1 and E.g.3; 5.2.2 E.g.6; 5.3.1 E.g.3 and E.g.9), some of which come from their adjustments of the original (see 5.1.5 E.g.1; 5.2.2 E.g.6; 5.3.1 E.g.3). In 5.1.5 E.g.1, their concise expression comes from their three structural shifts of the original clausal structures into adjectives while in 5.3.1 E.g.3 they choose to simplify the original appositive element into a prepositional phrase ‘from Suzhou’.

Generally speaking, the Yangs give a concise and less formal rendering of the original text. This concise and less formal style may have partially prompted them to choose (less formal) NOMs as a manifestation of implicitation in translation and in collocation with less formal prepositional phrases.

### **6.3 Potential factors triggering the NOM in *HLM* translation**

In section 6.1, we have given a comprehensive quantitative analysis of how the NOMs are used in the three versions of *HLM*. In this section, we summarize the potential factors triggering the NOM in *HLM* translation. The NOM in *HLM* translation may be triggered by the grammatical features of the Chinese language, lexicalization, the context and co-text of the original text, the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy, the translator's stylistic considerations, and social and cultural factors. Nominalized structures in the examples given all correspond to verbal/adjective predicate clausal structures or verbal structures in the original.

#### **6.3.1 The grammatical features of the Chinese language**

The NOM in *HLM* translation may be triggered by the grammatical features of the Chinese language. First, nominalization may be triggered by the omission of subjects or agents in the original. In translating, the translator may choose a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to a passive finite clausal structure (see 5.1.1 E.g.1, E.g.5, and E.g.8; 5.3.3 E.g.17).

The NOM in *HLM* may also be triggered by the omission of subjects in linear structures which consist of several verbal actions in a temporal consecutive relation (see 5.1.1 E.g.4, E.g.18, and E.g.23). In addition, the NOM in *HLM* is potentially triggered by the general reference of subjects in the original (see 5.1.1 E.g.24; 5.1.4 E.g.6).

The NOM may also be triggered by the omission of conjunctions in the original. Given that in Chinese parataxis is more common than hypotaxis and semantic units in a sentence are often linked by the context rather than by conjunctions, the translator may resort to nominalized structures in the position of subject since they may leave open possibilities to

determine what logical meanings their corresponding semantic units in the original represent (see 5.2.2 E.g.6).

Moreover, the NOM in *HLM* translation may be triggered by the intransitive verbs or verbs used intransitively in the original. By choosing nominalized structures, the translator does not have to interpret what the objects of those transitive verbs are (see 5.1.1 E.g.3, E.g.6, and E.g.35; 5.3.3 E.g.20).

The NOM in *HLM* translation may still have something to do with serial verb constructions in the original text. The original text sees many serial verb constructions where the second verbal structure often stands in a purposeful relation with the first verbal structure. In translating the second verbal structure, the translator may choose a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to an infinitival structure. According to our data, numerous cases of nominalized structures in Joly's version correspond to serial verb constructions in the original text (see all the examples in 5.1.3). These nominalized structures are mostly introduced by formal prepositional phrases, which typify his formal style.

### **6.3.2 Lexicalization**

Following Shlesinger (1992) who conducted an empirical study of students' progress in the awareness of lexicalization in translation, our study posits that the NOM may also be triggered by lexicalization. In 5.3.3 E.g.15, both the Yangs and Joly's inconsistent treatment of the original two noun phrases may reveal their automated use of 'birth' and 'incarnation' as lexical terms rather than NOMs transformed from finite verbs 'bear' and 'incarnate'. This example shows that the translators may sometimes automatically use some NOMs as lexicalized terms.

### **6.3.3 The context and co-text of the original**

There is some possibility that some NOMs in *HLM* translation are used under the influence of the context and co-text of the original (see 5.1.2 E.g.18; 5.3.3 E.g.19). In 5.1.2 E.g.18, Hawkes' collocation of the nominalized structure with a formal prepositional phrase 'owing to' is perhaps made in order to reflect the noble identity of the character. In 5.3.3 E.g.19, the omission of the possessive pronoun may have prompted the Yangs to choose a nominalized structure as they are aware from the previous context that its presence is annoying to the character concerned.

### **6.3.4 The translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy**

In addition to the factor of the grammatical features of the Chinese language, the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy may also constitute another factor. According to Cristofaro (2003, p.248), syntagmatic economy, as one of the two kinds of economy which is defined as 'a pressure towards minimal effort and maximal simplification of expression', is 'the tendency to reduce the length or complexity of any utterance or message' so that 'information that is redundant and/or recoverable from the context tends to be omitted'.

Syntagmatic economy is used in our study to account for the correlation between a finite clausal structure which predetermines subject, object, and verbal categories (such as tense, aspect, voice, and modality) on the one hand and on the other hand a nominalized structure which leads to implicitation of the corresponding information. The translator may choose to leave out whatever is affordable to leave out of a finite clausal structure without affecting the communicative value of the sentence, when the left-out information is recoverable from the context. Out of this leaving-out process, nominalized structures may arise. For instance, if the

time reference, aspect, or modal verb of a subordinate clausal structure is predetermined by the semantic features of its main predication, the translator may choose a nominalized structure (see 5.1.1 E.g.10 and E.g.30 for tense implicitation; 5.1.2 E.g.13 for perfect aspect implicitation; 5.1.1 E.g.31 for voice implicitation; see all the examples in 5.1.3 for modal verb implicitation). Similarly, if the subordinate clausal structure shares the subject with its main clausal structure, the translator may also choose a nominalized structure (see 5.1.1 E.g.14 and E.g.16).

### **6.3.5 The translator's stylistic considerations**

In addition to the above various factors, the translator's stylistic considerations may constitute another triggering factor. The linguistic difference between Chinese and English in the way their semantic units combine to form sentences may have prompted the translator to join the original short paratactic units in a hypotactic way through nominalization in order to ensure a smooth flow of the discourse (see 5.2.2 E.g.9). According to Longacre (1983, p.327), '[i]t is essential that certain predications be nominalized or at least subordinated in some fashion and shoved to the side. They must not be permitted to impede the flow of the discourse.'

In addition, the NOM may be used to achieve syntactic consistency due to its noun-like formal features. In translating, the translator may choose a nominalized structure so that syntactic symmetry can be established with another noun structure (see 5.1.1 E.g.2 and E.g.6).

Moreover, the translator may choose a nominalized structure so as to avoid the appearance in its corresponding finite clausal structure of a long subject (see 5.1.1 E.g.29 and E.g.34; 5.1.3 E.g.4; 5.2.2 E.g.7).

Furthermore, the translators may choose some nominalized structures as part of some



collocations. For example, 53 ZNs of ‘search’ in Joly’s version appear in the collocation ‘verb + in search’ while this collocation appears 9 times in the Yangs’ version.

### **6.3.6 Social and cultural factors**

Considering Joly’s individual style, we judge that his distinct use of the NOMs in collocation with numerous formal prepositional phrases in his version may also be partially influenced by his diplomatic profession. It is easily imagined that a diplomat is required or supposed to behave formally, decently and properly in both words and deeds.

Considering the Yangs’ individual style, we judge that their distinct use of the NOMs could be partially influenced by the concise writing style of some Chinese authors. As Xianyi Yang recalled in his autobiography, he often in his early teens bought from book-vendors and read a lot of old anecdotes and tales, and a great portion of popular Ming and Qing prose romances and novels. At the start of China’s famous May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement in 1919, many new bookshops appeared at his hometown Tian Jin to sell works by such new writers as Dr. Shi Hu, Zuoren Zhou, and Xun Lu and he would go to these bookshops to buy books and read them greedily. As he mentioned later on in his autobiography, ‘[t]he writings of Zuoren Zhou and Xun Lu, however, were the exception. I was very fond of the writings of these authors, both for their thought content and for their concise, clear language – even though they wrote in vernacular Chinese’ (Yang, 2002, p.13). Xun Lu (1881-1936), ‘father of modern Chinese literature, is recognized especially for having laid the foundations of modern Chinese fiction’ (Gu, 2008, p.29). With the pen name of Shuren Zhou, he is the elder brother of Zuoren Zhou.

As for Hawkes’ distinct use of the NOMs, we feel difficult to directly connect it with any potential social or cultural factor. However, considering his flexible and informal style, we feel more positive that his deep concern about the English readers in his mind has partially

influenced his least use of the NOMs in collocation with formal prepositions or prepositional phrases, and we feel more positive that he might have used nominalized structures (as opposed to finite clausal structures) to achieve variety in expression.

### 6.3.7 The stylistic norm of the NOM in English literature

In addition to the translator's individual style, the NOM in *HLM* translation may also be influenced by the stylistic norm of the NOM in English literature. In order to prove/disprove its potential influence, it is necessary to look at the use of the NOM in some original English literary works (see Table 14). However, before we look at the statistical results in the Table, it is necessary for us to specify our rationale for choosing them.

Table 14: The NOM used in four original English literary prose works

The NOM	<i>Tess of the d'Urbervilles</i> published in 1891	<i>Moment in Peking</i> published in 1939	<i>Nineteen Eighty-Four</i> published in 1949	<i>The Bridges of Madison County</i> published in 1992
As adverbial	28 (68%)	54 (68%)	21 (81%)	20 (80%)
In the position of subject	1 (3%)	9 (12%)	5 (19%)	3 (12%)
In the position of object	12 (29%)	16 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (8%)
Total number	41(100%)	79 (100%)	26 (100%)	25 (100%)
Number of words covered	26, 594	60, 399	34, 419	36, 620
Coverage	1 out of 7 phases	9 out of 45 chapters	1 out of 3 parts	a whole book
Average coverage	1/649 words	1/765 words	1/1324 words	1/1465 words

The four English literary works chosen span a period of over 100 years which starts from 1891 at about the same period of which Joly's version of *HLM* was published and ends in the year 1992 when Robert Waller's *The Bridges of Madison County* was published which was that year's best-selling novel. The historical novel *Moment in Peking* is chosen mainly because it was written by a Chinese American author Yutang Lin for the U.S. audience. Its choice allows a different look at the NOM used by Chinese authors of English novels. In the preface of this historical novel, Lin wrote '[this novel] is merely a story of ...how certain habits of living and ways of thinking are formed and how, above all, [men and women] adjust

themselves to the circumstances in this earthly life where men strive but gods rule.’ The literary political fiction *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is chosen mainly because nominalization in the fiction is used by the author George Orwell as one of the two syntactic techniques to achieve mystification or doublethink according to Hodge and Fowler (1979). It follows that the choice of these works allows our examination of the NOM in the English literary works from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

A comparison of Table 14 and Table 11 in terms of average NOM coverage shows that the use of the NOM in the three versions of *HLM* may not come from the influence of the stylistic norm of the NOM in English literature as the average coverages in the original English literary prose works are much lower than those in *HLM* translations. Second, this comparison also shows that the use of the NOMs in *HLM* translations may not come directly from the influence of the period of time when the translations were done. For example, Joly’s use of the NOM may not have been influenced by the period of time he did his translation, which can be proved by the much lower average coverage of the NOM in *Tess of the D’urbervilles*, which was published at about the same period of time.

#### **6.4 The NOM used in the translation of other Chinese literary prose works**

In the previous sections 6.1 and 6.3, we have summarized the NOM used in the three versions of *HLM* including its main characteristics and its potentially triggering factors. However, no matter how comprehensive the summary could be, it is still far from representative of the whole picture of the NOM used in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English. Therefore, it is still necessary to investigate the NOM used in the translation of some other Chinese literary prose works to see whether the pattern of the NOM used in *HLM* translation continues and whether there are still some other potential factors

triggering the NOM. Before that investigation, however, we will have a brief introduction to the English translations of other Chinese literary prose works.

#### **6.4.1 A brief overview of the English translations of other Chinese literary prose works**

The English translations of other Chinese literary prose works include two English versions of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and two English versions of *Journey to the West* (both Chinese novels are generally considered among the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature), *Fortress Besieged* (one of the most well-known contemporary Chinese novels in China), and *Camel Xiangzi* (a classic novel of 20th-century Chinese literature).

*Romance of the Three Kingdoms* or *Sanguo Yanyi*, written by Guanzhong Luo in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is a Chinese historical novel based on events in the turbulent years, starting in year 169 and ending with the reunification of the land in year 280. One of the greatest achievements of the novel perhaps lies in the extreme complexity of its stories interwoven with nearly a thousand dramatic characters in 120 chapters. Two of its English versions chosen are *Three Kingdoms* translated by Moss Roberts and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* translated by C.H. Brewitt-Taylor.

*Journey to the West* or *Xi You Ji*, authored by Cheng'en Wu in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is a fictionalized description of the mythologized legends around the Tang dynasty Buddhist monk Xuanzang's pilgrimage to the India in order to obtain Buddhist religious texts called sutras. In terms of its two notable English complete versions, *Journey to the West* (1982-84) in three volumes translated by W. J. F. Jenner is more readable without scholarly apparatus while *The Journey to the West* (1977-83) in four volumes by Anthony C Yu. is more scholarly with extensive introduction and notes.

*Fortress Besieged* or *Wei Cheng* (1944-46), authored by Zhongshu Qian, is a humorous

tale about middle-class Chinese society in the 1940s. The title derives from a French proverb: Marriage is like a fortress besieged: those who are outside want to get in, and those who are inside want to get out. The novel is jointly translated by Jeanne Kelly and Nathan Mao.

*Camel Xiangzi* or *Luotuo Xiangzi*, authored by She Lao, is about the life of a fictional Beijing rickshaw man. Its main subject matter is the way in which the main character makes his living pulling a rickshaw, the options he faces and choices he makes, and especially the fundamental issues of whether to work independently or as a servant to a family and whether to rent or own a rickshaw. One of its four English translations was made by Xiaoqing Shi in 1988 with the English title *Camel Xiangzi*.

#### **6.4.2 The NOM used in the translation of other Chinese literary prose works**

Since the six translated works partially chosen are based on different Chinese source works and cover different numbers of words, this reduces us to analyzing the use of the NOMs in them in terms of average coverage and percentage (rather than number) (see Table 15 below). In terms of average coverage, *Camel Xiangzi* enjoys the highest one (1/301) while *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* has the lowest one (1/1230). In terms of the three categories of the NOM, Yu makes most use of GNs (75%) while Brewitt-Taylor makes most use of both DN (35%) and ZN (35%). In terms of syntactic categories, the NOMs in all the works are more used as adverbial, followed by their use in the position of object and subject. Specifically, Jenner makes most use of the NOMs as adverbial (94%) while Brewitt-Taylor makes least use of the NOMs as adverbial (59%). Jenner's predominant use of the NOMs as adverbial explains his least use of the NOMs in the position of both subject and object: 1% and 5% respectively. Kelly and Mao make most use of the NOMs in the position of subject (10%) while Brewitt-Taylor makes most use of the NOMs in the position of object (30%).

Table 15: The NOM used in the translation of other Chinese literary prose works

The NOM	<i>Three Kingdoms</i> (1994) translated by Moss Roberts	<i>Romance of the Three Kingdoms</i> (1925) translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor	<i>Journey to the west</i> (1982-6) translated by W. J. F. Jenner	<i>The journey to the west</i> (1973-7) translated by Anthony Yu	<i>Fortress Besieged</i> (2003) translated by Jeanne Kelly & Nathan Mao	<i>Camel Xiangzi</i> (1988) translated by Xiaojing Shi
As adverbial	58 (70%)	22 (59%)	83 (94%)	62 (85%)	129 (81%)	59 (79%)
In the position of subject	7 (8%)	4 (11%)	1 (1%)	6 (8%)	16 (10%)	6 (8%)
In the position of object	18 (22%)	11 (30%)	4 (5%)	5 (7%)	14 (9%)	10 (13%)
Total number	83 (100%)	37 (100%)	88 (100%)	73 (100%)	159 (100%)	75 (100%)
GD/DN/ZN	49/25/9 (59%/30%/11%)	11/13/13 (30%/35%/35%)	65/16/7 (74%/18%/8%)	55/10/8 (75%/14%/11%)	106/25/28 (66%/16%/18%)	50/10/15 (67%/13%/20%)
Number of words covered	44, 949	45, 513	65, 191	68, 943	52, 155	22, 544
Coverage	10 out of 120 chapters	10 out of 120 chapters	10 out of 100 chapters	10 out of 100 chapters	3 out of 9 chapters	6 out of 24 chapters
Average coverage	1/542	1/1230	1/741	1/944	1/328	1/301
Dialogue/narrative	26/57 (31%/69%)	2/35 (5%/95%)	32/56 (36%/64%)	21/52 (29%/71%)	24/135 (15%/85%)	0/75 (0%/100%)

Table 11: The NOM used in the first 56 chapters of the three versions of *HLM*

The NOM	The Yangs' version	Hawkes' version	Joly's version
As adverbial	636 (79%)	575 (77%)	1202 (92%)
In the position of subject	63 (8%)	52 (7%)	32 (2%)
In the position of object	110 (13%)	119 (16%)	77 (6%)
Total number (GN/DN/ZN)	443/216/150 (55%/27%/18%)	466/185/95 (62%/25%/13%)	647/408/256 (49%/31%/20%)
Average coverage	1/347	1/516	1/337
Dialogue/narrative	294/515 (36%/64%)	212/534 (28%/72%)	336/935 (26%/74%)

The patterns of the NOM revealed in the translation of other Chinese literary prose works confirm the patterns of the NOM revealed in *HLM* translation. First, the NOM is predominantly used as adverbial. Moreover, GN is also predominantly used (except in Brewitt-Taylor's translation). In addition, the NOM is predominantly used in the narrative, especially in *Camel Xiangzi* where the NOM is 100% used in the narrative.

This predominant use of the NOM as adverbial revealed in both Table 15 and Table 11

may indicate the strong influence of the translators' considerations of syntagmatic economy. In fact, their potential economical considerations find substantial support from the equally predominant use of the NOM in the original English literary prose works as adverbial, ranging from 68% of the total use of the NOMs in both *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *Moment in Peking* to 81% of the total use of the NOMs in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

A comparison of Table 15 and Table 11 also shows a distinction in terms of average NOM coverage, which ranges from the highest 1/301 in Xiaojing Shi's version of *Camel Xiangzi* to the lowest 1/1230 in Brewitt-Taylor's *Roman of the Three Kingdoms*. This distinction may to a large extent indicate the shared influence of the content of a given source text on the translator's use of the NOM. Specifically, the content of a given source text may mainly influence the occurrence of various semantic-logical relations, which may subsequently influence the occurrence of the NOM in translation. In other words, the more complicated the content of a given source text seems to be, the more frequently various semantic-logical relations may appear in it, and thus the NOM may be used by the translator more often.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

### 7.0 Overview

This research has made a linguistic, descriptive and explanatory study of nominalization in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese into English mainly based on the first 56 chapters of the three English versions of the eighteenth century Chinese classical novel *Hong Long Meng (HLM)*.

This study is theoretically motivated by the unbalanced state of affairs of explicitation and implicitation in translation. Explication, as a potential candidate for the status of translation universal, is claimed as ‘one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in translation studies’ (Perego, 2003, p.68; Gumul, 2006, p.171). Implicitation, however, is treated as a stepbrother of explication in the sense that it is mentioned incidentally and only limited research has been done with implicitation as a main objective of study.

This study is also motivated by the current situation of the study of the translator’s style. Following Baker’s seminal article (2000), some translation-oriented studies about the translator’s style have been conducted under a corpus-based approach or a corpus-based and corpus-driven approach. Methodologically, these studies either compare different versions of the same source text into the same target language by different translators or compare different translations of different source texts into the same target language by different translators. However, none of them has touched on English nominalization as a manifestation of implicitation in translation in relation to the translator’s style.

In addition, this study chooses to investigate English nominalization in the context of literary translation out of the consideration that English nominalization is less studied in



literature and particularly in translated literature. One of the possible reasons could be that from the perspective of systemic-functional linguistics it is a general characteristic of English nominalizations that they appear more often as a standard feature of some special functional styles, particularly political, legal, administrative, journalistic, and scientific styles.

Finally, this study chooses to investigate nominalization in literary translation through comparison of versions of the same source text out of the additional consideration that this methodological approach may facilitate the recognition on the textual level of the potential factors triggering nominalization in translation. In addition, the three English complete versions of *HLM* are chosen out of the consideration that they allow a maximal investigation of nominalization in translation from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective and from both a synchronic and diachronic aspect.

In line with the above motivations and considerations, this study has tried to answer the following questions:

- (1) How is nominalization used in the three English versions of *HLM*?
- (2) What are the potential factors triggering English nominalization in *HLM* translation?
- (3) How is nominalization used in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English?
- (4) What are the potential factors triggering nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English?

## **7.1 Conclusions**

### **7.1.1 Main features of nominalization used in the three English versions of *HLM***

This study has found that nominalization is used in the three versions of *HLM* with both differences and similarities. Their differences are first presented. Joly makes more use of

nominalization in terms of both total number and average coverage. As for Hawkes and the Yangs, they make similar use of nominalization in terms of total number but not average coverage. The average NOM coverage is higher in the Yangs' version than that in Hawkes' version (1/347 against 1/516). In terms of syntactic categories, Joly makes most use of nominalization as adverbial, and least use of nominalization in the position of subject and object; In contrast, the Yangs make most use of nominalization in the position of subject while Hawkes makes most use of nominalization in the position of object. In terms of nominalized constructions, Joly makes most use of 50 types, followed by Hawkes 36 types and the Yangs 26 types. In addition, the two variables of the most frequently-used types of constructions and the most frequently-used types of collocations reveal that Joly uses nominalization in a more patterned way while Hawkes uses nominalization in a less focused but more flexible way.

Apart from their different features of nominalization revealed in the three versions of *HLM*, some similar features are also found. Nominalization is predominantly used as adverbial, followed by its use in the position of object and subject. In addition, GN is predominantly used, followed by the use of DN and ZN. Moreover, nominalization is more used in the narrative than in the dialogues.

### **7.1.2 Potential factors triggering English nominalization in *HLM* translation**

In terms of the potential factors triggering nominalization in *HLM* translation, this study has found that it is potentially triggered by various factors including the grammatical features of the Chinese language, lexicalization, the context and co-text of the original text, the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy, the translator's stylistic considerations, and social and cultural factors.

In the meanwhile, this study has also found that the stylistic norm of nominalization in

English literature (based on the four original English literary prose works written by both native speakers of English and Chinese) may not be a potential factor triggering nominalization in *HLM* translation in that their respective average NOM coverages are remarkably lower than those of the three versions of *HLM*.

### **7.1.3 Main features of nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English**

This study has found at least three main features or patterns of nominalization based on the English translations of Chinese literary prose works under investigation. First, nominalization is used as adverbial (83% on average), followed by its use in the position of object (11% on average) and subject (6% on average). Second, nominalization is more used in the form of GN (56% on average), followed by its use in the form of DN (27% on average) and ZN (17% on average). Finally, nominalization is significantly more used in the narrative (72% on average) than in dialogue (28% on average).

Based on these findings, this study concludes that nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English is predominantly used as adverbial, in the form of GN, and in narrative.

### **7.1.4 Potential factors triggering nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English**

In addition to the various potential factors triggering nominalization in *HLM* translation, this study concludes that the content of the Chinese original texts may constitute another potential factor triggering nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English. Specifically, the content of a given Chinese source text may influence the occurrence of various semantic-logical relations, which may subsequently influence the occurrence of

nominalization in translation. In other words, the more complicated the content of a given source text is, the more frequently various semantic-logical relations may appear in it, and thus nominalization may be used by the translator more often.

On the other hand, this study found it hard to determine at this stage the stylistic norm of nominalization in English literature at large as another potential triggering factor in that some of the English original literary works in Table 14 have higher average NOM coverages and others have lower ones than the average NOM coverages of the English translations of the Chinese literary works in Tables 11 and Table 15. A confirmed answer about its potentiality as a factor necessitates a further examination of more English original literary works in terms of average NOM coverage.

## **7.2 Implications of the study**

This descriptive, comparative, and explanatory study may have the following four aspects of implications: practical implication in Chinese-English translation teaching, implication in translation theory, implication in the research of English translations of *HLM*, and implication in literary translation into English.

### **7.2.1 Practical implication in Chinese-English translation teaching**

This study aims to provide insight into a better understanding of the nature of English nominalization in literary translation context as both a linguistic and stylistic phenomenon from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. This is of significance to Chinese-English translation teaching.

Quantitatively, this study compares the overall use of the NOM in the English translations of Chinese literary prose works with its overall use in English original literary prose works in terms of average nominal coverage. This quantitative result can be helpful for Chinese

students in both English language and literature major and translation major to be highly aware of the stylistic norm of nominalization in English literature in contrast to the stylistic norm of nominalization in the English translations of Chinese works of literature.

Qualitatively, this study gives findings of a wide variety of potential factors triggering the NOM in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese into English. This qualitative finding is practically valuable to Chinese-English translation teaching in the sense that translators do not work in a vacuum. Instead, they are not only conditioned by the linguistic and stylistic differences of Chinese and English, but also conditioned by the wider social and cultural environment in which they live and translate.

### **7.2.2 Implication in translation theory**

The findings in this study about the potential factors triggering nominalization in literary prose translation from Chinese into English offer substantial evidence to test and verify Pym (1998) who has advocated the notion of multiple causality, maintaining that translation is a complex activity for which there must be multiple sources of explanation. Pym (1998, p.149) argues that the four Aristotelian causes (i.e., material or initial cause, final cause, formal cause, and efficient cause) are all necessary for a translation to exist, and therefore ‘there should be no question of seeing any one factor as the cause of a translation’. There may be debates about which factor or combination of factors is dominant, but there is no reason that one factor should be accorded a prior dominance.

In support of multiple explanations of translational phenomena, Brownlie (2003) makes a case study of the English translations of French texts by the contemporary French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard. This qualitative study involves corpus data from descriptive studies of the corpus translations and survey data from syntheses of translators’ statements. Four major

sources of explanation are proposed in the study: individual situations (the context of production of a particular translation and different translators' attitudes), textuality (the conditions governing textuality implied in translation), translator's norms and intersecting field (academic translation is envisaged as being situated at the intersection of three fields: academia, publishing, and professional translation). In comparison with Brownlie's (2003) study whose proposition is based on quite a large variety of translational phenomena, our study is more parsimonious in the sense that even one single type of phenomenon (of nominalization) in translation is already found to have multiple conditions.

### **7.2.3 Implication in research of the English translations of *HLM***

The third implication of the study lies in its contribution to the research of the English translations of *HLM* in the sense that up to now there has been not much empirical study aiming at investigating a translator's style in *HLM* English translation. However, our study, based on a large quantity of data, gives empirical findings (rather than intuitive conclusions) of the different translators' styles in *HLM* translation. A clear explanation of this point necessitates a brief overview of the history of the research of the English translations of *HLM* in China.

Generally speaking, the research of the English translations of *HLM* in China can be methodologically divided into two stages. The construction of the Chinese-English parallel corpus of *Hong Lou Meng* started in 2005 by professor Zequan Liu as a Chinese national project may act as a line of demarcation. Before the corpus-based research of the English translations of *HLM*, there were altogether about 50 articles published from 1980-2003 in 13 Chinese academic journals related to the study of foreign languages, according to Yan (2005). With a convenient commitment to just the Yangs' version and Hawkes' version in comparison

and contrast, these articles focus on a wide variety of topics such as the translation of poetry, cultural phenomena, the book title, the characters' language and names, aphorisms and idioms, figures of speech, riddles written on lanterns, and so on. The translation theories applied to these topics cover Nida's functional equivalence, Newmark's semantic and communicative translation, polysystem theory, as well as knowledge from other disciplines like linguistics, literature, aesthetics and imagology. However, most of these studies make intuitive conclusions merely based on sporadic analysis of fragments taken from the two versions. In agreement with this, Yan (2005, p.67) points out that 'the research of the English translations of *HLM* remains to be widened and deepened as these articles are mostly appreciatively analytical in nature and lack diversity in research methods'. Apparently, since the study of individual translators' styles comes as a product of corpus-based translation research, there is no wonder that not much study has been done about it in that period of time.

The start of the compilation of the parallel corpus of *HLM* in 2005 may mark the beginning of corpus-based research of the English translations of *HLM* in China, although this period has still witnessed some non-corpus-based research articles and two PhD dissertations ((Xiao (2007) dealing with the English translation of conceptual metaphors and Jiang (2007) describing the history of the English translations of *HLM*). With the completion of the parallel corpus (which involves the 120-chapter original text, the Yangs' 120-chapter English version, Hawkes and Minford's 120-chapter English version, and Joly's first 56-chapter English version), Liu (2010) and other team members of his project have conducted a series of empirical studies of the English translation of idioms, narrative markers, reporting verbs, the images of the characters, and so on. However, what all of these studies examine, strictly speaking, are the strategies or choices made by the translators with the original text as a direct

point of departure rather than the translators' individual styles with the translated texts as a direct point of departure, although some important statistical results about the general features of the three English versions are given in the book such as type/token ratio, lexical density, average sentence length, word length distribution, and so on. As admitted by Liu (2010, p.81), they have 'made some superficial analysis of and probed into the three English versions of *HLM* from a limited number of perspectives, and a more comprehensive and solid examination and analysis of them still needs to be conducted.'

Our study, with the investigation of English nominalization in translation as a direct point of departure, perhaps acts as one of the few studies in the real sense of the translators' individual styles in *HLM* English translation. This study, we hope, will be of significance in further developing the research of the English translations of *HLM*.

#### **7.2.4 Implication in literary prose translation into English**

Although this study mainly focuses on the use of nominalization in literary prose translation from Chinese into English, it, we hope, will be of significance in enriching literary translation into English in terms of what literary effect the translator intends to create on his/her translated text. This is because the same use of English nominalization in a text will create the same literary effect on the text no matter whether it is translated from Chinese or from any other language. Our study has offered other translators two different ways of using nominalization in translation, which create two different literary effects. If they intend to create a highly formal effect on their works, they can choose to follow Joly's way in using nominalization, together with his way in using other techniques such as formal periphrastic predicate constructions and formal lexical expressions. If they intend to create a highly concise effect on their works, they can choose to follow the Yangs' way in using



nominalization, together with their way in using other techniques such as implicitation and omission.

### **7.3 Limitations and future research**

Limitations in this study are inevitable due to various reasons. The first limitation of the study is that it did not investigate the explicit use of adverbial finite clausal structures in the three English versions of *HLM* and compare their use with the implicit use of nominalized structures as a condenser of adverbial and in the position of subject. This investigation will reveal the translators' characteristic use of syntactic explicitation and syntactic implicitation. It may also provide some other potential factors triggering the use of nominalization in *HLM* translation and thus in literary translation from Chinese into English.

In addition, since this study was conducted in a descriptive-explanatory approach, it is not always easy to offer confirmed answers for why nominalization is used in literary prose translation from Chinese into English without conducting both an introspective analysis with the help of computing logging and think-aloud-protocols and a retrospective analysis of the comments by the translators. Meanwhile, in the process of data analysis (e.g., in determining whether a specific case is a case of implicitation or omission), we do not deny that our own preferences too play a role and are sometimes driven by our personal taste, although we have tried to account for the grounds on which we base our assessments.

Moreover, we investigate the use of English nominalization in literary translation within the theoretical framework of implicitation and condensation of the eminent Prague Linguistic School (both classical and modern) which has subsumed some lexicogrammatical concepts in systemic functional grammar. Even so, this is only one of several theoretical approaches which can equally provide useful insights to the study of English nominalization

in translation.

Furthermore, we admit that our single study can not fully answer all the encompassing question of how nominalization is used in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English, but our study (mainly based on the three classic English translations of the most well-known Chinese novel *HLM*) has achieved our original purpose of demonstrating the use of nominalization as part of the translator's individual style.

In view of the limitations of the present research, future research needs to be done in these areas. A further investigation of English nominalization in literary translation based on some other theoretical approach, such as systemic-functional approach from an ideational grammatical viewpoint, would also be an interesting perspective. Since relevant data are available, a comparative study of Yangs' English translation of *HLM* (and their translations of other Chinese prose works) and his published memoir in terms of the use of NOMs will be conducted, which may shed more light on his style as a translator (or even on the collaboration between this husband and wife team).

## 7.4 Summary

This research has made a linguistic, descriptive and explanatory study of nominalization in the translation of literary prose works from Chinese into English mainly based on the three English complete versions of the eighteenth century Chinese classical novel *Hong Long Meng* (*HLM*). The study concludes that nominalization in the translation of literary prose from Chinese into English is predominantly used as adverbial, in the form of GN, and in narrative.

The study also concludes that the use of nominalization is potentially triggered by various factors including the grammatical features of the Chinese language, lexicalization, the context and co-text of Chinese original texts, the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy,

the translator's stylistic considerations, social and cultural factors, and the content of the Chinese original texts.

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