Translation of Proper Names in Hong Kong: Media and Official Usage at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Traducción de nombres propios en Hong Kong: Medios de comunicación y uso oficial a principios del siglo XX

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Abstract: This paper aims to describe some changes to the translation of foreign proper names in Hong Kong at the turn of the twentieth century, that is, the 10-year span a few years after the 1997 handover to China. Due to an array of historical reasons and transliteration differences, there has been great variation in the Chinese translation of proper names across the Mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan. To determine the possible influence of the change of sovereignty on how proper names are translated and used in this post-colonial, Cantonese-speaking city, where both Chinese and English are official languages, a number of transliterated place and personal names are taken from government documents and media texts for examination. The source language of most of these names is English. Several examples are also cited to show that the Mainland media has also adopted translated proper names customarily used in Hong Kong, indicating language borrowing is taking place. An attempt is made to theoretically explain the underlying causes of this translational change using Lefevere's "rewriting" perspectives of patronage, ideology and poetics, and general theories on language change.

Keywords: Proper names, Hong Kong, government documents, media reports, rewriting

Resumen[1]: Este artículo pretende describir algunos cambios en la traducción de nombres propios extranjeros en Hong Kong a principios del siglo XX, es decir, durante los primeros diez años desde su entrega en 1997 a China. Debido a una serie de razones históricas y diferencias de transliteración, se

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ha producido una gran variación en la traducción de nombres propios en China continental, Hong Kong y Taiwán. Para determinar la posible influencia del cambio de soberanía en la forma en que se traducen y utilizan los nombres propios en esta ciudad postcolonial de habla cantonesa, en la que tanto el chino como el inglés son idiomas oficiales, se han extraído una serie de nombres de personas y lugares transliterados de documentos gubernamentales y de textos pertenecientes a los medios de comunicación para su posterior análisis. El idioma de origen de la mayoría de estos nombres es el inglés. También se citan varios ejemplos para demostrar que los medios de comunicación de la China continental también han adoptado nombres propios traducidos que se utilizan habitualmente en Hong Kong, lo que indica que se están realizando préstamos. En este estudio se explican teóricamente las causas subyacentes de este cambio traslacional utilizando las perspectivas de "reescritura" de Lefevere sobre el patrón, la ideología y la poética y las teorías generales sobre el cambio de idioma.

Palabras clave: nombres propios, Hong Kong, documentos del gobierno, informes de los medios, reescribir.

INTRODUCTION

Against the background of significant lexical differences that have arisen in the Modern Written Chinese used in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan due to their long separation, variance in the translation of proper names also results from the complexity of methods used. Of these methods, the one most responsible for the generation of different names is transliteration. This is due mainly to the large number of homonyms in Chinese and the fact that the three regions use different Chinese dialects (Fang, 1999, 123; Jiang, 2012, 107; Huang, 1994, 405-406). With regard to the translation of proper names, Chu (2009, 175) observes that the Mainland's names are longer and composed of plainer characters, while Taiwan's have a more elegant language style. The situation in Hong Kong is more complex, since its translation activities are influenced by the change of sovereignty in 1997. Generally speaking, Hong Kong used translated proper names from all sources before 1997, including its own translations, and those from both the Mainland and Taiwan, but in the first decade of the twentieth century, more translations from the Mainland have been adopted. Such developments can be accounted for by Lefereve's "rewriting" perspectives of patronage, ideology and poetics. This is a pilot study that focuses on a number of changing Chinese translations of foreign proper names, for most of which the source language is English. The translations are marked by Mandarin romanisation (*Pinyin*) and when Cantonese is involved, Cantonese romanisation (*Jyutping*)

is also included. It is intended that this study will invite further research into lexical changes and associated translation issues in post-colonial Hong Kong.

For most of the one and a half centuries of British rule, English was the sole official language of Hong Kong. The English language was accorded a high social status and used widely in government, business, the workplace in general, and even as the main medium of instruction at school. However, since the population predominantly speaks Cantonese in daily life, it has been the practice for the government to translate English documents into Chinese, so that more people can understand them. As Hong Kong has been a financial centre with a high degree of freedom of speech and press, the free flow of information has also encouraged the frequent translation of foreign news into Chinese. Consequently, Hong Kong possesses rather long experience in translating governmental, legal, financial documents, as well as news, from English into Chinese. After the handover of sovereignty to China in 1997 and the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) Government, Chinese's official language status was raised to equal that of English. Starting in 2001, a language policy was introduced to promote "bi-literacy and tri-lingualism", where the former involves two written languages (English and Chinese), and the latter three spoken languages (English, Cantonese and Putonghua) (Policy Address, 2001). Putonghua, the "common" language intensively promoted in Mainland China since the 1950s and widely known as Mandarin, has been greatly promoted in Hong Kong's schools as well as society at large (Putonghua and Mandarin are used interchangeably in the following). Such promotion is actually part of the national language policy to promote Putonghua stipulated in the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language 2000. For example, the public broadcaster Radio Television of Hong Kong (RTHK) launched a Putonghua radio channel in 1997, with the aim of promoting the common language in a territory where previously all Chinese radio and television channels had been using Cantonese only (www.rthk.hk). The change of sovereignty and language policy that relates to the official status of the Chinese language and the promotion of Putonghua certainly has had an impact on the daily life of people. This relates to their more frequent contact with Mainland Chinese affairs and people, vocabulary and its translation. Since this area of development has received little attention in translation, this study aims to fill the gap by revealing the translational phenomena that have resulted from this political change, with reference to some recent and obvious examples.

1. Data and Methodology

The data for this study are taken from two sources: government documents and media reports. The official documents that constitute the first source are taken from the News Archives of the Information Services Department of the HKSAR Government (GIS, https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/ISD_public_Calendar_tc.html). Starting from 1997, this archive contains digitalised press releases and documents of all government and related bodies, most of them being bilingual because both Chinese and English are the official languages. Most examples in this study are taken from such bilingual press releases and government documents, since they provide good illustrations of the translation issues under study. The second source is taken from Wisenews, the world's largest Chinese online news database founded by the Wisers Group in Hong Kong in 1998 (http://wisenews.wisers.net). To date, it has collected Chinese news and articles from over 1600 sources in the Greater China area, including 18 Hong Kong-based Chinese and English newspapers, along with other major magazines, and transcripts from television and radio broadcasts. By 2010, the database had digitised over 150 million items of news and articles. A few examples are taken from these Chinese media reports, along with the author's translation into English.

A number of points are noteworthy about the data. First, retrievals of data have been made by searching the two sources in the mode of 'exact phrases' to achieve accurate results. Second, the search period is limited to the decade covering 2001-2010, because the Internet was not very popular before 2000 and few government documents were yet digitised. Third, because there are dozens of mass media outlets in Hong Kong, the frequency of proper names is many times higher than that in government documents.

2. Analysis: Chinese Translations of Proper Names

The major change in the Chinese translation of proper names in Hong Kong is the increased use of translations from the Mainland in government documents and media. Such translations mostly consist of transliteration based on Putonghua (Mandarin) pronunciation. Examples include place names such as "Sydney", which is preferably translated as Xini / sik1 nei4 (悉尼) rather than Xueli / syut3 lei4 (雪梨), and personal names such as David Cameron (Kameilun / kaa1 mui4 leon4 卡梅倫) and Nick Clegg (Kelaige / hak1 loi4 gaak3 克萊格). On the Mainland, the State Council decided in 1978 that the translation of all proper names should follow Hanyu Pinyin Fangan (Phonetic Scheme of Chinese). Since then translators refer to dictionaries to

provide a systematic system for translating names, one character per letter or syllable, as in *mu* (姆) for m, *te* (特) for t, and *de* (德) for d. One authoritative dictionary to consult for standard translations is Names of the World's Peoples: A Comprehensive Dictionary of Names in Roman-Chinese published by the China Translation and Publishing Corporation (Proper Names and Translation Service, Xinhua News Agency, 1993).

2.1. Growing Use of Mainland Translations

2.1.1 Sydney (*Xueli* 雪梨 vs. *Xini* 悉尼)

The translation for "Sydney" has changed from Xueli / syut3 lei4 (雪梨), which is also used in Taiwan, to Xini / *sik1 nei4* (悉尼), used in Mainland China. Although the sound of Xini (悉尼) pronounced in both Mandarin and Cantonese is closer to the English pronunciation of "Sydney", Xueli (雪梨), which is composed of xue / syut3 (雪) (snow) and li / lei4 (梨) (pear) and means "pear" (Tao, 2010, E07) better evokes the city's picturesque scenery (Zhou, 2009, 134). The preference for transliteration over semantic translation can be more accurately shown in Figures 1a and 1b:
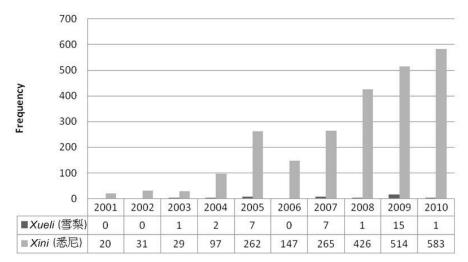

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■*Xueli* (雪梨)	0	0	1	2	7	0	7	1	15	1
▪*Xini* (悉尼)	20	31	29	97	262	147	265	426	514	583

Fig. 1a Xueli (雪梨) and Xini (悉尼) as Translations of "Sydney" in Government Documents
Source: HKSAR News Archives (2001-2010).

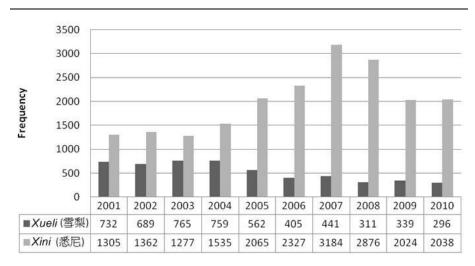|	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ *Xueli* (雪梨)	732	689	765	759	562	405	441	311	339	296
■ *Xini* (悉尼)	1305	1362	1277	1535	2065	2327	3184	2876	2024	2038

Fig. 1b Xueli **(雪梨) and** Xini **(悉尼) as Translations of "Sydney" in Media**
Source**:** Wisenews (2001-2010).

From the two charts above, in both official and media texts, use of Xini (悉尼) (represented by the light bar) has been increasing over the past decade. Xueli (雪梨) (represented by the dark bar) has scarcely been used in government texts, while a relatively stable portion of media have been using it in the decade.

Consider two examples from the official press releases that show the co-existence of the two translations:

(1)

These cities included London (England), Cairo (Egypt), Washington DC (USA), Tokyo (Japan), Seoul (South Korea) and Sydney (Australia). (GIS Press Release, 27 September 2007)

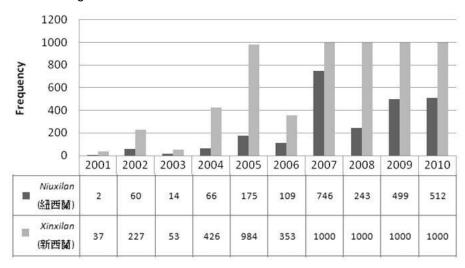[…] 將火炬分別傳送至英國倫敦、埃及開羅、美國華盛頓、日本東京及韓國首爾，最後一站為澳洲雪梨。(新聞公報，2007 年 9 月 27 日)

(2)

The Director of the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (HKETO) in Sydney, Mr Steve Barclay, today (July 29, Sydney time) launched the inaugural "2010 Hong Kong Week in Sydney". (GIS Press Release, 29 July 2010)

香港駐悉尼經濟貿易辦事處經貿處處長柏嘉禮今日(悉尼時間七月二十九日)主持《悉尼 2010 香港周》簡報會。 (新聞公報，2010 年 7 月 29 日)

This indicates that the government translators still have a degree of freedom in deciding which translation to use as far as this proper name is concerned. Of course, it is more politically correct to use *Xini* (悉尼), which is customarily used in Mainland China.

2.1.2. New Zealand

There has also been a decreasing use of Niuxilan / nau2 sai1 laan4 (紐西蘭) and a growing use of Xinxilan / san1 sai1 laan4 (新西蘭) as the translation of New Zealand in the 10 years under study. The former, also a usual translation in Taiwan, is produced entirely by transliteration through matching the three Chinese characters to the English source name, while the latter, a usual translation in the Mainland, is a combination of transliteration of the last two syllables xi / sai1 (西) and lan / laan4 (蘭) and semantic translation of the first syllable xin / san1 (新) as 'new'. The translation of Niuxilan (紐西蘭) has support from the transliteration for New York, Niuyue / nau2 joek3 (紐約), which is a standard translation across all Chinese communities, while Xinxilan (新西蘭) finds support in New Delhi (Xin Deli / san1 dak1 lei5 新德里) and New England (Xin Yinggelan /san1 jing1 gaak3 laan4 新英格蘭), both of which use 'new' (新) as a semantic translation (Xiang, 1996, 59). Consider Figures 2a and 2b:

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ Niuxilan (紐西蘭)	2	60	14	66	175	109	746	243	499	512
■ Xinxilan (新西蘭)	37	227	53	426	984	353	1000	1000	1000	1000

**Fig. 2a Niuxilan (紐西蘭) and Xinxilan (新西蘭) as Translations of "New Zealand"
in Government Documents**
Source: HKSAR News Archives (2001-2010).

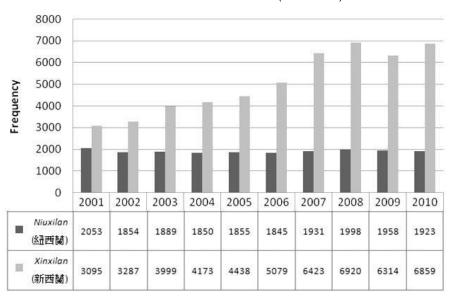|	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Niuxilan (紐西蘭)	2053	1854	1889	1850	1855	1845	1931	1998	1958	1923
Xinxilan (新西蘭)	3095	3287	3999	4173	4438	5079	6423	6920	6314	6859

**Fig. 2b Niuxilan (紐西蘭）and Xinxilan (新西蘭) as Translations of "New
Zealand" in Media**
Source: Wisenews (2001-2010)

According to Figures 1a and 1b, the frequency of Xinxilan (新西蘭) is much higher than the translation Niuxilan（紐西蘭）in both government documents and media news. However, Figure 1b shows that a stable portion of the media maintains their preference for Niuxilan (紐西蘭). One reason for this is that the currency of New Zealand is still referred to as Niuyuan / nau2 jyun4 (紐元).

Consider the following examples taken from official news:

(3)

The Hong Kong-New Zealand Closer Economic Partnership Agreement will come into force tomorrow. Under the agreement signed in March, New Zealand will phase out over six years its import tariffs on all goods originating in Hong Kong. (GIS news, 31 December 2010)

香港與紐西蘭簽訂的緊密經貿合作協定明天(1 月 1 日)生效，紐西蘭在 6 年內，逐步撤銷對所有香港原產貨物徵收的進口關稅。(政府新聞處網上採訪室，2010 年 12 月 31 日)

(4)

The Hong Kong, China-New Zealand Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEP Agreement) will enter into force on January 1, 2011, a government spokesman announced today (December 31). (GIS Press Release, 31 December 2010)

政府發言人今日(十二月三十一日)宣佈， 《中國香港與新西蘭緊密經貿合作協定》(《協定》) 將於二〇〇一年一月一日生效。(新聞公報，2010 年 12 月 31 日)

On the same day, and on the same matter, GIS's news and press release used Niuxilan (紐西蘭) and Xinxilan (新西蘭) respectively.

2.1.3. Virginia (*Weizhenniya* 維珍尼亞 to *Fujiniya* 弗吉尼亞)

The preferred translation of the state of Virginia in the USA has been changing from Weizhenniya / wai4 zan1 nei4 aa3 (維珍尼亞) to Fujiniya / fat1 gat1 nei4 aa3 (弗吉尼亞)). The Mainland translation *Fujiniya* (弗吉尼亞) first created public controversy in Hong Kong when the media used it instead of the customary Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞)) in reporting a campus shooting in Virginia. This intense opposition arose because Fu / fat1 (弗) sounds offensive when spoken in Cantonese, due to its resemblance to an English swear word. One commentator Yip Chi Yat suggested that Virginia was made "another victim in the campus shooting" by this translational change (Yip, 2007). Virginia is also a woman's name in English. Given that the feminine character zhen / zan1（珍）(treasure) is used in some Chinese women's names, Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞), as the Hong Kong translation of the name Virginia, has a more elegant style. Yet, the media is set on using the Mainland version in order to be correct in political terms. Tao Kit (陶傑), a well-known writer, television and radio host in Hong Kong, holds a strong opinion on this matter, criticising media for using the translation Fujiniya as "politically ignorant" (Tao, 2010, E07). Consider Figures 3a and 3b:
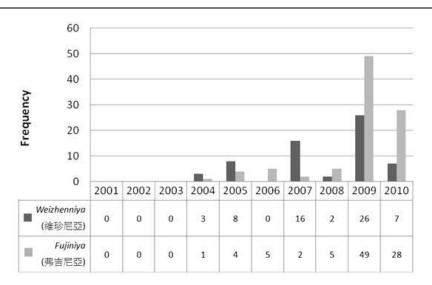
Fig. 3a Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞) and Fujiniya (弗吉尼亞) as Translations of "Virginia" in Government Documents
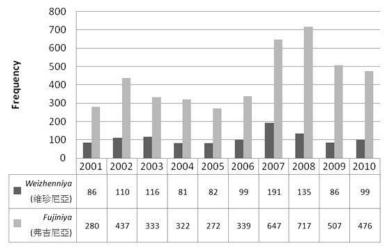Source: HKSAR News Archives (2001-2010)

Fig. 3b Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞) and Fujiniya (弗吉尼亞) as Translations of "Virginia" in Media
Source: Wisenews (2001-2010)

Based on the two charts, during the 10 years under study, Fujiniya (弗吉尼亞) is used more frequently than Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞) in the media, and there is a surge in its usage in government documents during 2009-2010. As the exchange between Hong Kong and the Mainland grows, the co-existence of the two translations is expected to continue, but the use of Weizhenniya (維珍尼亞) will be less prominent.

Consider examples of two translations from government documents:

(5)

The prospects of marketing Virginia wines in Hong Kong was the main focus of discussions with Virginia state officials during Hong Kong Commissioner for Economic and Trade Affairs, USA, Mr Donald Tong's visit to Richmond, the capital of Virginia on March 18 (Virginia time, USA). (GIS Press Release, 18 March 2010)

香港駐美總經濟貿易專員唐智強在美國維珍尼亞州時間三月十八日與維珍尼亞州州府官員會面，討論維州酒品在香港行銷的前景。(新聞公報，2010 年 3 月 20 日)

(6)

"Penalties vary from state to state and range from $50 (West Virginia) to $10,000 fines (Wisconsin) and from 30 day (Mississippi) to 5 year periods of imprisonment (Alaska)." (Law Reform Commission, Interim Proposals on a Sex Offender Register, 2008)

"各州之間，罰則不同。罰款由$50(西弗吉尼亞州)至$10,000(威斯康辛州) 不等，而監禁則由 30 日(密西西比州)至 5 年(阿拉斯加州)不等。(法律改革委員會，關於性罪犯名冊的臨時建議，2008)

2.1.4. Dubai (Dubai 杜拜 vs. Dibai 迪拜)

The translation of the Arab emirate and city's English name Dubai used to be Dubai / dou6 baai3 (杜拜), but in recent years, Dibai / dik6 baai3 (迪拜) has also become a common translation. Both in Cantonese and Mandarin, the former translation better approximates the country's name pronounced in English. This should in itself explain why Dibai (迪拜) cannot become as popular as other translations from Mainland China. Consider Figures 4a and 4b:
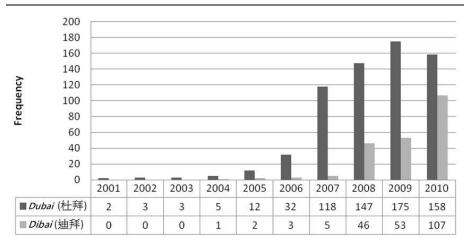
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ *Dubai* (杜拜)	2	3	3	5	12	32	118	147	175	158
■ *Dibai* (迪拜)	0	0	0	1	2	3	5	46	53	107

Fig. 4a Dubai (杜拜) and Dibai (迪拜) as Translations of "Dubai" in Government Documents
Source: HKSAR News Archives (2001-2010)

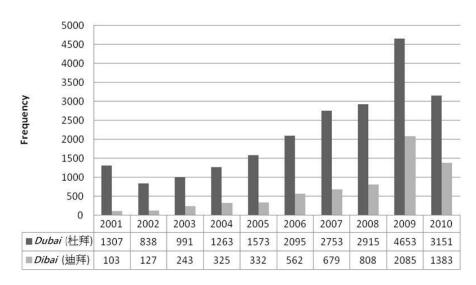|	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ *Dubai* (杜拜)	1307	838	991	1263	1573	2095	2753	2915	4653	3151
■ *Dibai* (迪拜)	103	127	243	325	332	562	679	808	2085	1383

Fig. 4b Dubai (杜拜) and Dibai (迪拜) as Translations of "Dubai" in Media
Source: Wisenews (2001-2010)

According to the charts, throughout the decade under study, the frequency of use of Dubai (杜拜) has been significantly higher than that of Dibai (迪拜) in both government documents and news reports. On the other

hand, there has been a steady increase in the use of Dibai (迪拜) in recent years. Dibai (迪拜) has not replaced Dubai (杜拜) as the more popular choice, primarily because its pronunciation closely resembles the English pronunciation of Dubai.

Consider the examples below:

(7)

Amongst other capacities in the legal profession, she has been an arbitrator in Hong Kong, the Mainland of China, London, Stockholm, Singapore, Taiwan and Dubai. (GIS Press Release, 22 September 2010)

鄭若驊擁有多項法律專業資格，曾在香港、中國內地、倫敦、斯德哥爾摩、新加坡、台灣和杜拜當仲裁員［⋯］(新聞公報，2010 年 9 月 22 日)

(8)

Traded on the NASDAQ from 1997 to 2002, Aramex is now a publicly traded company on the Dubai Financial Market (DFM: ARMX). (GIS Press Release, 18 March 2010)

在一九九七至二〇〇二年間，Aramex 是納斯達克上市企業，現時則在迪拜金融市場上市 (DFM 代號: ARMX) 。(新聞公報，2010 年 3 月 18 日)

The use of both translations in official GIS press releases occurs in the same year.

2.1.5. More Examples and some Mainland Borrowings

There are many other examples, of which, in the interests of brevity, I will simply mention a few, together with some proper names used in Hong Kong and now appearing in Mainland media. Similar to the sound change in the transliteration of "Sydney" and "Virginia" based on Mandarin pronunciation, Saudi Arabia is changed from Shadialabo / saa1 dei6 aa3 laa1 baak3 (沙地阿拉伯) to Shatealabo / saa1 dak6 aa3 laa1 baak3 (沙特阿拉伯), Dominican Republic from Duomingnijia / do1 ming4 nei4 gaa1 (多明尼加) to Duominijia / do1 mai5 nei4 gaa1 (多米尼加), and Brisbane from Bulisiben / bou3 lei5 si1 bun2 (布里斯本) to Bulisiban / bou3 lei5 si1 baan1 (布里斯班). Moreover, Montreal used to be called Mandike / mun5 dei6 ho2 (滿地可), a Cantonese-based translation, whereas it is now more often called Mengtelier / mung4 dak6 lei6 ji5 (蒙特利爾), a Mandarin-based syllable-to-syllable translation. Such changes form a contrast with the language habits of Hong Kong people who moved overseas since the 1950s. According to the author's living experience in Australia in the 2000s, most Hong Kong migrants there

still use Xueli (雪梨) (Sydney) and Niuxilan (紐西蘭) (New Zealand) in daily conversation.

Nevertheless, for "Australia", the translation Aodaliya / ou3 daai6 lei6 aa3 (澳大利亞) from the Mainland is probably unlikely to supplant Aozhou / ou3 zau1 (澳洲), because as a transliteration, it does not sufficiently resemble the English pronunciation of 'Australia'. The pre-handover translation Aozhou (澳洲), which is also used in Taiwan, is still in popular use in Hong Kong and among Hong Kong migrants in Australia. Consider the following example:

(9)

At the symposium, academics and conservation professionals from Australia, Malaysia and Macau shared their experience with local academics and professionals on the topic of heritage conservation for communities and tourism. (GIS Press Release, 4 December, 2010)

此外，來自澳洲、馬來西亞以及澳門等地的學者和保育專家今日亦於「人與地—文物保育與社區和旅遊發展研討會」上，分享海外經驗及與本地專家學者交流 […] (新聞公報，2010 年 12 月 4 日)

As a matter of fact, the translation of Aozhou (澳洲) has started to gain a foothold in the Mainland media, which is used side by side with Aodaliya (澳大利亞). Consider the following examples:

(10)

近幾年來，外國人對於澳洲房地產的需求增長很快，其中又以中國需求為主。2010 年年中，中國公民獲得的澳洲房產投資許可占外來總體的 50%，這一數字在 2015 年年初上升到了 70%。(新浪網，2016 年 12 月 10 日)

(11)

近日，微信支付海外消費市場佈局又邁進一步，與澳洲支付平臺 RoyalPay (皇家支付)合作制定澳洲微信支付發展計畫。未來在澳洲本地的免稅店、連鎖藥房、連鎖餐飲、酒店、旅行社等遊客高頻率消費的地方，都可以通過微信支付來付款。(騰訊財經，2015 年 10 月 20 日)

Furthermore, in some Mainland media, the translations of niubi (紐幣) and niuyuan (紐元) for "New Zealand Dollars" are more used now, alongside with the traditional use of Xinxilayuan (新西蘭元):

(12)

在上世紀 80 年代早期，Jenny 就在 Matiere 買下了當地的一間天主教堂，花費了 1100 紐幣，當時來說也是極其便宜的價格。 (新華网，2015 年 5 月 14 日)

(13)

紐元兌美元震盪反彈，日 K 線實體重心基本持平前 2 個交易日。耶倫講話之前，市場參與者不敢貿然出手。(網易財經，2016 年 8 月 26 日)

2.2 New Translations at the Turn of the Century

There are some new names that have appeared at the turn of the twentieth century which are also rendered according to the Mainland syllable-to-syllable transliteration method. Although it is convenient and time-saving to render proper names systematically, it reduces the names to mere symbols that are less memorable than translations made according to the traditional Hong Kong practice, which takes the characters' meanings into consideration. Before the 1997 handover, the Chinese translations of British officials' names were provided by the British Consulate-General of Hong Kong under the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and were usually domesticated into Chinese (Ming Pao, 14 May 2010). For example, many Hong Kong Governors were given Chinese names with good meanings and similar sounds to their English surnames. For example, in the case of the last governor Chris Patten (彭定康), Peng / paang4 (彭) is a common Chinese surname, which in combination with the first character of the Chinese given name Ding / ding6 (定) (stable) is similar in sound to "Patten". The second character of the given name Kang / hong1 (康) (healthy) is an addition. The following are some examples of personal names translated after the change of sovereignty.

2.2.1 British Officials David Cameron (Kameilun / kaa1 mui4 leon4 卡梅倫) and Nick Clegg (Kelaige / hak1 loi4 gaak3 克萊格)

For Prime Minister David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, there has been no new domesticated rendition since their second term started in 2010. Their names in Chinese follow the transliteration rule of Mainland China, without the addition of a Chinese family name or consideration for the meanings of the characters: Kameilun (卡梅倫) for "Cameron", and Kelaige (克萊格) for "Clegg".

Consider the following examples from official press releases and radio news:

(10)

However, Mrs Allcock also stressed the role Hong Kong can play in helping the UK to meet Prime Minister David Cameron's pledge to double bilateral trade with China by 2015, made during his recent visit to Beijing. (GIS Press Release, 16 December, 2010)

鍾小玲表示，英國首相卡梅倫最近訪問北京時，曾誓言在二〇一五年將對華雙邊貿易增加一倍。(新聞公報，2010 年 12 月 16 日)

(14)

英國組成二次大戰後首個聯合政府後，新任首相卡梅倫和副首相克萊格強調，[…] (香港電台，蔡敬雯，2010 年 5 月 13 日)

As this is the first coalition government formed in Britain since World War II, the new Prime Minister Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Clegg gave an assurance that […] (RTHK, by K.M. Choi, 13 May 2010) (The author's translation)

2.2.2 Former US Official Donald Rumsfeld (Lamusifeierde / laa1 mou5 si1 fei1 ji5 dak1 拉姆斯菲爾德)

In the appearance of former US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld on Hong Kong's news during his second term of service in 2001-2006 (his first term of office was in the 1970s), his name was transliterated according to Mandarin pronunciation as Lamusifeierde / laa1 mou5 si1 fei1 ji5 dak1 (拉姆斯菲爾德). In Taiwan, where Mandarin is also the official language, the translation of Rumsfeld takes the more succinct form of Lunsifei / leon4 si1 fei2 (倫斯斐).

Also consider the following example from a news publication of RTHK:

(15)

信仰高科技主導戰爭的國防部長拉姆斯菲爾德，經常批評傳媒，[…] (香港電台《傳媒透視》，趙來發，2003 年 4 月)

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who believes war is technology-oriented, often criticises the media […] (RTHK's Media Digest, by L.F. Chiu, April 2003) (The author's translation)

2.2.3 Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (Aihamaidineijiade / ngaai5 haa1 maai6 dik6 noi6 gaa2 dak1 艾哈邁迪内賈德)

In the Hong Kong media, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is translated as Aihamaidineijiade / ngaai5 haa1 maai6 dik6 noi6 gaa2 dak1 (艾哈邁迪内賈德), a syllable-to-syllable rendition according to the sounds of Mandarin. Mandarin-speakers from Mainland China may be used to lengthy translated names, but this example is particularly long-winded in Cantonese, in which it is pronounced as ngaai 6 haa1 maai6 dik6 noi6 gaa2 dak1.

This translated name appears in the radio news from RTHK:

(16)

艾哈邁迪内賈德在記者會重申，伊朗與西方國家有關核燃料交換的磋商並未結束 […] (香港電台，蔡德蕙，2010 年 2 月 17 日)

Ahmadinejad reiterated at the press conference that the consultation on nuclear exchange between Iran and the West is on-going […] (RTHK, by T.W. Choi, 17 February 2010) (The author's translation)

3. DISCUSSION: LANGUAGE CHANGE AND LEFEVERE'S PATRONAGE, IDEOLOGY AND POETICS

From the examples shown in this section, it is obvious that Mainland translations are standardised and systematic, but unavoidably long-winded, since every sound must be translated into a Chinese character. Cantonese-based translations in Hong Kong tend to be more flexible in this respect, allowing names that are shorter and more meaningful. Andrew Lefevere's (1992) "rewriting" theory of "patronage", "ideology" and "poetics" can be employed to explain the political and cultural changes behind these examples of evolving proper name translation since the handover. In this theory, translation as "a rewriting of an original text" is greatly influenced by the ideological or poetological currents manipulated by patronage and professionals respectively (Lefevere, 1992, chap. v-vii). The following is a description of how such factors operate in the Hong Kong context.

Patronage refers to people in power outside the literary system who are "usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics" (Lefevere, 1992, 15) (professionals within the literary system will be discussed later). In this study, the HKSAR Government and the media organisations represent patronage, and the national language system, the ideology. The HKSAR Government represents an "undifferentiated" patronage of the literary system, meaning that it provides three components, namely the ideological,

the economic and status components (Lefevere, 1992, 17). First of all, ideologically speaking, by using Mainland Putonghua-based translation of proper names, the Government somehow affects the translation process with the national language policy from Mainland China. According to the PRC's Law on Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, the use of standard spoken and written Chinese language will promote economic and cultural exchange among all the Chinese nationalities and regions (Article 1). Putonghua should be used in radio and television broadcasts and dialect is only to be used with approval (Articles 12 and 16). Such a unified language policy can help the Government install nationalism into the minds of the citizens of Hong Kong which is a post-colonial city. Economically, the Government employs more than 180,000 civil servants, including translators and interpreters. As Hong Kong is part of China, its Government relies on the Central Government as a source of economic support. Last but not least, with regard to the status component which Lefevere describes as "integration into a certain support group" (1992, 16), translators must conform to the expectations of patrons, in return for the remuneration they receive. In this case, these expectations equate with the national language policy that is advocated by the Beijing Administration and followed by HKSAR Government. Meanwhile, media organisations also constitute a form of "undifferentiated" patronage with the same three components, because they are employers that are subject to ideological influence from the Central Government. Taking the one of the two free television channels in Hong Kong (Television Broadcasting) as an example, the author's daily observations suggest that their news programs mostly use Mainland translations such as Xini / sik1 nei4 (悉尼), Xinxilan / san1 sai1 laan4 (新西蘭) and Fujiniya / fat1 gat1 nei4 aa3 (弗吉尼亞) for "Sydney", "New Zealand" and "Virginia", Kameilun/ kaa1 mui4 leon4 (卡梅倫) and Kelaige / hak1 loi4 gaak3 (克萊格) for Cameron and Clegg, Lamusifeierde / laa1 mou5 si1 fei1 ji5 dak1 (拉姆斯菲爾德) for Rumsfeld, and Aihamaidineijiade / ngaai5 haa1 maai6 dik6 noi6 gaa2 dak1 (艾哈邁迪内賈德) for Ahmadinejad.

It is the "professionals" within the literary system that tend to be concerned with poetics (Lefevere, 1992, chap. v). Poetics consists of two components, namely the "inventory of literary devices, genres" and "a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system" (Lefevere, 1992, 26). This second "functional" component is closely linked to ideological influences from outside the sphere of poetics. Within the Hong Kong system, there are two kinds of professionals that have conflicting views of the literary norms. The first kind includes civil servants within the Government who produce press releases, speeches and other official documents, and editors and journalists in the media. Since the mid-1980s, they have been following

the vernacular style in official writing which replaced classical Chinese writing, mainly by eliminating formulaic constructions and terms of address (Official Languages Division, Civil Service Bureau, 2009, 80; Ng, Ngan & Kong, 2005, 17-18). This vernacular writing style suits the aims of the promotion of Mandarin, which is a "common language". Moreover, as previously mentioned, these professionals report news according to the poetics acceptable to the Government's standard, that is, the Mainland translation based on Mandarin pronunciation. Their 'official' production acts as a "yardstick" in determining what passes as appropriate (Lefevere, 1992, 19). In contrast, the second group, which includes critics and columnists such as Tao Kit, criticise this poetological current. They appear on television and radio shows and publish books to comment on public affairs and related language use, particularly criticising the blind imitation of Mainland proper name translation and the use of political expressions at the expense of the local dialectal style (Tao, 2010). Generally speaking, the two ideologies are in tension. On one hand, the patrons, together with the professionals they patronise, seek to eliminate the cultural differences between Hong Kong and Mainland China by introducing Mandarin-based transliterated names, and another group of professionals, especially the critics, resist this trend by protecting Cantonese and proper names based on this local dialect and semantic translation.

The enormous politically and socially instigated changes brought to the translation methods of proper names in Hong Kong indicate that borrowing is a powerful external cause for linguistic change. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Harris and Campbell (1995), among others, believe that social factors can break all the internal constraints that work against language change. 'Fashion', 'foreign influence' and 'social need' are believed to be three sociolinguistic causes of language change (Aitchison, 1991, 105-123). Nevertheless, given the fact that language change is a long process, long-term observations should be made of the 'new life' these proper names take on a new place. According to Aitchison (1991, 151) and Hoenigswald (1966, 33), language change resembles a pendulum: on the one side, natural tendencies and social forces change a language both from within and without; on the other side, the factors of clarity and mutual intelligibility bring it back to the state of "equilibrium". While this study focuses on the influence of 'social forces', a study of the translated proper names adopted by both Hong Kong and the Mainland would reveal more about 'the factors of clarity and mutual intelligibility' behind the Chinese translation of proper names in general.

4. CONCLUSION

The "rewriting" of proper names in Hong Kong has changed both its literary system and the professionals working within it, with a growing number of proper names transliterated according to Mandarin. The effects of this remain to be seen. Lefevere (1992, 38) remarks:

Rewritings, mainly translation, deeply affect the interpenetration of literary systems, not just by projecting the image of one writer or work in another literature…but also by introducing new devices into the inventory component of a poetics and paving the way to changes in its functional component.

This study mainly outlines the political and cultural causes behind the translational changes in Hong Kong. More research is needed to capture the bigger picture of exchanges between Hong Kong and Mainland China, in which Hong Kong also influences the Mainland translation of proper names and a whole range of lexical usages, from entertainment-related slang to financial and economic terminology. Such a bilateral approach can display the full momentum of the continuous linguistic and cultural transformation resulting from the integration of the two distinctive communities. The frequent contact between habitants generates a social need to familiarise with each other's language patterns. With its long history of dealing with English-Chinese translation, Hong Kong is expected to share its experience, in such a way that Hong Kong and China can draw from each other's merits, creating a lively, animating and inspiring atmosphere for translators to improve their products.

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