JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

東方文化

The *Journal of Oriental Studies* was founded in 1954. Starting with volume 47, the *Journal* has been co-published by the School of Chinese, The University of Hong Kong, the Center for Chinese Language and Cultural Studies, Stanford University, Chung Hwa Book Co., (HK) Ltd. The *Journal* is bilingual. All articles published in the *Journal* are refereed.

The *Journal* publishes articles and reviews in Chinese and Sinophone studies involving such humanistic areas as language, literature, history, philosophy, religion, and translation.

Prospective authors should consult the style-sheet of the *Journal*. Contributors of articles will receive five copies of the *Journal*. Please address all manuscripts, books for review, editorial communications, queries about subscriptions, and business correspondence to the Chief Editor, *Journal of Oriental Studies*.

The annual subscription to the *Journal* is HK$310 (US$40) for institutions and libraries and HK$232 (US$30) for individuals. Advertisements are accepted at the following rate: full page HK$1000 (US$130).

Correspondence Address: School of Chinese, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong. Tel.: (852) 39174356, FAX: (852) 28581334, email: joshkusu@hkucc.hku.hk.

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the permission of the copyright holder.

JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Co-published by School of Chinese, The University of Hong Kong, Center for Chinese Language and Cultural Studies, Stanford University, Chung Hwa Book Co., (HK) Ltd.

VOLUME 49 NUMBER 1

東方文化

第四十九卷第一期

香港大學中文學院、史丹福大學中華語言文化研究中心、中華書局(香港)有限公司 聯合出版

© *Copyright 2016 by The University of Hong Kong, Stanford University and Chung Hwa Book Co., (HK) Ltd.*

HK ISSN 0022-331X

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*

JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
東方文化

Editorial Board

Chief Editor 主編
Cuncun WU 吳存存

Executive Editors 執行編輯
Siu Fu TANG 鄧小虎
Lucas KLEIN 柯夏智

Editorial Board Members 編委會成員
John M. CARROLL 高馬可
Kam Wing FUNG 馮錦榮
Christopher M. HUTTON 胡　傑
Chung Mou SI 施仲謀（HKIED 香港教育學院）
Gang SONG 宋　剛
Chaofen SUN 孫朝奮（Stanford University 斯坦福大學）
Yiu Kay TSE 謝耀基
Yuk Fung YEUNG 楊玉峰
Isaac YUE 余文章

JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
東方文化

Editorial Advisers

Professor Chang Yu-fa 張玉法教授,
Institute of Modern History,
Academia Sinica,
Taiwan.

Professor Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤教授,
Wei Lun Chair Professor,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong,
Hong Kong.

Professor V.H. Mair 梅維恆教授,
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations,
University of Pennsylvania,
U.S.A.

Professor N.G.D. Malmqvist 馬悅然教授,
Professor Emeritus,
University of Stockholm,
Sweden.

Professor T.G. McGee,
Institute of Asian Research,
University of British Columbia,
Canada.

Professor Peter Schran,
Professor Emeritus of Economics,
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
U.S.A.

Professor Sin Chow Yiu 單周堯教授,
Honorary Professor,
The University of Hong Kong,
Hong Kong.

Professor Ezra Vogel 傅高義教授,
Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Emeritus,
Harvard University,
U.S.A.

Professor John C.Y. Wang 王靖宇教授,
Center for Chinese Language and Cultural Studies,
Stanford University,
U.S.A.

Professor John Wong 黃朝翰教授,
East Asian Institute,
National University of Singapore,
Singapore.

CONTENTS
目次

Lucas KLEIN 柯夏智 — SPECIAL ISSUE: Experiments in Translating Classical Chinese Poetry — vii

Articles
論文

Monica E M ZIKPI 馬思清 — On Translation's "Original" and an Emergent Translation of the *Shijing* 論翻譯的"原文"及《詩經》的英譯湧現 — 1

Thomas J. MAZANEC 余泰明 — Jiă Dăo's Rhythm, or, How to Translate the Tones of Medieval Chinese 賈島的節奏，翻譯中古漢語格律的試驗方法 — 27

Lucas KLEIN 柯夏智 — Pseudo-Pseudotranslation: On the Potential for Annotation in Translating Li Shangyin 李商隱英譯本中的注釋 — 49

Zeb RAFT 雷之波 — Translation as a Means to the Discovery of Poetic Argumentation: An Experiment with the Tang Poet Liu Zhangqing 由翻譯探索詩歌藝術中的「論證」面向：以唐詩人劉長卿為對象的實驗 — 73

Eleanor GOODMAN 顧愛玲 — Making Space: New Angles of Approach in Translation — 109

Reviews
書評

The Paradox of Faithfulness: Hsia Yü 夏宇, *Salsa*, and Xi Xi 西西, *Not Written Words* 不是文字 — Tammy Lai-Ming HO — 111

Mang Ke 芒克, *October Dedications* 十月的獻詩 — Robert MOORE — 115

Ouyang Jianghe 歐陽江河, *Phoenix* 鳳凰 — Robert MOORE — 119

A Short Guide to Style
稿件格式 — 123

Journal of Oriental Studies Volume 49 Number 1, Pages 27–48 (September 2016)

JIǍ DǍO'S RHYTHM, OR, HOW TO TRANSLATE THE TONES OF MEDIEVAL CHINESE[§]

Thomas J. MAZANEC*

Abstract Since the early twentieth century, translators and critics of classical Chinese poetry have tended to focus on imagery and suggestion, balking at rhythm. It is commonly assumed that modern English and classical Chinese are too different, phonemically, for any of the aural qualities of one to translate into the other. My essay aims to overcome these differences through a series of experimental translations of poems by Jiǎ Dǎo 賈島 (779–834). I begin with a discussion of linguist/translator Henri Meschonnic's definition of rhythm as "the organization of movement in speech," a concept which includes a poem's performance and audience, its effect on its community and language at particular points in time. For a master craftsman of tonal patterning and parallelism like Jiǎ Dǎo, this means it is necessary to establish a method for translating medieval Chinese tonal prosody. Drawing on the theory that the medieval Chinese tonal binary of "level" 平 and "deflected" 仄 tones emerged out of the Sanskrit syllabic binary of light (*laghu*) and heavy (*guru*) syllables, I translate each level tone into a stressed long vowel and each deflected tone into a stressed short vowel in English. This creates a real yet subtle shift in the rhythm of the translation, carrying over some of Jiǎ Dǎo's force on language in time. Thus, in translating Jiǎ Dǎo's rhythm, I aim to translate his illocutionary power: not just what his poems say, but what they do.

Keywords Classical Chinese, Jiǎ Dǎo, Translation, Tonal Prosody, Rhythm

---

§ I would like to thank Lucas Klein, Monica Zikpi, Zeb Raft, Eleanor Goodman, and the *Journal of Oriental Studies*'s anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on this essay. The method of translation proposed here was originally developed, in a far less mature form, for my 2011 M.A. thesis at the University of Colorado, "To Know the Tone: Analyses and Experimental Translations of Lǐ Duān's Poetic Experiments." The support of my advisor, Paul Kroll, was fundamental to the shaping and completion of that project. I'm also grateful to Cameron Moore Rodriguez for introducing me to the works of Henri Meschonnic many years ago.

* Thomas J. MAZANEC is a PhD candidate in Classical Chinese Literature and Religion at Princeton University.

Chinese has tones. English doesn't. Their poetries reflect this difference. Classical Chinese meter is tonal, English is stress-based. They are distinct languages with distinct rhythms. Thus it follows that, on the level of sound, one cannot be represented by the other. It's a fool's errand to try to carry over anything from Chinese to English aside from semantic meaning. So, for the last one hundred years, we have made of Chinese poetry a monument to imagery, filling our books with glosses and footnotes, jotting down allusions and historical contexts, all in search of the precise shape of the image, to the neglect of the shaping force of the melody. To put it in Poundian terms, it's been all phanopoeia, no melopoeia.[1]

This imbalance, the stressing of sense over sound, comes from one of two assumptions: 1) that classical Chinese poetry is not interested in rhythm, or 2) that the rhythms of classical Chinese are so alien to Western languages that they cannot be translated. The first assumption reaches its apotheosis in the myth of the pictogram—a misunderstanding of the Chinese script as directly representing concepts, not words. Much ink has been spilled over this problem, and the pictogram theory has been proven to be simply wrong.[2] The second assumption, that classical Chinese rhythm is untranslateable into English, is more popular among those in the know. Medieval Chinese, like its modern successors, is a tonal language, and bases its prosody on patterns of tonal classes. Modern English, on the other hand, is not tonal, and its poetry uses stress-based meters. Because the two languages are so different at the level of the phoneme, rhythm is one of those things that must be sacrificed in the act of translation. Both philologists (with their prosey glosses) and popular translators (with their new, invented rhythms) agree on this.

But what if they're wrong? What if we could translate tones into English? Perhaps we could gain new insights into both medieval Chinese literary history and the possibilities

1 See Ezra Pound, "How to Read," in *The Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T. S. Eliot (New York: New Directions, 1968), p. 25.

2 For a succinct debunking of the pictogram theory, also known as the "ideographic myth," see John DeFrancis, *Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984), pp. 133–49. Many have blamed Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa for popularizing and perpetuating this myth in the west (e.g., George Kennedy, "Fenollosa, Pound, and the Chinese Character," in *Selected Works of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Tien-yi Li [New Haven: Far Eastern Publications, 1965], pp. 443–62), and there is some truth to these assertions. But recent scholarship has shown that Fenollosa and Pound had divergent aims. Fenollosa did indeed know something about the sounds of Middle Chinese, as attested by his notes on poetic rhymes, a section that Pound excised from the published edition of *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium of Poetry*. Ezra Pound, for what it's worth, generally used the term "ideogram," not "ideograph," in his own essays on Chinese characters, and was more concerned with finding precedent for his own poetics of juxtaposition than with presenting an accurate portrayal of Middle Chinese. For an overview of Fenollosa's and Pound's theories, especially their points of divergence, see Haun Saussy, "Fenollosa Compounded: A Discrimination," in *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: A Critical Edition*, ed. Haun Saussy, Jonathan Stalling, and Lucas Klein (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), pp. 1–40.

of late American poetics. Overlooked Táng[3] poets may come alive to us as we experience their rhythms for the first time. English poetry could reshape itself as we tuned in to new aspects of the language: if Ezra Pound revolutionized modern American literature through a misunderstanding of classical Chinese, a better understanding could result in boundless possibilities. Rhythm, which reaches our bodies more than our intellect, could shape us in new ways.

This essay takes the first few steps toward the understanding of rhythm through a series of experimental translations of poems by Jiă Dăo 賈島 (779-834), a master craftsman of tonal patterning and parallelism. In what follows, I draw on Henri Meschonnic's search for a rhythmic approach to translation to outline the basics of tonal parallelism. This will help us understand Jiă Dăo, the most important and influential Chinese poet during the ninth and tenth centuries. In order to do justice to his illocutionary power, I propose a new method of translation, drawing on a few long-neglected experiments from the sixteenth century. When we read these first few experimental translations, with their subtle rhythmic patterning, I hope that we can begin to *feel* what Jiă Dăo is doing to language and to history.

Rhythm In Translation

Rhythm is hard to pin down. Repetition is at the heart of it, most theorists agree. Beyond that, opinions diverge. To Elizabeth Ermarth, rhythm is nearly perfect repetition, "parataxis on the horizontal and in motion: a repetitive element that doesn't 'forward' anything, one that is always exact but never identical."[4] Against the idea of "history," her postmodern, rhythmic time becomes an alternative to the modern, linear conception of time that was dominant in the west from the Renaissance to the twentieth century. But rhythm, as it is commonly understood, is not the repetition itself but the result of what takes place in the intervals.[5] To Henri Lefebvre, rhythm is "not just any repetition" but necessarily repetition with a difference, with marks and accents appearing at regular intervals. In this way, "only a non-

3 Because the purpose of this essay is to emphasize the importance of tonal prosody and attempt to find a way of representing it in English, I include tonal diacritics in my transcriptions of Chinese words (e.g., Táng, not Tang, for 唐). While this is not standard practice for the *Journal of Oriental Studies*, it is for linguistics, and, moreover, it serves as a reminder of the importance of tones to the Chinese langauge.

4 Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *Sequel to History: Postmodernism and the Crisis of Representational Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 53.

5 So Eleni Ikoniadou: "Rhythm is a middle force that occupies the distance between events" (*The Rhythmic Event: Art, Media, and the Sonic* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014], p. 13), following similar comments in Michael Serres, *The Birth of Physics*, trans. Jack Hawkes (Manchester: Clinamen Press, 2000), and Gilles Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, trans. D. W. Smith (London: Continuum, 2003).

mechanical movement can have rhythm."[6] But Lefebvre barely ventures into rhythm in art,[7] focusing instead on the rhythms of everyday life.

So what is it in poetry? Rhythm is borrowed from music (as is so much poetic vocabulary) and shoehorned into a new category. A loose fit. *Feet*, some would say. Poetic rhythm is meter, the arrangement of sounds into patterns based on a simple dichotomy (stressed vs. unstressed, heavy vs. light), built out of the unit of the metrical foot—the iamb, spondee, anapest, etc. This is a half-truth. Meter is a way in to rhythm, but it is not the thing itself. Rhythm is something that takes place in the body as language and the subject move together. It is the "thinking-feeling qualities of movement."[8] Rhythm is flow. In this way, meter is the byproduct of an *analysis* of rhythm. To use another musical metaphor: meter is the score, rhythm the symphony.

To explain this better, I turn to Henri Meschonnic (1932–2009), French linguist and translator of the Hebrew Bible, best known for his 800-page opus *Critique du rythme*. Writing in the era of Derrida, Foucault, Cixous et al., he took a sharp turn from some of his more famous contemporaries to articulate a theory of language which stressed the unity of the sign. To him, so-called "structural" (and "post-structural") linguistic theory, from Saussure on down, made a grave mistake in splitting the signifier from the signified.[9] This binary, he argues, is the result of separating language from life: with structuralism, we study a *representation* of language, not language itself. The latter, he says again and again, is intimately tied up with the lived bodily experience of individuals and communities.

What we need, then, is to start from life, from movement, from the idea of an interconnected system. This will lead us to a *poetic* understanding of language. "Poetics," writes Meschonnic, "starts when system [as opposed to structure] is applied to speech, to enunciation… integrating both the subject and its history."[10] Structure is static, synchronic, and results in a dead-on-arrival theory of language. System is dynamic, historicist, and produces a

6 Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 78.

7 Ibid., pp. 57–66, encompasses his entire discussion of music.

8 Brian Massumi, *Semblance and Event: Activist Philosophy and the Occurrent Arts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), p. 78. See the entirety of chapter two, pp. 39–86.

9 Actually, Meschonnic believes that Saussure himself tried to rectify this error in his later work on anagrams, which posit once again the systemic unity of the sign. See the comments in Henri Meschonnic, *Ethics and Politics of Translating*, trans. and ed. Pier-Pascale Boulanger (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), pp. 48 and 66. In the latter passage he is particularly direct, saying that "structuralism is a series of misinterpretations of Saussure." In the following account of Meschonnic's theory of language and translation, I mainly draw on *Ethics and Politics of Translating*, "Translating Biblical Rhythm," *Modern Language Studies* 15.4: 143–156 (1985); and parts of *Critique du rythme: Anthropologie historique du langage* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1982). For overviews of his thought in English, see Gabriella Bedetti, "Henri Meschonnic: Rhythm as Pure Historicity," *New Literary History* 23.2: 431–450 (1992), and Douglas Robinson, "Rhythm as Knowledge-Translation, Knowledge as Rhythm-Translation," *Global Media Journal – Canadian Edition* 5.1: 75–94 (2012).

10 Meschonnic, "Translating Biblical Rhythm," p. 149.

theory of language that moves and breathes, one that is not atomized into lifeless components. Another key word Meschonnic uses to describe the fundamental integrity of interrelated concepts is "continuum" (*continu*)—a set of things which flow inseparably together—as opposed to "continuity" (*continuité*)—the endless repetition of a thing with no change.[11] Seen from the perspective of the subject, the continuum is what Brian Massumi would call "a continuous rhythm of seamlessly linked accelerations and decelerations, increases and decreases in intensity, starts and stops."[12] It is integration, not analysis. In the context of literature (for Meschonnic, this means the Hebrew Bible), we need to think through the implications of a "body-in-language continuum." So it behooves us to remember that language is created and used by *humans*—corporeal creatures who live and die, sometimes alone and sometimes together, always in history. As such, language is changing, is living, is rhythmic.

This reconceptualization of language has enormous consequences for translation. The old dichotomy of style and substance, of form and meaning, which has characterized translation theory for centuries, collapses in on itself. "More than what a text says, it is what a text does that must be translated; more than the meaning, its power, its affect."[13] A poem (in the broadest sense of the term) does not convey messages, it shapes its audience's subjectivity, even, potentially, creating a sense of intersubjectivity.[14] And it does this through rhythm. Rhythm, here, is "the organization of movement in speech," not a binary alteration of same and different.[15] The emphasis, once again, is on the continuum, on unity instead of disunity.

11 Eleni Ikoniadou notes a similar tension in the different definitions given to "rhythm" throughout its long history, a tension between "the measured movement of time" and the "formless form" which undercuts such concepts of stable regularity (Ikoniadou, *The Rhythmic Event*, p. 11–12; see Meschonnic, *Critique du rythme*, p. 184). Lefebvre attempts to turn this tension into a positive, claiming that "rhythm reunites quantitative aspects and elements, which mar time and distinguish moments in it—and qualitative aspects and elements, which link them together, found the unities and result from them" (*Rhythmanalysis*, pp. 8–9).

12 Massumi, *Semblance and Event*, p. 107. He repeats this phrasing on pp. 109 and 125.

13 Meschonnic, *Ethics and Politics of Translating*, p. 69.

14 In Meschonnic's idea that the flow of a poem shapes the subjectivity of its audience, he approaches psychiatrist Daniel Stern's influential concept of "vitality affect contours." By this, Stern refers to the way "basic processes of life, such as breathing, getting hungry," etc., create affective patterns associated with them which transfer across different senses (the "rushes" accompanying anger, joy, floods of light, hits of cocaine). These, in turn, form the most basic stuff of our perception of the world, and it is through such patterns, argues Stern, that infants achieve a sense of self-identity (*The Interpersonal World of the Infant: A View from Psychoanalysis and Developmental Psychology* [London: Karnac Books, 1985], pp. 51–60). Later, he would assert that vitality affect also formed the basis of "implicit relational knowing" (Stern, *Forms of Vitality* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], p. 111). Stern's views have had important implications for the philosophy of music (e.g., Mark L. Johnson, "Embodied Musical Meaning," *Theory and Practice* 22/23: 95–102 [1997–98]) and aesthetics more generally (e.g., Massumi, *Semblance and Event*). Most recently, neurobiological experiments have begun to confirm and expand many of Stern's hypotheses (see Massimo Ammaniti and Pierfrancesco Ferrari, "Vitality Affects in Daniel Stern's Thinking—A Psychological and Neurobiological Perspective," *Infant Mental Health Journal* 34.5: 367–375 [2013]).

15 Meschonnic, *Ethics and Politics of Translating*, p. 54.

The translator is tasked with listening to this rhythm and conveying something of its power in a new language—which leads to an emphasis on experimental translation, to prevent the poem from crystallizing into dead *langue*. "Because it is not a language system that we have to translate, but what a poem does to its language, we must invent discourse equivalences in the target language: prosody for prosody, metaphor for metaphor, pun for pun, rhythm for rhythm."[16] As translators, we must use every resource within our grasp to convey the illocutionary power of individual poets and the communities surrounding them. If a translator presents a monolithic portrait of "classical Chinese poetry" (or any other tradition of poetry), she has failed. The translator, instead, must re-create an individual poem or poet's unique force, historical effect, and the way it shaped the literary culture of its time.

In Meschonnic's view, to which I adhere here, the goal of literary translation is not to recapture the meaning or even the form of an original. To do so implies an eternal striving for something irrevocably lost. Rather, the goal of literary translation is to bring the force of a text into a new language, what it *does* rather than what it *says*. This may sound similar in some ways to Eugene Nida's theory of "dynamic equivalence," but the resemblances are superficial.[17] Nida, like St. Jerome and Anthony Pym, posits a split between meaning and word, then chooses to emphasize one over the other.[18] To Meschonnic, the two are inseparable, and their unity must be preserved. It is for this reason that the translator must reach for creative solutions in the search for "discourse equivalences." In this way, with the sign undivided, a poem's shaping power can come to bear on a new linguistic community. For me, that means taking on Jiă Dăo, the most important poet in China during the ninth and tenth centuries. And to do that, we must try to translate the most alien, yet most integral, aspect of medieval Chinese poetry: its tones.[19]

16 Ibid., p. 71.

17 For dynamic equivalence, see Eugene Nida, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), esp. pp. 22–26. On the varieties of equivalence posited by translation theorists—namely linguistic, textual, cultural, and pragmatic equivalences—see María T. Sánchez, *The Problems of Literary Translation: A Study of the Theory and Practice of Translation from English into Spanish* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 75–119.

18 Meschonnic, *Ethics and Politics of Translating*, p. 39.

19 One may object that the purpose of Meschonnic's project is precisely to avoid an equation between meter (for Chinese, tonal prosody) and rhythm. However, even in his most anti-metrical passages, he recognizes the fundamental role that prosody, intonation, and other kinds of extralinguistic signifiers associated with meter play in the construction of rhythm. See *Critique du rythme*, pp. 216–217: "Je définis le rythme dans le langage comme l'organisation des marques par lesquelles les signifiants, linguistiques et extralinguistiques (dans le cas de la communication orale surtout) produisent une sémantique spécifique, distincte du sens lexical, et que j'appelle la signifiance… les signifiants sont autant syntaxiques que prosodiques. Le « sens » n'est plus dans les mots, lexicalement. Dans son acception restreinte, le rythme est l'accentuel, distinct de la prosodie. Dans son acception large, celle que j'implique ici le plus souvent, *le rythme englobe la prosodie. Et, en parlant, l'intonation*. Organisant ensemble la signifiance et la signification du discours, le rythme est l'organisation même du sens dans le discours" (emphasis mine).

Medieval Chinese Prosody

When Englishing Táng poetry, we would do well to bear in mind the words of A. C. Graham: "Poems in China, as elsewhere, are firstly patterns of sound."[20] Though this may sound obvious, even banal, Graham's statement bespeaks the Sinological community's relative unconcern with this matter: the scholarly standard of reading and transcribing Middle Chinese (MC) using Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) pronunciation and the conservatism of the Chinese script create the illusion of a false immediacy in the reading of older texts. In its most extreme form, this false immediacy becomes the myth of the pictogram. In its subtler forms, it results in numerous scholars dressing up paraphrase (or mere lexical correspondence) as poetry. Most translators are loath to enter into the phonological world of Táng Chinese.[21]

The issues of rhyme (both end rhymes and internal), alliteration, and assonance are especially obvious places where the angels have feared to tread. Despite the fact that nearly all Chinese poetry rhymes, and may be one of the earliest literary traditions to make rhyme an integral part of its verbal art, few translators make any attempt to present this feature to Anglophone readers.[22] One reason for this is the vast disparity between the sounds of

20 A. C. Graham, trans. and ed., *Poems of the Late T'ang* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), p. 17. See René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, third ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1956), p. 158: "Every work of literary art is, first of all, a series of sounds out of which arises the meaning."

21 Exceptions to this characterization in Western analyses of Táng poetry include Hugh M. Stimson, "The Sound of a Tarng Poem: 'Grieving about Greenslope,' by Duh-Fuu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89.1: 59–67 (1969); Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao, "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28: 44–80 (1968); Elling O. Eide, "On Li Po," in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 367–403; and Paul W. Kroll, "Lexical Landscapes and Textual Mountains in the High T'ang," *T'oung Pao* 84: 62-101 (1998). Stephen Owen has also translated much of the *Chŭcí* 楚 into half-lines reminiscent of Old English verse, rendering the particle *xī* 兮 as a caesura (Owen, ed. and trans., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* [New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1996], pp. 156–184). The most daring experiments in translating the sounds of classical Chinese poetry (albeit as filtered through Modern Standard Mandarin) are those of Jonathan Stalling, as in his "Evolving from Embryo and Changing the Bones: Translating the Sonorous," *Cha: An Asian Literary Journal* 22 (December 2013), available online at http://www.asiancha.com/content/view/1621/421 (accessed August 6, 2016).

22 On the origins of rhyme as a structuring device in China and Iran, see the overview in T. V. F. Brogan et al, "Rhyme," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, fourth ed., ed. Roland Greene et al (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1182-1192. For a discussion of the various kinds of rhymes in the Chinese tradition, see Nicholas Morrow Williams, "The Half-Life of Half-Rhyme," *Early Medieval China* 17: 22–50 (2011). Of course, Victorian translators (such as Herbert Giles [1845–1935] and his contemporaries) wrote rhyming, metrical translations, but this was due to English literary norms more than an attempt to render Chinese prosody in English. Aside from Stalling's experiments, the only recent attempt to translate Táng poetry into rhymed verse I have seen is Jonathan Chaves, trans. and ed., *Cloud Gate Song: The Verse of Tang Poet Zhang Ji* (Warren, CT: Floating World Editions, 2006). Of course there's the rhymed doggerel of Xŭ Yuānchōng 許淵冲, who has mangled everything from the *Shījīng* 詩經 to Yuán arias 元曲, but I regard him as outside the scope of consideration, since his renditions are aimed at a mainland Chinese audience without of native grasp of English.

MSM and MC, which means any modern reader can "hear" the original text only through the reconstructions of historical linguists.[23] But any reconstruction of MC is tentative and must be approached with caution. In light of this, many literary scholars have concluded that they should not approach these reconstructions at all, that such matters are best left to phonologists. But this state of affairs is needlessly defeatist. *Any* interpretation of a literary text, as literary theory has taught us, is a reconstruction, an approximation which fails. A reconstructive interpretation that accounts for linguistic particulars, however cautiously, can capture something of the power of a poem for its earliest readers and better jolt us out of our presentism.

Perhaps most neglected of all in translations of Táng poetry, though, is the matter of the four tones of Middle Chinese and how poets make use of them. These are known as *píngshēng* 平聲, *shǎngshēng* 上聲, *qùshēng* 去聲, and *rùshēng* 入聲 (level, rising, departing, and entering). Most importantly for poetry, the four tones were divided into two categories: *píng* 平 and *zè* 仄, i.e. level and deflected. *Píng* included all words with *píngshēng* (which comprised the majority of words), and *zè* included all words with the other three tones. For two words to rhyme, they had to match in ending (as in English) as well as in tone category.[24]

Variations of the *píng* and *zè* tonal classes also form the basis of the metrical patterns for *lǜshī* 律詩 ("regulated poetry"), which developed in the late fifth century and gained wide currency in the Táng Dynasty.[25] In addition to the standard prosodical guidelines, Jiă Dăo and his followers often adhered to an even stricter set of informal rules.[26] The basic principle was to create as much parallelism as possible, especially in the middle, descriptive couplets

23 Fortunately, these are now becoming accessible to non-specialists through the proliferation of digital tools. William Baxter and Laurent Sagart have made their working etymological dictionary available online (http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/), and David Branner has created *Yīntōng*, a user-friendly, searchable database of his transcriptions (http://americanorientalsociety.org/yintong). Just as importantly, Jeff Tharsen has created a "Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese," which allows one to search and compare the constructions of Baxter-Sagart and Schuessler (http://edoc.uchicago.edu/edoc_login/edoc_login.php). I use the Baxter-Sagart system for transcribing Middle Chinese.

24 Later prescriptive rhyme books would further specify that words could rhyme only if they belonged to the same *shè* 社 , i.e., the sixteen subdivisions of the tonal categories. However, as David Branner notes, there is evidence that these categories had not fully formed by the time period with which we are concerned, and individual poets rarely stuck so closely to such rules, so this paper will ignore *shè*. See David Prager Branner, "A Neutral Transcription for Teaching Medieval Chinese," *T'ang Studies* 17:1–170 (1999), esp. 14–15.

25 The classic study of medieval prosody in Chinese is Wáng Lì 王力 , *Hànyǔ shīlǜxué* 漢語詩律學 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè, 1962). For overviews in English, see G. B. Downer and A. C. Graham, "Tone Patterns in Chinese Poetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26.1: 145–48 (1963), and Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 429–31. For a more extensive treatment in English, see Victor H. Mair and Tsu-lin Mei, "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Chinese Prosody," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.2: 375–470 (1991).

26 I haven't seen these informal rules discussed in any of the secondary scholarship I've read, but after analyzing the tones of hundreds of poems from the ninth and tenth centuries, I'm convinced of their reality.

of an eight-line poem. To this end, *all* the characters of a couplet's second line should be the inverse of the first. There are a large number of guides and treatises from the medieval period (and beyond) dealing with the technical details of parallelism,[27] even though very little of this has been translated into English or used by Western scholars.[28] To get a sense of what this involved, let us analyze one of Jiă Dăo's couplets from the point of view of three broad modes of parallelism: semantic, grammatic, and tonal. As we shall see, Jiă Dăo is at pains to employ them all. Here is the opening of the quatrain "Inscribed on Revenue Manager Dù's Pavilion" 題杜司戶亭子:

semantic

1	床	頭	枕	是	溪	中	石
	divan	head	pillow	is	stream	middle	stone
	[domestic item]	[part]			[place in nature]		[object in nature]
2	井	低	泉	通	竹	下	池
	well	bottom	spring	penetrates,	bamboo	beneath	pool, pond
	[domestic item]	[part]	reaches	[place in nature]			[object in nature]

grammatic

1	床	頭	枕	是	溪	中	石
	adjectival	noun	subject	verb	adjectival	noun	object
	[location]				[location]		
2	井	低	泉	通	竹	下	池
	adjectival	noun	subject	verb	adjectival	noun	object
	[location]				[location]		

27 The most comprehensive of these medieval guides is the "Twenty-nine Types of Parallelism" 二十九種對 collected in the *Bunkyō hifuron*, for which see *Wénjìng mìfŭlùn [Bunkyō hifuron] huìjiào huìkăo: fù Wénbĭ yănxīn chāo* 文鏡秘府論彙校彙考：附文筆眼心抄 , annot. Lú Shèngjiāng 盧盛江 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 678–848.

28 The best English-language scholarship on parallelism in Chinese poetry remains Andrew Plaks, "Where the Lines Meet: Parallelism in Chinese and Western Literatures," *Poetics Today* 11.3: 523–546 (1990), and Hans Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 144–185. For an examination of parallel prose and how it may structure ways of knowing, see E. R. Hughes, "Epistemological Methods in Chinese Philosophy," in *The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Thought and Culture*, ed. Charles A. Moore (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), pp. 77–103.

tonal

1	床	頭	枕	是	溪	中	石
	O	O	X	X	O	O	X
2	井	低	泉	通	竹	下	池
	X	X	O	O	X	X	O

To translate all of this into English is no mean feat, and the kinds of matches attempted will vary according to just which aspects of the poem one wishes to highlight. On every level, both lines of this couplet follow the pattern 2-2-2-1. This is most clear on the *tonal* level, where we find two level tones, then two deflected tones, then two level tones, then a deflected tone in the first line, followed by the inverse of this in the second line. This knowledge of the tonal pattern also helps us detect a further patterning on the grammatical level: both lines follow the sequence [adjectival noun]-[subject+verb]-[adjectival noun]-[object].[29] The tones were integral to the poem not just for their artistry, but also as an aid to interpretation.

Often, Jiǎ Dǎo and his followers would go a step beyond the usual practice and compose entire poems out of these tonally parallel couplets. Many others who weren't directly associated with him would do the same when trying to imitate the "Jiǎ Dǎo structure" 賈島格, an approach extremely influential from the Late Táng through the Northern Sòng. The first character of a tonally parallel couplet would be more flexible than the rest (in many poems, the only non-parallel portions are these initial graphs, the rest balancing perfectly), but a strict adherence to parallelism in every position demonstrated an even greater technical mastery. And the lengths to which Jiǎ Dǎo and others went to achieve this sort of technical perfection became one of the major tropes of poetry criticism in the late Táng period.

This brief foray into Chinese prosody helps us see why English translators of Táng poetry have generally shied away from tonal variation. First, they have no direct equivalent for it in their language, and therefore no way of directly reproducing it (unlike the relatively ease with which, say, line breaks can be matched). Second, because the four tones of MC are quite different from those of MSM, knowledge of the tones can only come through the reconstructions of historical phonologists, of which many literary scholars in the West are suspicious or inattentive, if not ignorant. Third, a majority of contemporary poets in English reject traditional form, perhaps for being too obvious,[30] and so any attempt at translating a foreign literature's forms is going to be met with some bafflement. All of these factors have created an environment in which the translator of classical Chinese literature is encouraged to down-

29 One could also understand the lines as following a 3-1-3 pattern on the grammatic level, i.e., [adjectival noun+subject]-[verb]-[adjectival noun+object], but the norms of caesura usage encourage a reading of 2-2-2-1.

30 This is not to say that features such as rhyme and regular meter are absent from contemporary poetry in English; only that they are often hidden beneath the surface. Rhyme, for instance, tends now to be internal or slant.

play rhythm, which is rooted in meter, in favor of image and allusion. But at the same time, we must exercise what T. S. Eliot called the "auditory imagination," that is, "the feeling for syllable and rhythm, penetrating far below the conscious levels of thought and feeling, invigorating every word."[31] We must go beyond individual words and their semantic meaning: we have to dig in to their rhythm. The study of Chinese literature is more than Signology.

Jiǎ Dǎo

Rhythm was central to the craft of Jiǎ Dǎo, perhaps the most influential poet of the ninth and tenth centuries. During the 150 years surrounding the collapse of the Táng dynasty, he was the most well-known and admired poet in China, eclipsing even such luminaries as Dù Fǔ 杜甫, Lǐ Bái 李白, Bái Jūyì 白居易, and Lǐ Shāngyǐn 李商隱. Early twentieth century critic Wén Yīduō 聞一多 went so far as to call this time period "the Jiǎ Dǎo era" 賈島時代 of Chinese poetry.[32] If we ignore his rhythm, then we ignore his legacy, which will botch all our literary histories.

Jiǎ Dǎo was born in Fànyáng 范陽 (just southwest of modern Běijīng) in 779 and became a Buddhist monk at the age of 15, taking the dharma name Wúběn 無本. Judging from contemporaries' remarks, his early poems were brash and daring, but few of these have survived. Sometime in his early thirties, he traveled first to Luòyáng 洛陽 and then to the capital, Cháng'ān 長安, in an attempt to attract the attention of grand literatus Hán Yù 韓愈. It was evidently during this period that he began to obsess over crafting perfectly wrought parallel couplets. A well-known anecdote relates how he bumped into Hán Yù on the streets of Luòyáng because he was so absorbed in composing a poem, deciding whether to use the verb "push" 推 or "knock" 敲, that he did not notice Hán Yù's procession.[33] Many similar legends have been told about his admirers. Whether or not any of these stories are true is beside the point. They demonstrate what Jiǎ Dǎo represented to the literary tradition: that poetry was a craft requiring labor and concentration.

While in Cháng'ān, Jiǎ Dǎo left the ranks of the Buddhist clergy and sat for the civil service examination—only to fail. He spent many years in the capital region exchanging poems with the greatest writers of the day: his two most frequent correspondents were Yáo Hé 姚合 and his cousin, the monk Wúkě 無可. Many of the poems composed during this period refer offhandedly to his poverty. Though almost certainly a rhetorical move given him by the discursive norms of the literary tradition, stories soon began to accumulate around these references. His poverty became reified. When combined with the intensity with which he

31 T. S. Eliot, *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism: Studies in the Relation of Criticism to Poetry in England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 11.

32 Wén Yīduō 聞一多, *Tángshī zálùn* 唐詩雜論 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2009), p. 40.

33 This anecdote first appears in the *Jiànjiè lù* 鑑誡錄 of Hé Guāngyuán 何光遠 (mid 10th century) and was retold and reprinted in many subsequent sources. The poem at the center of the story was included in the *Yòuxuán jí* 又玄集 and thus is translated below (Appendix, poem 3).

composed poetry, the archetype of the *kŭyín* 苦吟 (“bitter chanting”) aesthetic was born.[34] Jiă Dăo was transformed into the starving artist *par excellence*. Finally, at the age of 59, he was appointed to a post in Chángjiāng 長江 (in modern Sìchuān province). He died six years later, on August 31, 843, while serving as the Adjutant Director of Granaries 司倉参軍 in Pŭzhōu 普州 (also in modern Sìchuān).[35]

As alluded to earlier, Jiă Dăo quickly became the most important poet of the late Táng and Five Dynasties period. The large number of anecdotes, tributes, and imitations of his work which sprouted up after his death attest to this fact. He is the most frequently-cited poet in the surviving “poetry standards” (*shīgé* 詩格)—instruction manuals for writing a good poem—from this era. The Late Táng poet Lĭ Dòng 李洞 (d. 897?) went so far as to compile one of these manuals entirely from Jiă Dăo’s couplets.[36] In the Northern Sòng (960–1127), the “Late Táng style” 晚唐體 was, for better or worse, practically synonymous with Jiă Dăo and his imitators.[37] There are more poems invoking him in this time period than any other poet: twenty-two which mourn him, nearly forty which mention him in their titles, and countless more which directly quote from him.[38] Some allude to a sort of tourist attraction called “Jiă Dăo’s Poetry-Intoning Terrace” 賈島吟詩臺.[39] Another, by the poet-monk Qíjĭ 齊己 (864–937?), implies that Jiă’s former residence was also a site of pilgrimage, one so popular that it was reconstructed multiple times after being burnt to the ground.

34 *Kŭyín* is an expansive concept centered around the idea of making sacrifices for the sake of crafting good verbal art. Other translations for the term could be “suffering for poetry” or “painstaking composition.” For more, see Owen, “Spending Time On Poetry: The Poetics of Taking Pains,” in *Recarving the Dragon*, pp. 157–178. On the way its meaning changed from the ninth to the tenth centuries, see Lĭ Dìngguăng 李定廣 , *Tángmò Wŭdài luànshì wénxué yánjiū* 唐末五代亂世文學研究 (Bĕijīng: Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxué chūbănshè, 2006), pp. 88–109.

35 This account of his life generally follows the copious annotations in Fù Xuáncóng 傅璇琮 , ed., *Táng cáizĭ zhuàn jiàojiān* 唐才子傳校箋 , vol. 2 (Bĕijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1989), 5.314–336.

36 I.e., *A Chart of Jiă Dăo’s Couplets* 賈島詩句圖 , in one fascicle, catalogued in *Sòngshĭ* 宋史 , comp. Toq’toa 脫脫 et al. (Bĕijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1977), 29.5410. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant. On Jiă Dăo’s popularity in poetry manuals, see Zhōu Yùkăi 周裕鍇 , “Jiă Dăo gé shīgé yŭ Chánzōng guānxì zhī yánjiū” 賈島格詩格與禪宗關係之研究 , in *Shìbiàn yŭ chuànghuà: Hán-Táng, Táng-Sòng zhuănhuànqī zhī wényì xiànxiàng* 世變與創化 : 漢唐 , 唐宋轉換期之文藝現象 , ed. Lo-fen I 衣若芬 and Liú Yuànrú 劉苑如 (Taipei: Zhōngyàng yánjiūyuàn Zhōngguó wénzhé yánjiūsuŏ chóubèichŭ, 2000), pp. 425–458, esp. 429.

37 See again, Zhōu Yùkăi, “Jiă Dăo gé shīgé” and Lĭ Guì 李貴 , *Zhōng Táng zhì Bĕi Sòng de diănfàn xuănzė yú shīgē yīngé* 中唐至北宋的典範選擇與詩歌因革 (Shànghăi: Fùdàn dàxué chūbănshè, 2012), pp. 68–71. Although I would, contra Lĭ Guì, stress that Jiă Dăo became the best representative of a *style* rather than the founder of a *school*.

38 See Lĭ Guì, *Zhōng Táng zhì Bĕi Sòng de diănfàn xuănzė yú shīgē yīngé*, pp. 66–68.

39 Namely, two pieces titled “Inscribed on Jiă Dăo’s Poetry-Intoning Terrace” 題賈島吟詩臺 by the late-ninth century poets Zhāng Qiáo 張喬 and Guīrén 歸仁 , both of which comment on the disrepair the terrace has fallen into. See *Quán Tángshī* 全唐詩 , comp. Péng Dìngqiú 彭定求 et al. (Bĕijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1960) [hereafter *QTS*], 639.7332–7333 and 825.9294.

“Passing by Jia Dao’s Former Residence”[40] 經賈島舊居
Qiji 齊己

	The master’s former dwelling place—	先生居處所
	Wildfires have turned it to ash several times.	野燒幾為灰
	If his chanting ethereal-soul is still here,	若有吟魂在
4	It shall follow the carnal-soul of night back.[41]	應隨夜魄回
	How could earth quell his ambitious spirit?	地寧銷志氣
	Could heaven possibly punish his pure talent?	天忍罪清才
	In the old trees on a frosty, windy night,	古木霜風晚
8	River fowl come to roost together.	江禽共宿來

This poem amply demonstrates just how important Jiă Dăo was to the poets who lived in the two centuries after his death. Not only was his house a place of pilgrimage, like Stratford-upon-Avon today, his soul haunted the literary landscape (lines 3–4). His aesthetic of hard work and painstaking craftsmanship was one of the main factors bringing together poets from various parts of the land, just like the river fowl of the poem’s final line. That is to say, throughout the collapse and fracturing of the Táng empire in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, Jiă Dăo was among the most important literary touchstones, one of the factors holding together a culture rapidly spinning out of control.[42]

Method of Translation

So Jiă Dăo must be recovered. But we are still faced with the enormous challenge of conveying *something* of his verbal craftsmanship in translation. As mentioned above, Jiă Dăo’s art occurs at the level of the couplet, in which two lines are set in parallel to each other on the semantic, grammatic, and tonal levels. Scholars who have dealt with parallelism in the past have taken on the first two levels, but few regard the third as even possible. How are we to do any different?

We start with a theory about the origins of tonal classification. Chén Yínquè [Yínkè] 陳寅恪 once proposed a hypothesis (later developed by Victor Mair and Tzu-lin Mei) that the classification of medieval tones into the categories of level (*píng*) and deflected (*zè*) originated in the fifth century in response to Sanskrit linguistic theory, brought into China via Buddhism. Specifically, Sanskrit meter was based on a division between “light” (*laghu*) and “heavy”

40 *QTS* 838.9443.

41 Carnal-soul of night: kenning for the moon.

42 That the period immediately following the Huáng Cháo 黃巢 rebellion of the 880s (during which Jiă Dăo’s popularity reached its greatest height) was generally viewed as “chaotic” is well known. On the devastation of Huáng Cháo’s forces, see Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 187–234. For many examples of poets’ lamentation of the chaos, see Lĭ Dìngguăng, *Tángmò Wŭdài luànshì wénxué yánjiū*, pp. 59–67.

(*guru*) syllables, and this system needed to be understood to properly chant Buddhist *gāthās* and other ritual texts. In response, Chinese Buddhist poets developed their own prosody based on a binary division of syllables that were roughly analogous: *laghu* and *píng* were both "prolongable" while *guru* and *zè* were "unprolongable."[43] That is, the former class of syllables could be extended without fundamentally changing their sound, while the second class could not. Thus, Chinese tonal prosody is, at heart, a form of quantitative verse.

Quantitative prosody is native to the classical Greek and Latin traditions of poetry, in which lines are analyzed in terms of "long" and "short" syllables, which roughly correspond to vowel length in the syllable. There is, in fact, a genealogical relationship here to Sanskrit meter: Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit meters all likely originate in the shared poetic tradition of proto-Indo-European.[44] As a form of quantitative prosody, therefore, classical Chinese's tonal prosody is not so alien as it first appears. While it may not be a sister metrical tradition, it is at least a second cousin by adoption.

English, like Greek and Sanskrit, has syllables of varying length. Although we have rarely conceptualized our language in such a way, it is possible. In the sixteenth century, some of the greatest poets of the language, including Edmund Spenser (1552–1599) and Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), tried their hand at quantitative verse. Richard Stanyhurst (1547–1618) went so far as to translate the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneid* using a quantitative meter. Although these experiments were mocked ruthlessly by Thomas Nashe and have generally been regarded as failures in the eyes of literary historians,[45] their very existence testifies to the potential of thinking along these lines. So, taking a cue from Stanyhurst et al, I propose to translate Jiă Dăo's poetry into a form of quantitative meter.

Of course, because English poetry as it is practiced today mainly adheres to a stressed-based meter, a purely quantitative translation would be unfeasible. Therefore, I combine the two. First, following Arthur Waley and many others, I match the number of stressed

43 For the original proposal, see Chén Yínquè 陳寅恪, "Sìshēng sānwèn" 四聲三問, *Qīnghuá xuébào* 清華學報 9.2: 275–285 (1934). For a fuller articulation of this hypothesis, see Mair and Mei, "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Chinese Prosody," esp. p. 458. Lucas Klein has also considered the implications of this hypothesis for world literature in the premodern world, on which see his "Indic Echoes: Form, Content, and World Literature in Tang Dynasty Regulated Verse," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 35: 59–96 (2013).

44 For an ambitious attempt to reconstruct one poetic trope in proto-Indo-European, see Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

45 For two overviews of these projects, see David Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), and Sharon Schuman, "Sixteenth-Century English Quantitative Verse: Its Ends, Means, and Products," *Modern Philology* 74.4: 335–349 (1977). For a revisionist appreciation of this movement in light of translation theory, see Gabriela Schmidt, "Realigning English Vernacular Poetics Through Metrical Experiment: Sixteenth-Century Translation and the Elizabethan Quantitative Verse Movement," *Literature Compass* 7.5: 303–317 (2010).

syllables in English to the number of syllables in the Chinese source.[46] A line of five characters in Chinese will translate into an English line with five beats. Second—and this is my innovation—*the vowel length of each stressed syllable will be determined by the tone of its corresponding Chinese character*. Each level (*píng*) tone will correspond to a long vowel, and each deflected (*zè*) tone will correspond to a short vowel.[47] What constitutes a long vs. a short vowel will be defined in the strictest scientific manner, as defined by phonologists: "short" vowels are those which occupy just one mora in the syllable nucleus, such as the *i* in "hid" (IPA: /ɪ/); "long vowels" are those which occupy two morae in the syllable nucleus, a category that includes both long vowels proper, such as the *ee* in "heed" (IPA: /i:/), and dipthongs, such as the *i* in "hide" (IPA: /aɪ/).[48] The dialect of English I translate into is my own, General American.

After figuring out *how* to translate, we must resolve the question of *what* to translate. The earliest catalogues tell us that Jiă Dăo's poetry circulated in a variety of formats, as befits a poet who became as popular as he did. The *New Táng History* 新唐書, compiled in the middle of the eleventh century, lists both a ten-fascicle collection called *Chángjiāng*

46 On this, see the notes on the "Method of Translation" in Waley's first collection of translations, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938 [1919]), pp. 33–34.

47 Mark Elvin has also focused on the vowels of stressed syllables in his own translations of Qīng popular verse in an attempt to reproduce the "resonant crystalline structure" of rhyme and isometry in Chinese. See Elvin, "Unseen Lives: The Emotions of Everyday Existence Mirrored in Chinese Popular Poetry of the Mid-Seventeenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Self as Image in Asian Theory and Practice*, ed. Roger T. Ames et al (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), p. 116, and Elvin, "Translation as Access to Unfamiliar Emotions," in *Style, Wit and Word-Play: Essays in Translation Studies in Memory of David Hawkes*, ed. Tao Tao Liu et al (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), p. 171. Elvin's goal is to grant readers access to "emotional foci" in popular poetry and frequently incorporates glosses and explanatory verbiage into his texts so as to avoid explanatory footnotes. By contrast, my own goal is to translate something of the effect of Jiă Dăo's poetry on the literary language in history; I claim no knowledge of the emotional lives of Táng poets.

48 A basic overview of short vowels, long vowels, and dipthongs can be found in nearly any introductory book on phonology. For a few prominent examples, see April McMahon, *An Introduction to English Phonology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 72–74; Chris McCully, *The Sound Structure of English: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 107–147; and Peter Roach, *English Phonetics and Phonology: A Practical Course*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 14–25. Some linguists prefer to describe these differences in terms of "tenseness" and "laxness" instead of length, which amounts to almost exactly the same thing in General American. The tense/lax distinction became dominant among certain phonologists due to the influence of Roman Jakobson, C. Gunnar M. Fant, and Morris Halle, *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis: The Distinctive Features and Their Correlates* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963 [1952]), pp. 36–38 and 57–61, and Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). Much recent phonological research rejects this tense/lax distinction, often in favor of using vowel length once again. See, e.g., Jacques Durand, "Tense/lax, the Vowel System of English and Phonological Theory," in *Headhood, Elements, Specification and Contrastivity: Phonological Papers in Honour of John Anderson*, ed. Philip Carr, Jacques Durand, Colin J. Ewen. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2005), pp. 77–106.

jí 長江集 (Collection of [one who served in] Chángjiāng) and three-fascicle smaller collection (*xiǎojí* 小集) which circulated independently. Other early catalogues mention a *Jiǎ Làngxiān cítáng jí* 賈浪仙祠堂集 (Collection of the ancestral hall of Jiǎ the Reckless Transcendent) edited by late Táng poet Xǔ Bīn 許彬 and a *Tiānxiān jí* 天仙集 (Collection of the celestial transcendent) edited by his cousin Wúkě. None of these survive to the present day.[49] Combing through later editions of his work, as well as a host of other anthologies and miscellanies, modern scholars have found some 409 poems attributed to him.[50] However, of these 409 poems, at least 29 have also been attributed to other poets of the era, calling into doubt their authenticity. From the very beginning, there were different Jiǎ Dǎos to translate.[51]

Because I am interested in the impact Jiǎ Dǎo had on Chinese literary culture at the end of the Táng dynasty, I have begun my experimental translations with his earliest anthologized pieces. A number of Táng anthologies of contemporary poetry exist, giving us crucial insight into its earliest reception. These selections, in fact, often provide a markedly different picture of those famous poets who would crystallize into caricatures in later generations.[52] Therefore, I have begun my project by translating the five poems by Jiǎ Dǎo included in the *Yòuxuán jí* 又玄集 (Collection of further mystery), edited by Wéi Zhuāng 韋莊 (see the Appendix for all five translations). In all of these poems, we find perfect conformity to the rules of tonal parallelism outlined above: the tones of line 1 of a couplet are perfectly mirrored in line 2, with the occasional exception of the first character of a line. Without recourse to an unconventional translation strategy, there would be no hint of the impact Jiǎ Dǎo had on medieval literary culture.

49 Scholars have exerted a great deal of effort tracing the lineages of various editions of Jiǎ Dǎo's works, most notably Qí Wénbāng 齊文榜, "*Chángjiāng jí* bǎnběn yuánliú kǎoshù"《長江集》版本源流考述, *Wénxiàn* 文獻 1991, no. 1: 10–28 (1991). I will not rehearse their arguments here. For a convenient chart summarizing Qí Wénbāng's proposal, see p. 28 of his article.

50 This breaks down into 403 from *QTS* (itself compiled from a variety of editions of the Míng dynasty, which were based on still earlier editions of the Sòng) and 6 from other sources, collected in the supplement to *QTS*, *Quán Tángshī bǔbiān* 全唐詩補編, ed. Chén Shāngjūn 陳尚君 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1992). Information on editions of Jiǎ Dǎo's poetry comes from the notes in Fù Xuáncóng, *Táng cáizǐ zhuàn jiàojiān*, 5.314–336.

51 The same, of course, can be said of many medieval poets. One of the problems of working from sources produced in a manuscript culture is their tendency to move (both in terms of attribution and in terms of the text itself). A parallel example can found in Xǔ Hún 許渾 (788?–858), for whom 85 of his poems are attributed to 23 other Táng poets, 56 of which are also attributed to Dù Mù 杜牧 (803–852). See Luó Shíjìn 羅時進, "Qiányán" 前言, in *Dīngmǎo jí jiānzhèng* 丁卯集箋証 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2012), p. 22.

52 On this point, see Paul W. Kroll, "*Heyue yingling ji* and the Attributes of High Tang Poetry," in *Reading Medieval Chinese Poetry: Text, Context, and Culture*, ed. Paul W. Kroll (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 169–201.

An Example

To see what this looks like in action, let us examine one poem in detail. What follows is the first of Jiǎ Dǎo's poems in *Yòuxuán jí*, a parting poem given to a Vietnamese monk who had visited the Táng capital. I provide here my translation, the tonal pattern of the source text, and the source text. For the purpose of this analysis, the stressed syllables of the translation are marked with either a breve (˘) for a short vowel or a macron (¯) for a long vowel. As we will see, my quantitative-verse rendering gives a rhythmic shape to the English that would be lacking in a more conventional translation.

"Seeing off Dharma Master Weijian of Annan" [53] 《送安南惟鑒法師》
Jia Dao 賈島

You delĭver sūtras insīde sprĭng vĭstas	X O O X X	講經春色裏
As flōwers flĭt encĭrcle the rōyal lōunge.	O X X O O	花繞御床飛
Repēatedlȳ you've crŏssed the Sēa of Tŏnkin,	O X X O X	南海幾回渡
And now lŏok to retīre to your ōld hĭlls agāin.	X O O X O	舊山臨老歸
Ĭncense is blōwn ōut by the tŏuch of the wĭnd;	X O O X X	觸風香損印
A stōne drŭm dŏns a rōbe of rāin.[54]	O X X O O	霑雨磬生衣
The skȳ and rĭvers are thăt wāy as wĕll:	O X X O X	空水既如彼
Wŏrd's been rāre from yōu, cŏming and gōing.	X O O X O	往來消息稀

The translation very closely follows the source text. For each level tone, we find a stressed long vowel in English, and for each deflected tone, a stressed short vowel in English. The technique fails in only two places: the second stress of line 3 ("repēatedlȳ"), where we find a long vowel instead of a short one, and the final stress of line 4 ("agāin"), where the word must be read in a forced, mid-Atlantic accent (a-*gayn*) to achieve the long vowel, instead of a Midwestern accent. Otherwise, the pattern of long vs. short stressed vowels matches up per-

53 *Tángrén xuǎn Tángshī xīnbiān (zēngdìng běn)* 唐人選唐詩新編(增訂本), ed. Fù Xuáncóng 傅璇琮 et al (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2014) [hereafter *TRXTS*], 817; *QTS* 572.6638–6639; Lǐ Jiāyán 李嘉言, ed., *Chángjiāng jí xīnjiào* 長江集新校 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1983), 4.37; Lǐ Jiànkūn 李建崑, ed. and annot., *Jiǎ Dǎo shījí jiàozhù* 賈島詩集校注 (Taipei: Lǐrén shūjú, 2002), 4.130–131; Qí Wénbāng 齊文榜, ed. and annot., *Jiǎ Dǎo jí jiàozhù* 賈島集校注 (Běijīng: Rénmín wénxué chūbǎnshè, 2001), 4.159–160. To avoid confusion, I transliterate proper names and technical terms without tonal diacritics in these translations.

54 My translation follows the *Yòuxuán jí*'s version of the poem. Other reliable early collections give a different couplet here:

As the tīde chūrns barbārian grăsses făll.	O O O X X	潮搖蠻草落
In the wĕt mŏnths spŏtty are the īsland's pīnes.	X X X O O	月濕島松微

fectly with the level and deflected tones of the Chinese. In this way, we start to get a feel for the rhythm in Jiă Dăo's poem. Its sound-shape moves in us.

Moreover, the translation attempts a very loose imitation of the rhyme scheme of the source text (which rhymes on the even lines): in the translation, each rhyme line ends with a long vowel plus the nasal –n final. A slant rhyme, to be sure, and one which has very different linguistic properties than the original's high front unrounded vowels, but there is at least an attempt to create resonances at the end of each couplet.[55] Also, the line length of the English stays within a very narrow range of syllables (9–12) in an attempt to show the regularity of Chinese line length (5 syllables). The cumulative effect of these efforts is the presentation of the poem as a well-structured whole.

Furthermore, I've made sure to include none of the strain that characterizes most metrical translations (and much metrical poetry at that): no strange inversions for the sake of prosody, no faux archaisms. The idiom should be that of natural speech in American English, albeit with a few uncommon phrases ("royal lounge," "Sea of Tonkin"). And, to please the Sinological audience, the translation remains almost entirely literal on the semantic level. It is only in the third couplet that we begin to stray: "blown out" in line 5 would be more precisely rendered as "snuffed out" (the idea of something pressing down on the lit incense stick to extinguish it), and in line 6, the stone drum actually "grows a robe" from the sheet of "soaking rain" covering it. Nevertheless, the semantic and grammatical parallelisms of this couplet are apparent in the translation, so it strays from the source's semantic meaning within acceptable limits. In general, we have a new poem which reads pretty naturally. It is, therefore, possible to translate the tones of Chinese prosody into an English quantitative verse that is both fluid and literal.

55 A different experiment in translating might attempt to reproduce the vowel qualities of the original Middle Chinese into English as well. However, since I'm hoping to stay relatively close to the text's semantic meaning, and since previous experiments of this nature (called homophonic translations) have resulted in significant departures from the source text, I have not opted to go this route. For an example of one of the more aesthetically satisfying homophonic translations out there, see Celia and Louis Zukofsky, *Catallus* (London: Cape Goliard Press, 1969). Moreover, since my goal is to bring a sense of the rhythmic effect of Jiă Dăo's poetry into English, homophonic translation would be a red herring. One of the founding principles of modern linguistics is the arbitrary nature of the sign (see Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin, ed. Pierre Meisel and Haun Saussy [New York: Columbia University Press, 2011], pp. 67–70), a principle which extends even to most onomatopoeia and sound symbolism. That is, the nature of a given phoneme's associated meaning only works *within* a certain language, even if it appears universal to speakers of that language. For example, the consonant cluster *gl* is strongly associated with vision in English (glitter, glisten, glow, gleam, ogle) but only in English. Examples that appear more universal (e.g., the use of high fronted vowels to indicate smallness in many languages) have many prominent exceptions ("big" in English contradicts the previous example). For more on sound symbolism, see the essays collected in *Sound Symbolism*, ed. Leanne Hinton et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), especially the typology on pp. 1–6.

Concluding Thoughts

While I will not pretend that my modest experiments have done anything so grand as recreate the power and appeal of Jiă Dăo's poetry in a new language some twelve centuries later, I believe they are pointers in the right direction. The first step toward translating the rhythm of a poem (in Meschonnic's expanded sense) is to look beyond the form/content dichotomy and understand the poem on its own terms: what sort of effect it had in its own culture and why. For Jiă Dăo, this means a close attention to the craft he put into his couplets, couplets which demonstrate an aesthetic of parallelism integrating prosody, grammar, and semantic meaning. The best way to highlight the rhythmic force of this parallelism, especially on the metrical level, is to use an experimental form of English quantitative verse. In this way, our experience of Jiă Dăo's poetry undergoes a subtle (but real) shift, and we can begin to feel something analogous to what his readers felt in the ninth and tenth centuries. The gap between medieval Chinese and modern English, between Jiă Dăo and Anglophone readers, may be impassible, but it is not sound-proof. With the right tools, like a tenuous phonological reconstruction and a resurrected quantitative prosody, we can hear the Táng poet once more. Listen. He calls to you.

Appendix I:

Jiă Dăo's Poems in *Yŏuxuán jí*《送安南惟鑒法師》

1.

"Seeing off Dharma Master Weijian of Annan"[56]

You delĭver sūtras insīde sprĭng vĭstas	X O O X X	講經春色裏。
As flōwers flĭt encĭrcle the rōyal lōunge.	O X X O O	花繞御床飛。
Repēatedlȳ you've crŏssed the Sēa of Tŏnkin,	O X X O X	南海幾回渡。
And now lŏok to retīre to your ōld hĭlls agāin.	X O O X O	舊山臨老歸。
Ĭncense is blōwn ōut by the tŏuch of the wĭnd;	X O O X X	觸風香損印。
A stōne drŭm dŏns a rōbe of rāin.	O X X O O	霑雨磬生衣。
The skȳ and rĭvers are thăt wāy as wĕll:	O X X O X	空水既如彼。
Wŏrd's been rāre from yōu cŏming and gōing.	X O O X O	往來消息稀。

56 *TRXTS* 817; *QTS* 572.6638–6639; LĭJiāyán 4.37; LĭJiànkūn 4.130–131; Qí Wénbāng 4.159–160.

2.

"Inscribed on Revenue Manager Du's Pavilion" [57]《題杜司戶亭子》

Your lōunge heăd's pĭllow ĭs a stōne in strēam's cĕnter;	O O X X O O X	床頭枕是溪中石。
The sprĭng in your wĕll's dēep rēaches the pŏnd ŭnder the bambōos.	X X O O X X O	井底泉通竹下池。
Păst mĭdnight and stĭll no slēep for mē, your trănsient guĕst,	X X X O O X X	宿客未眠過夜半。
Who lĭstens alōne as the rāins in the hĭlls cŏme dōwn, arrīve.	X O O X X O O	獨聞山雨到來時。

3.

"Inscribed on Li Ning's Secluded Dwelling" [58]《題李凝幽居》

A lēisurely līfe with fĕw nēighbors hĕre:	O O X O X	閒居少鄰並。
A grăssy păth ĭnto this ōvergrown tōwn.	X X X O O	草徑入荒村。
Bĭrds pĕrch on the trēes insīde the pŏnd;	X X O O X	鳥宿池中樹。
A clēric strīkes on the mōon-lĭt dōor.	O O X X O	僧敲月下門。
I make ōut the wīlds' fōrm when crŏssing a brĭdge,	O OO X X	過橋分野色。
And mōve the fŏot of nĭmbus with a shĭft of stōnes.	O X X O O	移石動雲根。
Quĭt for a sĕcond then retŭrn hēre agăin,	X X O O X	暫去還來此。
A seclūded mēeting căn't go băck on my wŏrd.	O O X X O	幽期不負言。

57 *TRXTS* 817; *QTS* 574.6688; Lĭ Jiāyán 10.122–123; Lĭ Jiànkūn 10.419; Qí Wénbāng 10.516–517. In *QTS*, the title is given as "Lodging at a Country Home Pavilion (one variant says 'Lodging at Minister of Works Dù's Eastern Pavilion,' another 'Inscribed on Revenue Manager Dù's Pavilion')" 宿村家亭子（一作宿杜司空東亭、或題杜司戶亭子）.

58 *TRXTS* 817–818; *QTS* 572.6639; Lĭ Jiāyán 4.37–38; Lĭ Jiànkūn 4.131–135; Qí Wénbāng 4.160–164.

4.

"Weeping over *Śramaṇa* Boyan" [59]《哭柏岩和尚》

Mōss cŏvers the rŏck cōuch anēw:	O X X O O	苔覆石床新。
Mȳ tēacher remāined through sĕveral sprĭngs.	O OO X O	吾師佔幾春。
In your pŏrtrait remāin shādes of your relĭgious prăctice,	X O O X X	寫留行道影。
To the flāmes retŭrned your bŏdy sēated in *dhyāna*.	O X X O O	焚卻坐禪身。
Your tĕmple hăll bārred by snōwy fĭrs,	X X O O X	塔院關松雪。
Your rōom's gāte lŏcked with dŭsty crăcks.	O O X X O	房門鎖隙塵。
Mysĕlf I lōathe this pāir of trĭckling sŏbs	X O O X X	自嫌雙淚下。
Don't befĭt ŏne who ŭnderstănds the vōid.	X X X O O	不是解空人。

5.

"Weeping over Meng Jiao" [60]《哭孟郊》

Your bŏdy has dīed your nāme remāins stĭll,	O X O O X	身死聲名在。
To be păssed dōwn a mĭllion gĕnerātions.	O O X X O	多應萬古傳。
Your wĭdowed wīfe has nō sŏn to hĕr;	X O O X X	寡妻無子息。
Your wrĕcked dwĕlling's rĭmmed with trēes and fōuntains.	X X X O O	破宅帶林泉。
Your sĕpulchre's nĕxt to a mōuntain-clīmbing păth,	X X O O X	塚近登山道。
Your pōetry bōarded an ōcean-wŏrthy bōat.	O O X X O	詩隨過海船。
Ăfter bēing mōurned by your gŏod friĕnds,	X O O X X	故人相吊後。
The slōping sŭn descĕnds from the cōld skȳ.	O X X O O	斜日下寒天。

59 *TRXTS* 818; *QTS* 572.6630; Lĭ Jiāyán 3.21; Lĭ Jiànkūn 3.76–78; Qí Wénbāng 3.89–91. Several editions give Bóyán's title as "meditation master" 禪師 instead of "*śramaṇa*" 和尚 .

60 *TRXTS* 818; *QTS* 572.6632; Lĭ Jiāyán 3.21; Lĭ Jiànkūn 3.91–92; Qí Wénbāng 3.107–109.

賈島的節奏，翻譯中古漢語格律的試驗方法

余泰明*

論文摘要 自二十世紀初，古代漢語的翻譯家和評論家皆以意象和暗示為主，回避節奏。就音位而言，人們通常認為現代英語和古代漢語的差距較大，並不能引出中文的音感。為了克服這些分歧，本文章用試驗性的方法將賈島的詩歌翻譯成英文。首先探討語言學家、翻譯家梅肖尼克（Henri Meschonnic）的節奏理論，重點強調節奏是「語言中移動的組織」。這個概念包括詩歌的演唱和聽眾，以及其對社群和語言的影響。如要翻譯賈島這種平仄對偶的巨匠的作品，必須建立翻譯中古漢語韻律的方法。借鑑陳寅恪的假設，即中國的平仄區分是受梵詩格律輕重（*laghu—guru*）區分的影響而創立，我把平聲字翻譯成英語重讀音節的長元音，仄聲字則翻譯成輕讀音節的短元音。翻譯的節奏經歷了一個微妙的變化，並帶着賈島對語言歷史的影響力。於是，本文有望在翻譯賈島的節奏時，能翻譯他言外之力，不僅表達他詩歌所說的，也展示出他詩歌所做的。

關鍵詞 古代漢語 賈島 翻譯 詩歌 音調韻律 平仄

* 作者為普林斯頓大學中國古典文學及宗教研究博士候選人。