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TRANSLATING MANCHU CULTURAL LEGACY INTO KOREAN: WITH FOCUS ON MAXIMS RELATED TO EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Andrii Ryzhkov

PhD (Philology)

National School for Languages, Linguistics and Translation

National Autonomous University of Mexico

University Campus, Coyoacan, Mexico city, 04510, Mexico

ryzhkov@enallt.unam.mx

ORCID: 0000-0002-0387-6468

Education has always been considered important in many Asian societies. As both Manchu and Korean cultures were influenced by the Confucian tradition, it is quite logical to assume that Manchu people valued education in a similar way, as Korean elite and society cherished it. The significance of such influence has left traces in both languages in form of maxims, proverbs etc.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest translation of Manchu maxims into Korean. Although both cultures were influenced by the Chinese and affected by Confucianism, translation poses many challenges, because possible affinities in both source and target languages might treat the concept under consideration differently.

The paper formulates corresponding research questions, develops a conceptual framework of analysis and translation of source language (SL) maxims, and then employs the obtained results in the process of translation of the selected SL paremiology into the target language (TL). Finally, the paper presents an attempt of answering the following questions related to the research on the basis of empirical approach.

- *RQ1*: What strategies are more preferable when translating maxims from Manchu into Korean?

- *RQ2*: Which is the right way of representation of the original in translation: should it be a “faithful reduplication” / literal translation or we would better look for “functional equivalents”?

- *RQ3*: Can exact correspondence be applied in understanding the concept of education in both cultures from the viewpoint of translation?

In this particular case, the cross-cultural negotiation, embodied by the socio-historical context, poses multiple challenges to translation process in order to reveal cultural, pragmatic and aesthetic properties of SL maxims. The paper also addresses the analysis of linguistic mechanisms of the original and those arising in the translation into the TL. The examination of shift of codes plays an important role in answering the above-mentioned research questions.

Keywords: Manchu, Korean, maxims, translation, concept of education and learning, paremiology

Introduction

Manchu language is an endangered Tungusic language spoken in Northeast China. As of 2007, the last native speakers of the language were thought to be 18 octogenarian residents of the village of Sanjiazi, Fuyu County in Qiqihar, Heilongjiang Province [Lague 2007]. Spoken in the period of the Qing dynasty by the “privileged” ethnic group of Manchus, nowadays it is almost extinct. In many respects, translation of the endangered languages fits perfectly the concept of sustainability because it goes hand-in-hand with the need to preserve respective cultures for the future generations.

Education has always been considered important in many Asian societies. As both Manchu and Korean cultures were influenced by the Confucian tradition, it is quite logical to assume that Manchu people valued education in a similar way, in the traditions of Korean elite and society. The significance of such influence has left traces in both languages in form of maxims, proverbs etc.

Manchus can be regarded a privileged ethnic group during the period of Qing dynasty, so their maxims not only account for traditional cultural patterns at large, but may also be perceived as prescriptions concerning state power which are based on previously accumulated knowledge. Considered barbarians from the perspective of Sino-centric civilization, Manchus had to exercise their power with much precision and flexibility (assimilating eventually into the dominant Chinese culture, though). Therefore, maxims can be viewed as sort of a “code of conduct” based on long-term observations and proven effectiveness. They appear in form of reflective aphorisms concerning various state affairs and human issues,

employing the wealth of their experiences and reflective acumen, articulated series of glittering and pedagogical wise sayings to encourage people to live humanely in the society, addressing “the issue of life by subtly soliciting that right conduct should be sought for and cultivated” [Odo et al. 2020, 430–431].

Proverbs in particular, as pointed out by Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacobus Naudé, can be characterized as crafted to be “[...] persuasive, to encourage virtue and discourage vice” [Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010, 309]. Manchu maxims, in words of Honeck, “remind a reader of the social norms they embody” [Honeck 1997, 27].

The purpose of this paper is to suggest translations of Manchu maxims¹ into Korean. Although both cultures were influenced by the Chinese and affected by Confucianism, translation poses many challenges because possible affinities in both SL and TL might treat the concept in focus differently. Besides, it should be kept in mind that the goal of this research is a linguistic undertaking and cross-cultural negotiation in such a delicate field as only translation of paremiology can be. Fully accepting that “translation offers us a model through which we can explore the losses and gains involved in all our communications with another” [Hulme 2018, 2], this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- *RQ1*: What strategies are more preferable when translating maxims from Manchu into Korean?

- *RQ2*: Which is the right way of representation of the original in translation: should it be a “faithful reduplication” / literal translation or we would better look for “functional equivalents”?

- *RQ3*: Can exact correspondence be applied in understanding the concept of education in both cultures from the viewpoint of translation?

In this particular case, the cross-cultural negotiation, embodied by the socio-historical context, poses multiple challenges to translation process in order to reveal cultural, pragmatic and aesthetic properties of SL maxims. Through the act of translation we imbue the wit and acumen of past generations from distinct latitudes, their values and settings with linguistic shapes and voices of the present. To this end, the methodology applied to the translation of Manchu paremiology [see: Miller 2005; Miller and Naudé 2010; etc.] allows us to evaluate whether discovering pragmatic, cultural and linguistic aspects – assisted by the discourse analysis and inter-disciplinary approach – result in plausible translation which also meets the needs of the present.

The paper also addresses the analysis of linguistic mechanisms of the original and those arising in the translation into the TL. The examination of shift of codes plays an important role in answering the above-mentioned research questions.

Manchu maxims translated into Korean: in search of conceptual framework.

The following part of the paper is dedicated to the development of a conceptual sieve. For this purpose, first the algorithm of translation methodology based on the analysis of pros and cons is tested on one of the paremiological units. Afterwards the results are implemented to translate the rest of the maxims into Korean.

Translation of the Maxim 1.

[MAN] *tacire de amurangge, mergen de hanci, gisure be sarangge, baturu de hanci* [Rochet 1875, 41]².

Translated literally with each word in its place inside the original structure, it takes the following form:

[ENG] *Learning-fond of-one, wise to close, speaking-knowing-one, brave to close.*

[KOR] 배우(기)- 즐기- 자(것), 현자에 가깝-, 말하(기)- 능하- 자(것), 용자에 가깝-.

What catches attention immediately is the possibility to preserve the initial inner organization of the maxim in the target Asian language:

[MAN] -angge, -de hanci, -angge, -de hanci.

[KOR] -자(것), -에 가깝-, -자(것), -에 가깝-.

Certainly, this is possible due to the proximity of the word order in SL and TL, since both languages belong to the Altaic language family³.

On the other hand,

with proverbs [...] the form is part of the meaning; that is, to try to translate the “meaning” of a proverb without translating it into the form of a proverb is to translate only part of the meaning. If the hearer/reader does not understand and feel that a passage is a proverb, they will miss some of the meaning [Unseth 2006, 79].

Eventually, a wider approach allows us to offer the following variant:

[KOR] 공부를 좋아하는 자는 현자에 가깝고 말하기에 능숙한 자는 용자에 가깝다.

[ENG] *Those who like studying are close to wise; those who are eloquent are close to brave.*

At this stage, the English version⁴ is not yet recognizable as a proverb, whereas Korean translation apparently demonstrates proximity to Korean proverbs / sayings, at least as far as its shape is concerned.

However, it is not quite clear what exactly the maxim intends to impart. According to Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacobus Naudé, to understand the proverb, three kinds of interlocking meaning must be explored [Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010, 309]. Applying the author’s algorithm, the first thing to do is clarifying lexical meaning.

“Wise” people are those comparable to saints in terms of intelligence. In a Confucian society they are an example to follow. In other words, the desire for self-improvement makes one closer to (Confucian) erudite, meanwhile eloquence makes one similar to a brave (soldier).

The second level of meaning involves the cultural background and implications [Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010, 310]. In a society permeated by Neo-Confucian doctrine the “wisdom” would be immediately associated with calm and peacefulness, categories immanent of almost divine existence. It should be noted also that such state of mental and physical peace is also related to economic solvency: education could secure wealth, since assignation of any governmental position was directly related to exams on literacy. Therefore, belonging to the wise implied not only high moral or spiritual status, but also resulted into economic security.

As far as the second part of maxim is concerned, an ability to speak eloquently – in other words, having a “tongue well hung” – is also quite a helpful skill, a mark of ingenuity and strategic thinking, just like by a warrior. Therefore, it is compared with the

quality of braveness⁵. Therefore, scholarship and eloquence are not antagonized, but both viewed as virtues. Based on aforementioned cultural implications, the maxim could be explained as:

[ENG] *Eagerness to learn is a prerequisite not only for intelligence, but also for economic wealth (and those combined guarantee you peaceful existence and rise above the rest of the people), whereas eloquence, though definitely marking audacity, only helps you survive in the routine of daily life.*

Based on cultural understanding of the maxim under consideration, it is possible to perceive its message as a call for action. It is an invitation to choose between life of an orator who bravely enters polemics and discussions, and studying and thus having a tranquil life of a respected philosopher.

So far, discovering lexical cultural and pragmatic meanings has revealed a multitude of entailments of the maxim and made it possible to understand it better. Yet, we should not forget that modern Korean is separated from the Manchu of the original by many decades. So if Venuti's foreignizing⁶ strategy presupposes an immersion into "the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text" by "sending the reader abroad" [Venuti 1995, 20], regretfully, in case of Manchu maxims there is nowhere modern Koreans can be physically sent unless a time-machine is invented. For that purpose it would be appropriate to choose the lexis of the target language that would remind a native speaker of a spirit of Korean language of previous times. Thus, for that purpose, verb 배우다 "to learn, to study" or its synonym 공부하다 could be substituted by 학문을 닦다, whereas it is possible to compress the phrase 말을 능숙하게 잘하다 "to be a good speaker" into a verb based on Sino-Korean elements: 능언하다 "to be fluent in speech".

So, preserving the form, but introducing the afore-mentioned lexical modifications, the maxim could be also translated as:

[KOR] 학문을 닦는 것을 즐기는 자는 현자에 가깝고 능언한 자는 용자에 가깝다.

Thus, even though we cannot "send the reader abroad" (according to Venuti), it is possible to approximate – to a certain extent – the stylistics of the translation to the spirit of the previous times by preserving the original linguistic shape and seasoning it with epoch-friendly vocabulary without altering meaning. Of course, such tactics is very conditional and questionable, since it implies only manipulations at lexical level, leaving grammar and orthography in their present-day form. Such alteration brings up a contradiction on conceptual level: altering vocabulary for the sake of the spirit of time, we conform to foreignization, but leaving intact other aspects, we center on reader's convenience, that is, apply domestication strategy. At the same time, a strict "faithfulness" to the original would also imply as well the use of Korean grammar or orthography as of the 19th century, which would be literally outlandish and odd for an average Korean. Besides, a literal rendering would not be practical, given that the original goal is translation into modern Korean.

However, foreignization strategy would not be efficient without discovering all the explanation as provided above. A native speaker of Korean would recognize the proverb as proverb only because of its specific form, but, unfortunately, without understanding its pragmatic meaning. A third level of meaning involves the significance or pragmatic functions of the proverb, that is, what the proverb is trying to accomplish in a social sense [Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010, 310].

South Korea, for example, has been transformed from feudal state with rigid Neo-Confucian doctrine ruling social domain into a country coming forth among globalized dynamics, deeply influenced by both Neo-liberal ideology and Confucianism. Education, in its turn, is extremely important, but its contents, form, role, scope, effect, distribution, planning, and many other aspects have been completely revised and reevaluated. However, even having provided explanation on various levels of linguistic and cultural meaning,

hardly could a translated maxim be used as a Korean proverb inviting to reflect on attitude towards studies or eloquence. It rather sounds like an exotic piece of discourse, which could hopefully be used in a script for a historical drama with setting somewhere in the 19th century Qing China.

A domestication strategy would be useful if one wanted a Korean native to grasp the pragmatic meaning of the Manchu maxim. This means domesticating the proverb, so that it makes sense for modern generations of Koreans. One of the possible ways is simplifying the vocabulary and introducing grammatical elements of simile, as for example:

[KOR] 공부를 좋아하는 사람은 박식한 사람과 같고 언변 좋은 사람은 용감한 사람과 같다.

This can be understood as, for instance, a dynamic equivalence defined by Nida [Nida 1964], which implies achieving audience-emphasized naturalness in TL. The term is defined as “quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors” [Nida and Taber 1969, 200]. It is similar to Mona Baker’s concept of “using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form” [Baker 1992, 71].

Another way to indigenize the maxim would mean a complete substitution of the original with a Korean proverb that conveys approximately the same sense. The closest existing equivalent in Korean could be:

[KOR] 잘 짖는다고 좋은 개가 아니고 말 잘한다고 현인이 아니다.

[ENG] *A good dog is not the one that barks well; a wise man is not the one who speaks well.*

Here the proverb implies at least three interrelated rhetoric figures. The first one is a metaphor, which emphasizes the irrelevance to judge of the usefulness of a dog for a human by (intensity of) barking. The second one equals oratorical dexterity to nothing else but barking, thus diminishing its relevance or importance. The simile in form of parallelism between two syntactically autonomous parts of the maxim illustrates the level of absurdness to think that eloquence is a sign of wisdom.

To this end, the original SL maxim does not fully match with the Korean proverb suggested as a functional equivalent. Even though the latter deals with the categories of “wisdom” and “good oratorical skills”, it mentions nothing neither of good attitude towards education as a prerequisite of wisdom, nor it emphasizes the link between eloquence and courage. Furthermore, meanwhile the Manchu maxim invites to compare the advantages of love for education (which leads to wisdom) and eloquence (which makes one a brave person), the Korean proverb under the consideration antagonizes wisdom and eloquence, discouraging the latter in favor of intelligence. Therefore, despite some similarities at lexical level, there is a big disparity in terms of pragmatic function and cultural entailments.

An alternative option involves exploring other sources of phraseology in the target language. Korean language possesses another valuable resource – 사자성어 (四字成語) four-character idioms, 고사성어 (故事成語) idioms derived from ancient fables alluding to a historical quotation, 한자성어 (漢字成語) Chinese character based idioms, etc. Those are short and concise lexical units of four or more Sino-Korean syllables based on Chinese characters. They were excerpted from famous sources of previous epochs written in 한문 *hanmun*, and function in a similar way as proverbs or sayings. A careful search among the correlated paremiologies brings to light the following option:

[KOR] 讀書爲貴人不學作農夫 [글을 읽으면 귀한 사람이 되고, 배우지 않으면 농부가 됨]

[ENG] *Reading makes one an invaluable person; if one doesn't learn, one becomes a peasant.*

As in the aforementioned case of Korean proverb, the “functional equivalent” it represents is not acceptable neither, since it fails to reflect the main idea of the original

paremiological unit. Thus, domestication that involves the total substitution of the Manchu maxim with a Korean proverb is not an option.

But what if to use Sino-Korean lexical material to create our own Sino-Korean idiom, conveying the cultural context and pragmatic function of the original maxim? Given its high level of abstraction, as well as combinatory properties and polysemy of Chinese characters, the resources for generating 한자성어 (漢字成語) are almost infinite. The challenge is the knowledge of inner syntax of *hanmun*, which has almost nothing in common with Korean word order. So, finally we have⁷:

[KOR_1] 학문을 닦는 것을 즐기는 자는 현자에 가깝고, 能言한 자는 勇者에 가깝다.

[KOR Sino-Korean idiom_1] 好學者, 近於賢者. 能言者, 近於勇者 [호학자, 근어 현자. 능언자, 근어용자]

[KOR_2] 공부를 좋아하는 사람은 박식한 사람과 같고 언변 좋은 사람은 용감한 사람과 같다.

[KOR Sino-Korean idiom_2_1] 好學者, 近於博學者. 能言者, 近於勇猛者 [호학자, 근어박학자. 능언자, 근어용맹자].

[KOR Sino-Korean idiom_2_2] 好學者, 必博學, 能言者, 必勇猛 [호학자, 필박학, 능언자, 필용맹].

On the other hand, Korean language registers the original Confucius saying:

[KOR] 호학근호지역행근호인지치근호용 (好學近乎智力行近乎仁知恥近乎勇) [배우기를 좋아함은 지혜에 가깝고, 힘써 행하는 것은 어썩에 가까우며, 부끄러움을 아는 것은 용기에 가깝다]⁸.

It can be roughly translated into English as:

[ENG] *Love for studying is close to wisdom, doing one's best is close to virtue, having sense of shame is close to courage.*

Therefore, it is evident that at least the first part of the original saying has been borrowed by Manchus. Combining it with the second part of each of the afore-mentioned translations in form of Korean 한자성어 (漢字成語), we alternatively get:

[KOR] 호학근호지, 능언자, 근어용자 [好學近乎智, 能言者, 近於勇者].

[KOR] 호학근호지, 능언자, 근어용맹자 [好學近乎智, 能言者, 近於勇猛者].

[KOR] 호학근호지, 능언자, 필용맹자 [好學近乎智, 能言者, 必勇猛].

The translated lexical unit perfectly sounds like a Korean 한자성어 (漢字成語) in any of the suggested forms, at the same time transmitting impeccably all the layers of the original maxim. Hence, this translation achieves almost complete domestication. However, it is highly demanding in terms of understanding its content. The thing is that its comprehension would basically depend on:

- 1) Whether the Chinese characters employed belong to those that appear on the compulsory list stipulated by public education system of South Korea;
- 2) Whether it appears accompanied by Chinese characters, not only in Hangeul;
- 3) If it appears in a text, its translation into Korean should be provided as a footnote.

Therefore, this option of domestication is extremely attractive, but complicated for the “end-user”. Moreover, since 한자성어 (漢字成語) allude to respective historical quotations, they should be contrasted with sources of Sino-Korean literature to get a correct form of translation in terms of word use or inner syntax. As stated by Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacobus Naudé,

[...] the translation of proverbs involves multiple considerations. No translated proverb can achieve all that the original proverb does, nor can it do so in such an elegant, yet cryptic, way. Any translation involves choices and trade-offs that are quite complex and that go beyond a simple binary choice between foreignisation and indigenisation. Even indigenisation is not a monolithic strategy, but instead may take any number of forms with correspondingly different effects [Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010, 314].

After all, translation of proverbs is highly time and effort demanding activity.

Translation of the Maxim 2.

[MAN] *julgei tacirangge, beyei jalin te i tachirangge, niyalmai jalin* [Rochet 1875, 42].

A *verbatim* translation preserving the structure is following:

[KOR] 옛적의 배우- 것, 스스로의 위함, 오늘날의 배우- 것, 사람의 위함.

[ENG] *Long ago study-ing, oneself for, contemporary-of study-ing, people-of for.*

A possible permissive translation would be:

[KOR] 옛것을 배우는 것은 자신을 위함이고 오늘날 것을 배우는 것은 사람을 위함이다.

[ENG] *Studying the old things is for oneself, studying modern things is for people.*

As far as its cultural background is concerned, this maxim – in general terms – reflects a Qing government’s quest for modernization and innovation.

The near total neglect of engineering, mathematics, and other applied science education by the state contributed to a vast gap in military power between China and the European empires, as shown by the Opium Wars, Sino-French War, etc. In response, the Qing embarked on a self-strengthening movement, founding the Tongwen Guan in 1861, which hired foreign faculty to teach European languages, mathematics, astronomy and chemistry⁹.

This, in its turn, was a response to the constant expansion of the West. Furthermore, events such as the defeat of the Qing dynasty in the Opium War eventually became the reason for the irreversible overthrow of traditional Sinocentrism [Kwon 2010, 14].

So, basically the maxim includes a reflection on the constant advance of the West. On the other hand, it stresses the importance of previously accumulated Confucian legacy. Complete acceptance of Western civilization would undoubtedly lead to loss of identity. Therefore, it was important to embrace the new – in order to withstand the challenges of the new epoch – at the same time preserving the old, since, as Kwon admits, “civilization” in China meant realization of Confucian teachings [Kwon 2010, 18].

A search of equivalences among Korean paremiology brings into light several options of 고사성어 (故事成語):

1) [KOR] 온고이지신 [옛 것을 익히어 새 것을 앎].

[ENG] *Learning the old and knowing the new.*

2) [KOR] 박고지금 [널리 옛일을 알면 오늘날의 일도 알게 됨]

[ENG] *If you know what’s in the past, you know what’s in the present.*

Korean paremiological units stress the importance of learning from the past experiences for the benefit of the present. However, this idea is missing in the original Manchu maxim, where the old is for oneself and the new is for people.

The quest for the new science and technology expressed in the second part of the original maxim is a reflection on external threats for the Qing China. However, one might be struggling to understand, “Why studying the old things is only for oneself?” or “Why not to put the past knowledge at the service of the present-day needs?” To address these questions, we should analyze the figure of the mysterious “oneself”.

By the 16th century Jurchen tribes – the “ancestors” of Manchus – were divided into three sub-groups. It was from those Jurchen tribal groupings that the Manchus, the founders of the Qing dynasty were to come [Norman 2003, 483]. Over time they constantly expanded the area of their influence.

Before capturing Northern China in 1644, the Qing imperial family had already conquered or come to dominate Korea, Manchuria, parts of Mongolia, and parts of what is now Russia. By 1690, they had control of all of what is now China – including Taiwan – and were on their way to adding Tibet, the rest of Mongolia, and the large part of Central Asia called Turkestan [Crossley 2004].

The extensive empire of Qing could not be maintained only by Manchus, therefore the latter required collaboration of Chinese elite and population. Knowing that the Chinese people disliked the Manchu government [Crossley 2004], the Qing dynasty “interacted with Neo-Confucian officialdom and established a new Confucianized cultural tradition”

[Xiang 2013, 105], “attempted to reconstruct the moral and ethical order of the Chinese society through legitimate channels according to the orthodox Confucian model, seizing the opportunity to restore its ideological preeminence” [Xiang 2013, 114], funded “magnificent cultural and educational works [...] and paid to have new editions of Chinese historical, philosophical poetic, and linguistic works produced” [Crossley 2004].

Obviously, Manchus were just one of many other ethnic groups in the empire. Throughout the period of their rule, they found themselves more and more culturally assimilated and absorbed by the traditional Sinocentrism. Accordingly, old traditions and Manchu language required constant promotion on the official level.

Therefore, it is likely that the first part of the maxim is the discourse addressed to Manchus whose ethnical identity required strengthening the sense of kinship and affinity, at the same time reinforcing ethnic boundary markers to stand out as a solid and perpetuating group. Of course, it was important to embrace all the military and bureaucrats scattered throughout a vast territory. So the pragmatic function of the maxim might be interpreted as a call for preservation of Manchu cultural elements by turning to traditions of the ancestors. Consequently, the paremiological unit in question is an experience-based search for a balance between preserving old habits and identity and opening up to new things for the sake of survival as an empire.

Following the line of offering translations in form of 한자성어 (漢字成語), this time it is possible to suggest:

[KOR] 학고자위기, 학금자위민 [學古者爲己, 學今者爲民].

Thus, the aforesaid conceptual sieve is applicable to the rest of the Manchu maxims. Its brief summary is in rapport with the following:

“Translation involves multiple considerations. We begin with the semantics (denotational meaning) of the original proverb. Then we consider its cultural context and the implicit information that the proverb indirectly conveys. Finally, we consider the pragmatic functions of the proverb and its uses in society. Then we take everything that we know about the original proverb and look for a way to crystallize the content of the original proverb into a short, succinct, catchy proverb in the new language. We think about the cultural context and implications that the proverb will have in its new cultural setting. And finally, we think about whether the translated proverb will be able to function as a catalyst to encourage or discourage behavior” [Miller 2005].

Results: translation of the selected maxims based on conceptual framework.

Translation of the Maxim 3.

[MAN] *taidzu tacikū de dosika manggi, geren irgen i emu adali* [Rochet 1875, 42]¹⁰.

A literal translation would read as follows:

[KOR] 황태자 학교에 들어온 후, 모든 평민의 하나 같다.

[ENG] *Prince school enter-after, all people of one alike.*

A loose translation might be:

[KOR] 황태자도 학교에 입학하고 나면 모든 백성과 하나가 된다.

[ENG] *After the Prince enters school he becomes one with the rest of the people.*

In implementing the doctrine and supporting the education, Manchus emphasized the traditional teachings of Confucius “Provide education for all people without discrimination”¹¹. Therefore, anyone, regardless of status and social position was equal in terms of access to education. In this sense, a functional equivalent might be the 사자성어 already existing in Korean:

[KOR] 유교무류 (有敎無類) [가르침에는 차별이 없다는 뜻으로, 배우고자 하는 사람에게는 누구에게나 배움의 문이 개방되어 있음]

[ENG] *There is no discrimination in teaching, and the door to learning is open to anyone who wants to learn.*

Alternatively, a 한자성어 (漢字成語) of our own creation could be:

[KOR] 황태자입교, 즉여민일체야 [皇太子入校, 則與民一體也].

In this particular case, both the existing Korean paremiology and created 한자성어 (漢字成語) perfectly transmit the idea of SL maxim.

Translation of the Maxim 4.

[MAN] *taciburakū irgen be afara de baitalaci, erebe waliyarangge sembi* [Rochet 1875, 44].

A word-for-word translation preserving the structure is:

[KOR] 배우지 않- 백성을 전투에서 쓰면, 그들을 포기하- 것 라 한다.

[ENG] *Study-not people combat in deploy if, them giving up say.*

Searching for a rough translation, which obeys the norms of the TL, the following can be suggested:

[KOR] 교육을 받지 못한 백성을 전투에서 쓰면 그들을 포기하는 것이라 할 수 있다.

[ENG] *Using uneducated people in the battlefield is the same as abandoning them.*

The principal idea of the message is that ignorance in some situations has catastrophic effects, for instance, ignorance of a doctor may lead to death of his patient(s). A battleship as a background is employed to provide a vivid example, since constant military campaigns were part of Manchus' life. Under the Qing dynasty, military education was very important, since the empire had to pacify constant uprisings and to fight exterior enemies.

The army that led this conquest was called the "Eight Banners", because it had eight large units, each of which had its own distinctive flag. By the time of the Qianlong emperor, the Eight Banners included Manchus, Mongols, Koreans, Chinese, native peoples from the lands of Siberia in eastern Russia, Muslims from Central Asia, and Tibetans. Belonging to the Banners was hereditary, passing from father to son. All Bannermen were required to do lifelong military service. They were taught to be good at horse riding, archery, wrestling, and weight lifting [...] [Crossley 2004].

Hence, the pragmatic function of the maxim is to stress the importance of education and knowledge by portraying danger which ignorance may imply. To this end, a similar message can be perceived in the following Korean saying:

[KOR] 무식은 멸망이다.

[ENG] *Ignorance is a ruin.*

The cultural context of the original maxim is more specific to Qing period reality, whereas the idea of its Korean equivalent is more generic. Yet, this translation "crystallizes the content of the original proverb into a short, succinct, catchy proverb" [Miller 2005] in Korean perfectly well.

Alternatively, experimenting with 한자성어- like translations, there can be suggested the following translation:

사무교지민전투, 즉가위기지 [使無教之民戰鬥, 則可謂棄之].

Translation of the Maxim 5.

[MAN] *ilan aniya otolo tacifi, fulun be gūnirakūngge be, ja de baharakū kai* [Rochet 1875, 45].

A *verbatim* translation preserving the structure is as follows:

[KOR] 3년쯤 공부하며, 봉급 을 생각하지 않- 것(자), 쉽- 게 찾- 않-.

[ENG] *3 years about study(ing), salary of think(ing) not person, easy way find not.*

Considering the norms of the modern TL we would get the following rough translation:

[KOR] 3년 동안 익히며 봉급을 생각하지 않는 자를 쉽게 찾아보지 못하다.

[ENG] *You can barely find someone who would learn during 3 years without thinking of salary.*

The basic principle behind Confucian education is that if one works hard, endures and suffers as a young person one will reap rewards later in life¹². The idea is to concentrate

on acquisition of knowledge – state affairs are no exception – to be entrusted a government position. Undoubtedly, this requires much time and effort, and more often than not, a tremendous sacrifice, especially if one sees it as a long-term “internship” without being remunerated.

A suggestion of a functional equivalent in Korean could be:

[KOR] 학우등사 [배운 것이 넉넉하면 벼슬에 오를 수 있음]

[ENG] *If one learns a lot, one can become a government official.*

The TL saying basically talks about a possibility of becoming a government official in case of possessing enough knowledge. Implicitly, the sufficiency of literacy to occupy such a post is verified through exams, and the period of study and preparation, as in the case of the original, does not imply any sort of remuneration. To this end, the TL 사자성어 (四字成語) can be considered plausible as a functional equivalent.

Finally, there can also be created the following 한자성어 as a possible way of translation:

[KOR] 전습삼년, 불사기록자, 미지유야 [傳習三年, 不思其祿者, 未之有也].

Translation of the Maxim 6.

[MAN] *sure genggiyen ulhisu mergen gūwa niyalma ci fulu ombi* [Rochet 1875, 48].

A word-for-word translation preserving the structure is the following:

[KOR] 총명 지혜- 현명하- 다른 사람 에서 뛰어나- 된다.

[ENG] *Bright intelligent wisdom wise other human from excellent become.*

Considering the norms of the modern TL we would get the following rough translation:

[KOR] 총명하고 박식한 현자는 다른 이들보다 뛰어나게 된다.

[ENG] *Acumen and wise become superior to others.*

Basically, the idea is very clear and valid until present days, since education is an elemental factor in distinguishing people.

Korean 사자성어 (四字成語) suggested as a functional equivalent for the previous maxim could be also plausible in this context too, but it stresses social benefits of education rather than the aspect of competitiveness and superiority in the human society derived from education.

Translating by means of creating 한자성어 might have the following form:

[KOR] 총명자승인박학자과인 [聰明者勝人, 博學者過人].

One may notice a slight shift in the structure of the suggested 한자성어 [총명한 자는 다른 사람을 이기고, 박학한 사람은 다른 사람보다 뛰어나다] (*An intelligent person wins other [people], a well-educated person is superior than others*).

Translation of the Maxim 7.

[MAN] *Kung Futze i doro be yabuha de, emu inenggi sidende bolgo* [obuci]¹³ ombi [Rochet 1875, 58].

A word-for-word translation is as follows:

[KOR] 공자의 도를 실천하- 에서, 일 일 사이 깨끗- 된다.

[ENG] *Confucius of morality practice at one day between clean become.*

Considering the norms of the modern TL we would get the following loose translation:

[KOR] 공자의 도를 몸소 실천하면 하루만에 깨끗해진다.

[ENG] *Practicing morality of Confucius one becomes clean in a day.*

From Kangxi on, the Qing sovereigns systematically accepted the basic teachings of Neo-Confucianism and strove to put them into practice, achieving the integration of Confucian orthodoxy and orthodox governance [Xiang 2013, 116]. As shown before, the doctrine can be viewed as fully applicable also for education and other domains of social life.

A very rough and approximate equivalent in Korean might be the following one:

[KOR] 조문도석사가의 (朝聞道夕死可矣) [아침에 도를 깨달으면 저녁에 죽어도 좋다].

[ENG] *If you realize your moral duty in the morning, you may die in the evening.*

Although both SL maxim and Korean paremiological unit talk about morality, the latter stresses the importance of realizing it. Korean 한자성어 under consideration helps us understand why practicing morality is important. After realizing this fact – says the quoted TL byword – one may rest in peace, figuratively speaking, whereas the SL maxim stresses purity one achieves practicing Confucian teachings.

Translation by means of creating 한자성어 might take the following form:

[KOR] 궁행공자지도일일즉결의 [躬行孔子之道, 一日則潔矣].

Translation of the Maxim 8.

[MAN] *enduringge niyalma bithe tutabuhakū bihe bici, julgei niyalmai sain gisun sain yabun burubuha bihe* [Rochet 1875, 68].

A verbatim translation preserving the original structure is as follows:

[KOR] 성스럽- 사람 책 남- 았- 하였- 면- 고대 사람의 좋- 말 좋- 행동 사라졌- 하였-.

[ENG] *Saint people book leave not did if, ancient people of good word good act disappeared did.*

Considering the norms of the modern TL, one might suggest the following loose translation:

[KOR] 성현들의 책이 남아 있지않았다면 고대인들의 옳은 말과 옳은 행동은 사라졌으리라.

[ENG] *If books of the saints have not been preserved, good words and good deeds of the ancient people would have disappeared.*

Manchus valued their customs and traditions as well as teachings of Confucius and other famous Chinese philosophers. As stated previously, confronted by the danger of cultural and linguistic assimilation within Chinese society, Qing emperors took measures to preserve Manchu ethnic culture, at the same time emphasizing the importance of classical Confucian teachings. For that reason, as Xiang points out, large number of Confucian classics was translated into the Manchu language and became teaching materials for the banner men [Xiang 2013, 121]. Besides, in order to hold

“civil offices in the Empire, one had to pass examinations as interpreters of the Manchu and Chinese, instead of the usual ones in Chinese literature as they had previously done.

The consequence of this is that the number of students of Manchu literature has greatly increased, and that the Four Books of Confucius had to be memorized in that language” [Meadows 1849, 20].

An exhaustive search for a functional equivalent among existing Korean paremiological units brought no result. For such a case, there can be suggested the following 한자성어 for this SL maxim:

[KOR] 약무성현지서미유고인의리지언행야 [若無聖賢之書, 未有古人義理之言行也].

Translation of the Maxim 9.

[MAN] *enduringge niyalmai bithe be hūlaci tendere, urunakū doro giyan be saci acambi* [Rochet 1875, 70].

A word-for-word translation is as follows:

[KOR] 성스럽- 사람의 책을 읽-면 하고자- 꼭 도덕 법을 알면 한다.

[ENG] *Saint people book read if intent certainly morality principles know if should.*

Its loose translation might be as follows:

[KOR] 성현들의 책을 공부하려면 꼭 도덕과 법을 알아야 한다.

[ENG] *If one pretends to read books of the saints one should definitely know morality and manners.*

Basically, it means that reading classics required previous preparation.

Just like in the case of the previous maxim, the analysis of Korean paremiology in search of a functional equivalent was not successful. Therefore, translation by creating a 한자성어 expression might take the following form:

[KOR] 욕학성인지서수지도덕법률 [欲學聖人之書, 須知道德法律].

Translation of the Maxim 10.

[MAN] *tacire ursei bi the hūlarangge umai hafan oki serengge waka, cohome doro be getukeleki sere gūnin* [Rochet 1875, 70].

A *verbatim* translation is as follows:

[KOR] 배우-르 이들의 책 읽- 자(것) 결코 벼슬아치 되자- 라- 것 아니-, 오직 도리를 살피- 자- 라- 생각.

[ENG] *To learn people of book read person never official become lets think-ing not, only duty observe lets think thought.*

There can be suggested the following free translation into the TL:

[KOR] 다른 사람들을 가르치기 위해 책을 읽는 자는 결코 벼슬아치가 되고자 하지 말고, 오직 도리를 살피야 한다.

[ENG] *One who reads books for teaching people should never pretend to be an official, but to observe morality.*

This Confucian postulate of education was actively implemented by Manchus in real life too.

Education during the Qing dynasty was dominated by provincial academies, which did not charge tuition fees and gave stipends to preselected students. They were dedicated to the pursuit of independent study of the classics and literature, rather than to the preparation for governance, as was the case with imperial academies¹⁴.

As in the previous cases, the absence of Korean proverbs with similar contents encourages to continue experiments with Sino-Korean lexis to create an adequate 한자성어 expression:

[KOR] 독서 교인자부가욕사유찰언관리 [讀書教人者, 不可欲仕, 惟察言觀理].

Translation of the Maxim 11.

[MAN] *tacihai šungke bime niyalma kemuni sarkū* [Rochet 1875, 72].

A word-for-word translation is as follows:

[KOR] 지식 의 슬기롭- 이며 사람 여전히 알- 았-.

[ENG] *Knowledge of wise being human still know-not.*

Here is the rough translation:

[KOR] 아무리 지혜로워도 사람은 여전히 모른다.

[ENG] *However wise, human still doesn't know.*

This is an observation, which has lots of similar forms cross-culturally. Therefore, among many similar Korean proverbs the following one can be suggested as a functional equivalent.

[KOR] 공부는 늙어 죽을 때까지 해도 다 못한다.

[ENG] *Even if one studies until one gets old and dies, one can't learn everything.*

The paremiological units in both languages basically admit predominance of unknown over human cognitive capabilities. However, they are still different in form. Further analysis of Sino-Korean lexi makes it possible to suggest a 한자성어 similar in form and meaning:

[KOR] 수유지자인유부지 [雖有智者, 人猶不知].

Translation of the Maxim 12.

[MAN] *beye udu tacikū de bicibe gūnin bithe de akū* [Rochet 1875, 72].

A word-for-word translation is as follows:

[KOR] 몸소 비록 학교 에 있- 도 생각 책 에 없-.

[ENG] *Self even school at be- though thought book in absent.*

The following loose translation helps to clarify the meaning:

[KOR] 자신은 학교에 있지만, 생각은 책에 있지 않다.

[ENG] *Even though one attends school, the thoughts are not in the books.*

It should be noted that there exists a saying which belongs to Confucius 學而不思則罔思而不學則殆, and in Korean it has been preserved as a 한자성어:

[KOR] 학이불사즉망사이불학즉태¹⁵ [배우기만 하고 생각이 없으면 허망한 것이고 생각만 하고 배우지 않으면 위태롭다] [Kwon 2017, 54].

[ENG] *If one only learns and doesn't think, it's all in vain, if one thinks and doesn't learn, it's dangerous.*

Therefore, the first part of Confucius saying may serve as a functional equivalent in Korean:

[KOR] 학이불사즉망 [배우기만 하고 생각이 없으면 허망한 것이다]

[ENG] *If one only learns and doesn't think, it's all in vain.*

On the other hand, there can be created an alternative expression in form of 한자성어:

[KOR] 신재학교심부재서 [身在學校, 心不在書].

Translation of the Maxim 13.

[MAN] *banin ishunde hanci, tacin ishunde goro* [Rochet 1875, 72].

A *verbatim* translation is as follows:

[KOR] 모습 서로 가까이, 학 / 풍습 서로 멀-.

[ENG] *Form mutually close, learning mutually far.*

This can be roughly translated into Korean as:

[KOR] 외모는 서로 비슷하지만, 배운 것은 서로 다르다.

[ENG] *Mutually close in appearance, but far from each other in education.*

There were no similar proverbs detected in Korean, therefore the alternative decision was to create an expression in form of 한자성어:

[KOR] 외모상사소학각이 [外貌相似, 所學各異].

Conclusion.

Apparently, most of the suggested permissive translations might work as final versions, yet for many discussed already reasons they are closer to the “end-user” rather than to the original maxims and their “spirit”. If the translator favors the domestication strategy, then finding of similar paremiologies – or functional equivalents – among Korean proverbs and sayings might be a better solution, although this method not always provides a suitable variant at least for the purposes outlined in our empirical research. TL functional equivalents more often than not appear either too generic or overly specific, thus failing to fully convey pragmatic function or cultural background of the SL maxim. In certain cases it was impossible to come upon any similar plausible functional equivalent.

Eventually the most appropriate way to convey Manchu maxims into Korean proved to be coining 한자성어 (漢字成語) or lexical units based on Chinese characters. Work with this linguistic material is equally “foreign” and “domestic” for the Korean language and, skillfully applied, allows for faithfully keeping to both the form and spirit of original maxim. It is also “epoch-friendly” avoiding the need to implement grammatical or lexical elements of the XIX century, for instance, if the translator endeavors adapting Korean language to the norms contemporary to the original. Such approach not only perfectly transmits the idea in SL maxim together with its cultural implications and pragmatic function, but it also is very short in its form. It gives the means to preserve practically

every detail of the original and also present it in the translation. However, as mentioned before, the main obstacle for implementation of this method is substantial dependency on the target audience's being conversed in Chinese characters. Needless to say, it also requires that a translator possesses knowledge of *hanmun*, its inner syntax and the correlation of character-based constituents. As a consequence, translating that way is a time-consuming process and requires a high level precision.

Nevertheless, the strategies of combination aid proverb translation to acquire new significance of dual subjectivity by demonstrating the true identity of the source culture on the one hand and exposing the translator's own voice on the other hand by creating new paremiological units in the TL.

Noteworthy, at the initial stage of realization of this research it became apparent that at least 5 SL maxims were direct translations of Confucius sayings, since their exact equivalents were traceable in Korean language in forms of 한자성어 (漢字成語). This is a direct evidence of the correspondence in understanding the concept of education in both cultures caused by the long period of the influence of the Confucian tradition. However, as stated before, we found partial discrepancy and, occasionally, even absence of functional equivalences to SL maxims in Korean language, which demonstrates the uniqueness of both cultures as preserved in their languages despite their prolonged immersion into Sino-centric civilizatory model.

Lastly, any vanishing culture is worth of in-depth study of its roots and sources in light of increasing push of globalization. Besides, Manchu studies provide rich material imparting substantial momentum to Korean and Asian studies, revealing by means of translation affinities and disparities between the cultures influenced by Confucian tradition.

¹ Found in and selected from: [Rochet 1875].

² It should be stated that this work does not follow the transliteration found in Rochet's work [Rochet 1875]. Hereinafter all the original maxims were romanized according to Paul Georg von Möllendorff's transliteration system (see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transliterations_of_Manchu (accessed January 25, 2022)).

³ Though, in case of Korean this belonging is hypothetical.

⁴ Translation into English is used throughout the text as a mere reference and is not the objective of the paper.

⁵ Bravery, along with horsemanship and archery was valued among Manchus [Xiang 2013, 107–108].

⁶ According to Venuti [Venuti 1995], moving the target audience toward the author and the source text, the foreignization translation hinders the source culture from being ideologically colonized. It is also viewed as a “guarantee” to avoid the translator's invisibility.

⁷ The author of the paper is deeply grateful to Dr. Yang Won-seok, professor of the Department of Sino-Korean Literature of Korea University, for helping with careful translation in form of 한자성어 (漢字成語).

⁸ See for example: [Ju 2018, 151].

⁹ See: History of education in China, available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_education_in_China (accessed January 25, 2022).

¹⁰ This maxim is claimed by J. Klaproth to be translation of saying of “famous man” (the authorship not specified) from Chinese into Manchu. For the details see: [Klaproth 1828, 3–6].

¹¹ For this famous saying see, for example: [Fangping 2018, 52].

¹² See: <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat13/sub82/item339.html> (accessed January 25, 2022).

¹³ In J. Klaproth's book [Klaproth 1828], mentioned above, this Manchu word appears in the maxim under consideration, whereas in Rochet's it's missing [Rochet 1875].

¹⁴ See: <https://www.k12academics.com/Education%20Worldwide/Education%20in%20China/History/History%20of%20Education%20in%20China/qing-dynasty> (accessed January 25, 2022)

¹⁵ See, for example: [Park 2020].

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А. Г. Рижков

**Переклад маньчжурської культурної спадщини на корейську:
на матеріалі афоризмів, пов'язаних з концептом освіти та навчання**

Освіта завжди вважалася важливою в багатьох азійських суспільствах. З огляду на те, що і маньчжурська, і корейська культури зазнали впливу з боку конфуціанської традиції, цілком логічно припустити, що освіта цінувалася маньчжурами подібно до того, як високо її ставили в корейському соціумі. Цей вплив, поза сумнівом, залишив сліди в обох аналізованих мовах у формі прислів'їв, приказок тощо.

Мета цієї статті – запропонувати переклад маньчжурських афоризмів корейською мовою. Втім, переклад передбачає розв'язання багатьох труднощів, адже ані вплив китайської культури та конфуціанства, ані гіпотетична спорідненість мов оригіналу та перекладу жодним чином не означають, що концепт освіти описується ними однаково чи подібно.

У статті формулюються відповідні дослідницькі завдання, розробляється концептуальна основа аналізу та перекладу крилатих висловів мови оригіналу, а відтак отримані методологічні результати застосовуються в процесі перекладу відповідних пареміологічних одиниць з маньчжурської на корейську. Також у статті робиться спроба відповісти на такі питання, пов'язані з емпіричним дослідженням:

- 1) Які стратегії є найкращими під час перекладу аналізованих афоризмів з маньчжурської на корейську?
- 2) Який спосіб передачі оригіналу засобами мови перекладу видається найефективнішим: точний відповідник, дослівний переклад, функціональні еквіваленти тощо?
- 3) Чи можна говорити про якусь відповідність у розумінні концепту освіти в обох культурах з погляду перекладу?

У цьому конкретному випадку міжкультурна комунікація ставить за мету розкрити культурні, прагматичні та естетичні властивості крилатих висловів маньчжурської мови, особливості яких пояснюються відповідним соціально-історичним контекстом, а також знайти спосіб подолати труднощі, що постають у процесі перекладу на корейську мову. Окрім того, у статті аналізується використання відповідних мовних механізмів у мові оригіналу та перекладу, адже цей аспект відіграє важливу роль під час пошуку відповіді на поставлені питання.

Ключові слова: маньчжурська мова, корейська мова, афоризми, крилаті вислови, переклад, концепт освіти та навчання, пареміологія

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