李知宇　宫　齐　范毅方◎编著

非文学
翻译读本

Non-Literary Translation:
Selected Readings

暨南大学出版社
JINAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

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前 言

2007 年国务院学位委员会批准暨南大学设置翻译硕士专业学位，旨在培养高层次、应用型、专业化的翻译人才。根据全国翻译硕士专业学位教育指导委员会的指导性培养方案，专业方向必修课（笔译方向）的应用翻译和文学翻译各占 4 个学分，但选修课则明显倾向应用翻译——科技翻译、商务翻译、传媒翻译等，应用翻译的重要性和显著性可见一斑。

《非文学翻译读本》的几位编者长期进行非文学类文本的翻译和写作，积累了一些英汉/汉英译文或论文，编辑成册，希望能对攻读翻译硕士专业学位的学生有所裨益。

本书选录两篇翻译研究的开山之作为理论篇，即卡萨格兰德（Casagrande）1954 年发表的论文《翻译的目的》（*The Ends of Translation*）和霍尔姆斯（Holmes）的《翻译的“名”与“实”》（*The Name and the Nature of Translation Studies*）。本书所选均为编者们近年来的作品——典型的英译汉（摘译）和汉译英对照文本，可作为广大翻译专业的学生和对英语写作与翻译感兴趣的读者的阅读和分析材料。

本书的编写受到了暨南大学外国语学院研究生院的大力支持，在此，表示衷心的感谢！同时，感谢程薇、何梓健、李瑞宁三位研究生对第三部分所做的回译工作，感谢暨南大学出版社姚晓莉编辑和苏洁校对对本书的出版付出的辛勤劳动！

由于编写时间仓促，个人能力有限，其中难免有一些疏漏之处，望读者批评指正！

编 者
2018 年 6 月

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第一章

概　述

引 言

德国翻译理论家冉佩尔特（Jumpelt）称二十世纪为“翻译时代”，因为全球的翻译活动和翻译研究发生了巨大的变化。二十一世纪的数字时代则见证了翻译活动的普及——各种类型的翻译活动数量激增，翻译题材包罗万象，翻译文本类型日益繁多。翻译活动也由于对其研究的广泛和深入而逐渐成为一个学科领域。

翻译活动覆盖各个学科领域，从宗教、文学和科学著作延伸至技术、贸易、时事宣传、广告等，这带来了翻译文本的多样性——从书籍到文章、合同、条约、法令、告示、广告、处方、食谱、信函、报告、公文等①。

时至今日，译界对文本的分类尚未达成共识，但大部分文本是依据文本的主题或文本的功能来分类的。根据主题分类的有卡萨格兰德（Casagrande）的四分法——语用翻译（pragmatic），美学—诗歌翻译（aesthetic-poetic），人种学翻译（ethnographic）和语言学翻译（linguistic）②，罗姆（Hieronymus）的二分法——圣经翻译类（biblical）与非圣经翻译类（non-biblical）等；根据文本功能分类的有赖斯（Reiss）的四分法——信息型（informative）、表情型（expressive）、操作型（operative）和视听媒体类型（audiomedial）③。

尽管学者们对文学和非文学翻译的划分颇感忐忑④，但非文学翻译（non-literary translation）已经是一个大的分类，且有许多同义词——专业翻译（specialized translation）、应用翻译或者实用翻译（pragmatic translation），且渐入佳境，目前不仅是翻译硕士的必修课，相关的专著、论文也颇丰。

“非”虽然有不入主流之嫌疑，但也有宽泛的涵盖内容，即文学翻译之外的文本统统归属于非文学翻译。目前，非文学翻译尚无被学界广泛接受的定义。但在迪里索（Delisle）等编著的《翻译研究关键词》一书中，“实用文本”（pragmatic text）就与“非文学文本”近义，即“任何总体上具有实时、短期用途，旨在传递具普遍性或某领域特有的一些信息而美学效果只起次要作用的文本”。目前世界上90%的翻译可以归入实用文本之列。⑤

本书以关于翻译的目的、翻译研究的学科性质和研究范围的经典之作为开篇。

---

① NEWMARK P. A textbook of translation ［M］. New York: Prentice Hall, 1988.

② CASAGRANDE J B. The ends of translation ［J］. International journal of American linguistics, 1954, 20（4）.

③ REIB K. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik ［M］. Muich: Max Hueber, 1971.

④ BAKER M. Translation studies（Vol. 4）［M］. London: Routledge, 2009.

⑤ 迪里索，利加恩克，科米尔. 翻译研究关键词 ［M］. 孙艺风，仲伟合，编译. 北京：外语教学与研究出版社，2004.

Selected Reading 1

The Ends of Translation

Joseph B. Casagrande

1. In this paper we are concerned with the ends of translation in a two-fold sense. First, we shall consider the purpose of the translator in making the translation and, second, we shall discuss the end-product of translation, particularly the problem of the equivalence of messages in the languages in question.

2. While the intent of the translator in every instance is probably to translate the text or utterance as accurately as possible, his purpose in undertaking his task as well as the nature of the material with which he deals may vary. Differences in purpose and material may affect both the character of the end-product and the process of translating itself. Moreover, the nature of the material may influence, or even determine the purpose. However, we shall address ourselves here primarily to the translator's aim and discuss differences in the material and in the translating process only incidentally.

Although there are undoubtedly others, four major aims will be discussed below in some detail. These are tentatively designated PRAGMATIC, AESTHETIC-POETIC, LINGUISTIC, and ETHNOGRAPHIC aims. The same material approached with these various goals in mind may yield different translations, but given the translator's aim they may nevertheless be equally valid.

2.1 In pragmatic translation, the purpose is essentially to translate a message as efficiently and as accurately as possible. The emphasis is on the content of the message as such rather than on its aesthetic form, grammatical form or the cultural context, all of which are subsidiary to the practical, matter-of-fact goal. Instructions, explanations, directions (such as those given in several languages on dress patterns or packaged goods), scientific treatises, government documents and communiques lend themselves quite naturally to pragmatic translation, but myths and tales, literary works or folklore may be similarly treated.

2.2 If, on the other hand, the translator's purpose is aesthetic-poetic, while content obviously is not ignored, express consideration is given to the literary or aesthetic form of the message in both languages. Parenthetically, however, it may be noted that the aesthetic form of the original is all too frequently sacrificed to the prevailing literary mode—witness many versions in both poetry and prose of the works of certain Greek and Roman poets.

Of the several aims, the aesthetic-poetic is the most difficult of realization and the most demanding of the translator's art and skills. He is subject to the twin constraints of form and meaning, and if the translator is sensitive to the demands of his task, maintaining proper balance between the two may be the source of no little anguish. Marianne Moore has testified to this in connection with her labors on a recent translation of *The Fables of LaFontaine.*

The elements of poetic or aesthetic expression—rime, meter, imagery, metaphor, onomatopoeia, style and the like—as well as the particular form into which the work is cast, are precisely those aspects of language which are most resistant to translation. In large measure these elements partake of the unique qualities of the individual language (and, one might add, the culture) with which they are inextricably intermingled. Thus, to attempt to translate James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* into Navaho would be patently absurd. For to bring about the wedding of expressive form and substance in such a manner that a translation truly reflects the original, whether it be Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a Navaho chant, or magical formulae of the Dobuans or Trobrianders, is no small accomplishment. Assuredly, the French epigrammatist had an aesthetic aim in mind when he said, "traduire c'est à trahir".

2.3 Ethnographic translation is concerned primarily with the explication, either in annotation or in the translation itself, of the cultural context of the message in the source language. A secondary goal is the specification and explanation of differences in meaning between apparently equivalent elements of messages in the two languages, particularly with those differences that may be masked by other forms of translation. It may be noted that the overall purpose of ethnographic translation is closely akin to that of ethnolinguistics.

The writer recalls a Plains Indian poem or war song quoted with visible emotion by Ralph Linton in an anthropology class a good many years ago:

The bleached skulls of young men
Lie in the new grasses of spring.
With strong white teeth they grin
At death and the riding sun.
How beautiful they are to behold!

Translation of this poem into what might pass for free verse may satisfy an aesthetic-poetic aim, yet its full significance is lost unless one understands the value placed upon warfare by the Plains Indians and the prestige accorded the young warrior for whom to be killed in combat with a hated enemy was truly to die a glorious death. But ethnographic translation is not limited to placing a message within its broader cultural context; it also figures in a finer-grained approach. In the process of transcoding one is frequently called upon to supply supposedly equivalent terms for traits that are analogous rather than identical in the two cultures. While in most contexts the meaning will not be materially affected by this translator's fiction, in others the difference between, say, "poison" (potassium cyanide) and "poison" (a compound of human exuviae and innocuous herbs) may be crucial, and its specification becomes important.

A similar problem is encountered when dealing with generalizing concepts if there are no equivalent terms that encompass the same range of phenomena. For example, "reptile" in English subsumes a variety of animals that are differently categorized in numerous other languages.

Another problem, which like the above is common to all forms of translation, is faced when dealing with words which cannot be satisfactorily translated by a single word or, in some cases, by a circumlocutory phrase. For example, the German word Schadenfreude has no English equivalent, but may perhaps be adequately translated by the phrase "pleasure in another's misfortune". However, the Comanche word puha, which refers roughly to the "supernatural" or to "powers emanating from the supernatural which may be bestowed upon an individual", cannot be easily paraphrased in English. An extended commentary would be required to translate this concept in a manner consistent with an ethnographic aim. The reader will have little difficulty in supplying additional examples.

2.4 The essential aim in linguistic translation, whatever the ultimate form the translation may take, is to identify and assign equivalent meanings to the constituent morphemes of the source language. Interest centers on structural or grammatical form. Linguistic translation thus involves a kind of comparative linguistic anatomy well exemplified in Voegelin's analytic approach in his paper elsewhere in this issue on multiple stage translation, wherein he makes explicit steps in the process of translation which other translators having somewhat different aims do not specify.

When the aim is primarily linguistic, the resulting translation is frequently in the form commonly designated "literal" or "interlinear", as compared with a so-called "free" translation. Morphemes, words, or larger segments (which may consist of metaphorical or idiomatic expressions) are often sequentially translated into their nearest equivalents, thus preserving the original word order and, presumably, the flavor of the original message. This procedure of course serves a legitimate linguistic purpose. However, the writer is of the opinion that it may result in a kind of pseudo-translation which can be as misleading as an overly free translation. For example, the lay reader may gain serious misconceptions about the language in question, especially if it is that of a preliterate people, when he inevitably compares such a translation with his own language, say, English. Certainly an utterance that is in accordance with good usage in the original language deserves to be translated into equally acceptable form in the second language. Moreover, some of the statements about the habitual modes of thought or the world view of a people made on the basis of inferences from language by such writers as

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Lee and Whorf appear to the writer to be derived from half-translations, or to stem from a preoccupation with what one might call "grammatical meaning".

In actual practice the four aims of translation identified and briefly discussed in the foregoing paragraphs occur in a mixed rather than a pure form. It is primarily a matter of the translator's emphasis rather than of his exclusive attention to a single purpose. In pragmatic translation emphasis falls on the content of the message and the transfer of information as such; in aesthetic-poetic translation the concern is with aesthetic form and the communication of expressive or affective elements of the message; the ethnographic aim is to elucidate differences in cultural context and in meaning; and in linguistic translation attention is paid primarily to structural or grammatical form.

Ethnographic and linguistic translations, as the terms suggest, reflect in part the more narrowly technical interests of the translator—the former of anthropologists and the latter of linguists. Their approach to the material to be translated is in large measure dictated by these interests, while that of the translator having a pragmatic or aesthetic-poetic purpose is probably determined in greater measure by the nature of the material itself.

3. The point was made in the first section of this paper that the same material approached with different aims may yield somewhat variant translations. Nevertheless, within such limits as may be imposed by any given aim, there is a common desire to achieve an accurate translation. It may also be observed that aesthetic-poetic, ethnographic, and linguistic translations are in a sense all embroideries upon this essentially pragmatic goal. There then remains in the final portion of this paper to consider the general problem of translation equivalence.

Briefly stated, the task of the translator is to decode a message presented in one code, which we may designate code A (or FL), and encode that message in a second code, code B (or TL), so that the two messages are equivalent, or more accurately, approximately equivalent. Perfect equivalence, in the sense that the messages evoke identical responses in the speakers of the two languages, is probably impossible of attainment except perhaps in brief pragmatic messages. To achieve absolute equivalence in this process of transcoding presupposes an identity of cultural or socially shared experience between the two speech communities. Unless one subscribes to the view that two groups can have identical cultures yet speak different languages, this state of affairs is a virtual contradiction in terms. It seems to the writer that many of the more subtle problems of translation are obscured or glossed over by the fact that most translations with which we are familiar are from FL Indo-European to TL Indo-European, whose speakers share in large measure a common cultural heritage.

The attitudes and values, the experience and tradition of a people, inevitably become involved in the freight of meaning carried by a language. In effect, one does not translate LANGUAGES, one translates CULTURES. Ethnography may, in fact, be thought of as a form of translation. That it is possible to translate one language into another at all attests to the universalities in culture, to common vicissitudes of human life, and to the like capabilities of men throughout the earth, as well as to the inherent nature of language and the character of the communication process itself; and, a cynic might add, to the arrogance of the translator.

It follows from the above that the ideal translator should, among other qualifications, be equally proficient in the languages concerned, and that he be BICULTURAL as well as BILINGUAL. Although their scholarship may be impeccable and their spiritual homes indeed be in the civilizations of antiquity, translators of the classics or of other documents in noncontemporary languages must necessarily work with the disadvantage of not having had direct contact with a living language and a living culture.

In spite of the various difficulties standing in the way of translation that we have thus far discussed in this paper, the fact remains that information is effectively communicated across language barriers—intentions of speakers expressed in one language are capable of being expressed in another language so that they are comprehended and appreciated. If there is a loss of information in this process of switching codes, it must be remembered that much information is also lost in messages transmitted between members of the same speech community, particularly if they belong to different subcultures or status groups.

3. 1 When the intentions of a speaker encoded in a message in language A are commensurate with the significance of the message for the hearer when transcoded into language B, we have FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENCE and the foregoing may be taken as an operational definition of translation equivalence. However, functional equivalence like absolute equivalence ap-pears to be a goal which in actual practice is only infrequently achieved.

3. 2 The correspondence between messages purportedly the same in two languages is in most cases probably a matter of degree. Following the definition given above, it may be possible to arrive at a measure of the degree of correspondence between similar messages. For example, a set of directions, selected so that readily observable actions would be required to carry them out, might be presented to matched groups of monolingual speakers and the differences in their performance compared. In such an experiment, it would of course also be important to note differences in performance within the two groups of speakers.

Appropriate tests, such as the semantic differential developed by Charles E. Osgood and his students at the University of Illinois, might also be devised to determine the degree of correspondence between nonpragmatical utterances in which connotative meaning figures to a greater degree. One might hypothesize that the degree of correspondence between translated messages will vary inversely with the amount of connotative meaning or associational loading of the constituent words in the messages. Stated differently, one might predict greater disparity between messages at the aesthetic-poetic end of the scale than at the pragmatic end.

The problem of message equivalence may also be approached from the point of view of the translator without reference to his audience. If there is consensus or a high level of agreement among a number of competent translators on a single version, one might assume that it is an accurate translation. Consensus is, after all, the ultimate arbiter of linguistic usage.

3.3 Back-translation affords another test of internal consistency. In this process a message in code A is translated into code B by one person, then retranslated into code A by another person and the retranslated message compared with the original. If there are discrepancies between the two versions in code A, they are presumably diagnostic of trouble-points in the process of transcoding. Certain of these discrepancies, however, may be due to the use of al-ternative forms which do not necessarily affect the import of the message.

3.4 Various changes which may yield interesting experimental results may be rung upon the device of back-translation. Two of these, mentioned in Voegelin's paper on multiple stage translation, are what might be designated SERIAL TRANSLATION and PARALLEL TRANSLATION. In the former a message in code A is translated successively into codes B, C, D, etc. and if desired, back into code A. Serial translation, as Voegelin suggests in his paper, has frequently been used by anthropologists working with monolingual informants in such places as West Africa, Mexico or South America, and using interpreters bilingual in the native language and in French, Spanish, or Portuguese. There are, of course, obvious hazards in such a procedure and extra precautions must be taken to check texts or ethnographic materials obtained in this fashion.

Parallel translation involves the translation of one language into two or more related languages, say, English into Comanche, Shoshone, and Southern Paiute. Comparison of the translations in the several target languages may reveal significant and systematic differences in the way English is handled at both the grammatical and semantic levels. For example, English tenses may be differently construed and English meanings variously interpreted in the several related languages.

In this paper undue emphasis has perhaps been placed on obstacles in the path of accurate and facile translation. However, translation is not a mere mechanical process which when once set in train proceeds by identical stages from diverse beginnings to identical ends. Equivalent words, phrases or constructions are not ready at hand and ripe for the plucking. Whatever the purpose with which the task is approached, translation is a creative process which in all but its simplest forms presents a real challenge to him who would undertake it.

翻译的目的

［美］约瑟夫·B. 卡萨格兰德
李知宇　何梓健译

一、引言

本文将就翻译目的展开两方面的讨论：译者进行翻译的目的为何？译文最终将发挥何种作用？尤其涉及上述语言信息对等问题时该如何处理。

二、翻译的目的

译者的意图无一不是把文本或话语转换成另一种语言，越准确越好。但其目的及所处理的语言材料的性质会有所差别。这种差别也许会影响最终译文甚至翻译过程本身，再者，语言材料的特性也会影响，甚至决定翻译的目的。然而，本文在此主要论及译者的目的、语言材料之间的差别，以及翻译过程的巨细。

无疑，在本文作论之前已有其他相关文献对翻译的目的有所提及，下文也将就翻译目的的四个主要方面详细展开，分别为：语用翻译、美学—诗歌翻译、人种学翻译、语言学翻译。即使是同一语言材料，只要目的相异，所得的译文也会不同，但考虑到译者自身的目的，上述这些目的也并不一定能达到相等的效果。

1. 语用翻译

语用翻译的目的即尽可能把信息有效而准确地翻译出来，强调内容大于审美、语法形式或文化语境，因此三者皆以实际效果为目的。比如介绍、说明、指引（这些文本通常在服装样式或包装商品上出现，且附有好几种语言版本）、科学专著、政府文件及联合公告，这些材料自然都需要运用到语用翻译；而对于神话传说、文学作品、民间故事等文学性较强的文本也可以采用相似的手段。

2. 美学—诗歌翻译

另外，如果译者以美学—诗歌翻译为目的，加之材料的内容十分突出，那么译入语、译出语和文本的文学、美学形式就能够对应起来。但要注意的是，源文本的审美形式往往要让位于普遍的文学模式。古希腊罗马诗人的作品存有多个译本就是最好的例子。

在这几个目的中，美学—诗歌翻译最难实现，对译者的造诣和技巧要求也是最高的，他必须为形与意两者服务。如果他对翻译任务足够敏感，形意之间达到平衡也不成问题。玛丽安·摩尔在《拉方丹寓言》的翻译中就证明了这点。

凡诗性或美学的语言都涵盖了几个元素：韵、律、意象、隐喻、拟声、文体，以及生成译文的形式，所有这些正是翻译最难处理的部分。很大程度上，这些元素都体现出某种语言的不同特质（或者说这就是文化的多样性），这是一个必然的结果。若是将詹姆斯·乔伊斯的《芬尼根的守灵夜》翻译成纳瓦霍语，显然会词不达意，错漏百出。要是把表达形式与内容结合起来，使译文真实反映出原文的意思，那么不论是《神曲》这样的鸿篇巨制，还是土著人稀奇古怪的表达，最后的成果必然十分瞩目。无疑，玛丽安·摩尔在说“翻译就是背叛”时，头脑中就已浮现出一幅美丽的画面了。

3. 人种学翻译

人种学翻译首先要关注的是对源语言信息的文化语境的阐释，无论是注释还是翻译本身。两种语言信息元素之间虽然能达到对等，但其含义也会存在差异，特别是那些可能被其他翻译形式掩盖的差异，于是，第二个目标就是要对这些差异做一番解释说明。我们注意到，人种学的整体目的与民族语言学的目的密切相关。

在此，笔者回顾了拉尔夫·林顿多年前在人类学课上引用的平原印第安诗歌或战歌：

年轻战士的白骨
正安躺在暖春的新绿中。
他们的牙齿白皙而有力，
无论是死亡凛冽，还是高挂暖阳
他们都付之一笑。

虽然这个被视为自由诗体的翻译也能满足美学—诗歌翻译的目的，但它的意义已全然消失，除非人们能够明白平原印第安人的战争价值和年轻战士们的威望与仇敌浴血奋战，死得光荣。

但人种学翻译并不仅限于在宏观的文化背景下传播信息，也体现在微观层面的方法上。在语言转换的过程中，译者经常有义务为两个文化提供相应的术语，这些术语不一定要完全一致，可以是意义类似。大多数情况下，译者的这种加工行为并不会对其意义产生什么重大影响。但其他词语之间的差异却甚为重要，比如说“毒物”（氰化钾）与“毒药”（人造毒素和无毒草药的化合物），有必要对两者进行额外的区分。

如果没有涵盖相同现象的对应词的话，我们在处理泛化概念时也会遇到类似的问题。例如，英文中的“爬行动物”就包含着许多其他语言中不同分类的动物。

当遇到的词语不能用单个词或委婉表达翻译时，就出现了另一个问题，这也是所有翻译都会碰到的问题。例如，德语单词 Schadenfreude 没有英文的同义词，但也可能用“幸灾乐祸”来达到充分翻译。然而，（印第安）科曼奇语中的 puha 大概指的是“超自然的”，或是“可以被赋予某个人的超自然力量”，这意义过于独特，不能轻易改写。我们需要进行进一步解释才能符合人种学翻译目的。这样一来，读者可以轻而

易举地提供更多例子。

4. 语言学翻译

无论翻译的最终形式如何，语言学翻译的基本目的都在于识别和赋予源语言语素对等的含义，重心在结构或语法形式。因此，语言学翻译其实与比较语言结构相关，沃格林有关多层次翻译的文献中提到的分析方法就是很好的例证。他明确指出了怀有不同目的的译者都没有指出的翻译步骤。

当翻译的目的主要围绕语言学的时候，与所谓的“意译”相比，最终得出的翻译通常只能是“直译”或“逐字翻译”。语素、单词或篇幅较大的语篇（可能包含隐喻或惯用语）通常依次译成与其意义最相近的对应词，从而保留了原词的词序，也许还能保持原始信息的意义。这个过程当然是为合理的语言目的服务的，然而，笔者则认为它可能会导致伪翻译，也会像过度意译一样具有误导性。特别对于那些生活在还没形成文字系统的地区的人而言，难免会将这种翻译与他自己的语言（比如英语）进行比较，那么就可能会对语言产生严重的误解。当然，能够符合源语言用法，并得到良好运用的表达方式值得被翻译成第二语言为大众所接受。此外，作家李和沃尔夫推断，部分关于习惯性思维或世界观的言论似乎是由半机器翻译衍生出来的，也有说来源于早期的所谓“语法意义”。

在翻译实践中，上述简要讨论的四个翻译目的通常会错综出现，一般不会“一枝独秀”。译者不会只专注于单一目的。总而言之，语用翻译侧重信息的内容和转换；美学—诗歌翻译则放眼于审美形式、表达或情感元素的交际效果；人种学翻译则旨在阐释文化语境和意义之间的区别；语言学翻译主要关注结构或语法形式。

人种学翻译和语言学翻译，顾名思义，反映出译者对某个领域的兴趣——前者切合人类学，后者切合语言学。他们采用的翻译方法很大程度上取决于这些兴趣。相反，怀有语用学或美学—诗歌翻译目的的译者很可能是因为语言材料本身的特性使然。

三、翻译对等

本文的第一节已经指出，对于同一语言材料，可有形形色色的目的，由此得出的翻译也不尽相同。不管是何种目的，总有其局限性，不能一言以蔽之，但最终总会推向一个共同的意图：实现翻译的准确无误。同时，我们也发现，美学—诗歌翻译、人种学翻译以及语言学翻译三者不过是分支，是修饰，终究还是要归到实际运用的目标中去。那么，我们需要讨论的就剩下翻译对等的问题了。

如果说源文本是一段密码，那么译者的任务是解码其中的信息，我们可以指定该段密码为代码 A（或 FL，即源语），并以第二个代码 B（或 TL，即目标语）对该消息进行编码，从而使两段信息达到对等，更准确地说应该是近似对等。在两种语言的话语者之间，信息在某种程度上能引起相同的回应，但绝对对等是不可能实现的，在简短的语用信息中也许还有机会“昙花一现”。若要在解码的过程中实现绝对的对等，除非在两个语言区之间存在文化认同或社会共享经验，这与两个语言区文化相同但语言

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