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論張戎的「中國現代史三部曲」：

自譯的翻譯社會學研究

On Chang Jung's Trilogy of Modern Chinese History:

A Sociological Study of Self-Translation

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社會學研究

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History: A Sociological Study of Self-Translation

本論文係袁曼端君(R09147015)在國立臺灣大學翻譯碩士學位學程完成之碩士學位論文，於民國 112 年 7 月 27 日承下列考試委員審查通過及口試及格，特此證明

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誌謝

三年的碩士生涯終於來到尾聲，曾經看似沒有盡頭的論文也準備付梓成冊，能順利走到這一步，需要感謝的人實在太多，希望在此獻上最大的敬意。

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摘要

張戎生於 1952 年毛澤東時期的中國，兒時經歷了文化大革命，後來移居英國，成為著名的歷史作家，並從 2005 年開始翻譯自己的著作，翻譯作品包括她在 2005-2019 年間出版的三本歷史傳記。她堅稱書中只使用客觀和真實的歷史文件作為基礎，但源文和譯文之間卻有不少顯著差異。本文旨在研究張戎的慣習、場域和文化資本如何影響自譯過程，理解她翻譯時採用的策略，以確定影響她翻譯決策的因素。文本對其中英作品進行案例研究，將布迪厄提出的慣習、場域和文化資本理論應用於自譯討論，並探討源文和譯文之間的差異，以及造成這些差異的潛在因素。研究證明，張戎長久以來與各種環境的持續互動顯然影響著她的自譯過程，她成長時的政治和文化背景塑造了她對不同事物的立場。此外。她小時候家境優越，後來也接受了西方教育，這對她的寫作風格和決策過程也有一定程度的影響。本研究期望能讓譯界更理解張戎自譯過程，以及其為歷史與文學翻譯領域所帶來的影響，並強調譯者必須理解這些因素如何影響翻譯過程，以便日後作為參考。

關鍵詞：毛澤東、慈禧、宋氏姊妹、布迪厄、慣習

Abstract



Chang Jung was born in China in 1952 during the Mao Zedong regime. After experiencing the Cultural Revolution, she moved to Britain and became a renowned Chinese-British writer who has been self-translating her works since 2005. These translated works include three biographies published between 2005 and 2019. She has stated that only objective and factual historical documents have been used as the basis for her books. However, significant differences were often noticed between the source and target texts. This thesis examines the impact of habitus, field, and cultural capital on the self-translation process of Chang Jung. The objective of this study is to explore the strategies used by Chang Jung in her self-translation process and to identify the factors that influence her translation decisions. Through a case study of her English works and Chinese translations, this thesis draws on Bourdieu's theoretical framework of habitus, field, and cultural capital and applies it to the context of self-translation, analyzes the differences between the source and target texts and the underlying factors that contribute to these differences. The result indicates that the Chang Jung's ongoing interaction with various environment has a significant impact on her self-translation process. The political and cultural context in which she grew up has shaped her perceptions on various matters. Her privileged background and exposure to Western education have also influenced her writing style and decision-making process. This thesis is expected to offer insights into the broader implications of Chang Jung's self-translation process for the field of historical and literary translations, and to highlight the need for a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which these factors shape the translation process.

Keywords: Mao Zedong, Empress Dowager Cixi, the Soong Sisters, Bourdieu, habitus



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Chapter 1 Introduction



When I was a first-year graduate student, I came across *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, authored by Chang Jung, at a bookstore by chance. The title of the book immediately caught my interest, prompting me to conduct further research on the author. Through my research, I discovered that Chang Jung is a Chinese-British writer who has been self-translating her works since 2005. Upon purchasing both the original and translated versions of Chang Jung's *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, I noticed significant differences between the source text and the target text. Inspired by these disparities and considering Chang Jung's unique background as a self-translator, I became interested in exploring the impact of her habitus, field, and cultural capital on her self-translation decisions and process. As a result, I decided to pursue this topic as the focus of my thesis, with the aim of contributing to a deeper understanding of the self-translation strategies and influencing factors that may be valuable to other translators and scholars in the field.

1.1 Background Information

Chang Jung, a renowned Chinese-British author, has shared her life experiences in various interviews, including "Empress Dowager Cixi"¹ (Politics & Prose, 2013) and "Interview with Jung Chang"² (Book & Books, 2020), which are all available on YouTube. Chang was born in China in 1952 during the Mao Zedong (1893-1976) regime. Growing up in a family of Communist officials, she was raised in a privileged environment where the hierarchical social structure was naturally considered as the norm.

¹ See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dBN5hHgmkD8&ab_channel=PoliticsandProse.

² See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9igTFU-nXVo&ab_channel=Books%26Books.

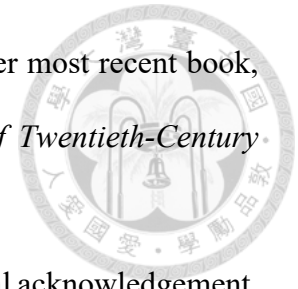
As a result of Mao's propaganda, she believed that he was the deity of China. Chang lived in a completely isolated environment at the time and was unable to express herself through writing, as almost every writer was prosecuted or even executed.

In 1968, when Chang was sixteen years old, the Red Guards searched her home without prior notice, forcing her to flush away a poem she had been writing. Her family members were also subjected to torture during the Cultural Revolution. Her father stood up against Mao's regime and was arrested, exiled to a labor camp, and ultimately driven insane, leading to his death. Shortly after, her grandmother passed away from extreme sadness. Chang's mother underwent hundreds of violent denunciation meetings and was beaten up while kneeling on broken glass. Despite the abuses and stress, her mother survived and currently lives in Chengdu.

After Mao's death in 1976, Chang's life took a turn. In 1978, she took a national exam after completing her studies at Sichuan University and received a scholarship to study abroad. She was one of the fourteen students who were selected to study in London, UK. Also, she was the first Chinese citizen to obtain a Ph.D. degree in Britain. The concept of a classless society was totally something new to her, and she found everything in London exciting. However, she lost the desire to write during her initial years in London.

In 1988, Chang's mother visited her in London and shared her life stories, inspiring Chang to pursue her dream of becoming a writer. She used her mother's stories as foundation and published in 1991 her first book, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, which received an excellent response in the West. Following this, she spent twelve years conducting research on Mao Zedong's historical resources with her husband, Jon Halliday, a renowned Irish historian specializing in modern Asia. Together, they co-published *Mao: The Unknown Story* in 2005. Later, Chang published *Empress Dowager*

Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China in 2013, and her most recent book, *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China* in 2019.



Chang Jung's literary works have gained her huge international acknowledgement, with her first book *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* published in 1991, followed by *Mao: The Unknown Story*, co-authored with her husband Jon Halliday in 2005. Subsequently, her brother, Chang Pu (張樸), translated *Wild Swans* into Chinese as 《鴻：三代中國女人的故事》，and Chang Jung herself translated *Mao* into Chinese as 《毛澤東：鮮為人知的故事》³. In 2013, Chang Jung published *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China* and self-translated it into Chinese as 《慈禧：開啟現代中國的皇太后》 a year later. Her latest work, *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China*, was completed in 2019 and translated into 《宋氏三姊妹與她們的丈夫：20 世紀三位傳奇女子，一部動盪百年的中國現代史》 in 2020.

According to Chang Jung's official website ("Books"), *Mao* has been translated into 33 foreign languages, including Portuguese, French, German, and Italian. Furthermore, *Empress Dowager Cixi* has also been translated into seventeen foreign languages, reflecting the significant impact of her books on the Western literary world.

More importantly, Chang Jung's works and translations present an intriguing case study in self-translation. As an accomplished author of three biographical works, Chang

³ The initial release of the Chinese rendition of *Mao: The Unknown Story* was made by Open Books, a Hong Kong-based publishing firm, in 2006. Nevertheless, in 2015, following the "Causeway Bay Books" incident, numerous Hong Kong-based publishers, including Open Books, discontinued their publication of books that were proscribed by the government of Beijing. Consequently, Chang Jung resolved to reissue the Chinese version of *Mao* in 2021 via Rye Field Publishing Company, situated in Taiwan. In the preface of the reissued version, Chang Jung indicated that the new translation only addressed certain language-related matters.

Jung initially composed her books in English, a second language, and subsequently translated them back into her mother tongue, Chinese. Notably, all her works are banned in Mainland China, most likely due to her controversial political perspectives. Her outspoken criticism of Mao Zedong, a stance deemed politically incorrect in China, may have main reason of this censorship.

1.2 Research Question

Chang Jung's works, particularly *Mao*, have been controversial due to questions surrounding their accuracy and objectivity. Nevertheless, the book *Mao* still continues to be a widely-read and influential biography of Mao's life and legacy. Similarly, in *Empress Dowager Cixi*, Chang Jung wished to challenge conventional views of the historical figure as a diehard conservative, a characteristic that is not very admired by most of the Western and Chinese readers. Despite the controversy, Chang Jung has stressed that she used only objective and factual historical documents as the basis for her books. Nonetheless, some differences have been observed between the English source texts and Chinese translations of her works. This may in fact suggest that certain aspects of Chang Jung's portrayal of Mao and Cixi (1835-1908) may have been influenced by her own experiences and translation choices of the Chinese versions. For instance, in the Chinese translations of both *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*, Chang Jung includes a preface that is absent in the English versions, which may reflect her desire to provide additional context and explanation for Chinese readers who are more familiar with the historical events and issues addressed in the book.

As previously mentioned, Chang Jung has expressed her strong and clear political stance on some occasions, and this is also reflected in her writings. Notably, when comparing the source text and target text, it appears that the character portrayals are actually distinct in different languages. Against this background, this thesis aims to

examine the impacts of habitus, field, and cultural capital on Chang Jung's self-translation process. Through an in-depth case study of Chang Jung's three historical biographies on Chinese modern history, this research seeks to gain a comprehensive understanding on how these factors influence the author's approach to self-translation, and to which extent they may shape the final translated outputs.

1.3 Objectives

The objectives of this thesis can be separated into three parts. Firstly, the research aims to examine the relationship between Chang Jung's habitus, field, and cultural capital and her approach to self-translation. By exploring the specific ways in which these factors influence Chang Jung's self-translation process, the study seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of how social and cultural factors shape historical and self-translation.

Secondly, this research seeks to analyze the impact of these factors on the final translated outputs. Specifically, by comparing the source and target texts of Chang Jung's works, the study aims to identify how habitus, field, and cultural capital shape her Chinese translations, and how this could affect the portrayal of the historical characters and also the overall messages in the target texts.

Finally, the thesis aims to offer insights into the broader implications of Chang Jung's self-translation process for the field of historical and literary translations. By examining the role of habitus, field, and cultural capital in the self-translation process, the research seeks to carry on an ongoing discussion about the social and cultural dimensions of historical and literary translations, and to highlight the need for a better understanding of the role of these factors in the self-translation process.

1.4 Significance

The significance of this thesis lies in its contribution to the understanding of self-translation, a process that has been gaining increasing attention in the field of translation studies. While there is a growing amount of literature on self-translation, very little research has been conducted on the relationship between the three sociological concepts, including habitus, field, and cultural capital, and self-translation. Also, there is barely any discussion on the context of Chang Jung's works. By investigating this relationship through a case study of Chang Jung's self-translations, this thesis seeks to shed light on the factors that influence an author's approach to self-translation and the resulting translations.

The findings of this thesis could have several implications for future research and translation practice. First, the study could deepen our understanding of the three sociological concepts and how they affect the self-translation process. Hopefully, it could contribute to a new perspective on the factors that may affect the quality and accuracy of self-translations. Second, the insights gained from this study could help translators and authors become more aware of the potential impact of their personal experiences on their self-translations, and thus make more informed decisions in the translation process. Third, this study could inspire further research on the relationship between these three concepts and self-translation, which could in turn contribute to the development of a more comprehensive theoretical framework for self-translation.

1.5 Methodology

This thesis adopts a descriptive translation studies (DTS) approach, which aims to provide a comprehensive description of translation phenomena and practices (Rosa 94). According to the scholar James S. Holmes, DTS can be further classified into two main

models: product-oriented and function-oriented. The product-oriented model has long been a fundamental research method in the field of translation studies. It focuses on describing individual translations, conducting comparative analyses of multiple translations of the same source text, and examining larger translation corpora. In contrast, the function-oriented model shifts its emphasis to the contextual aspects of translation rather than the texts themselves. It explores the functions, influences, and social value of translation within the target context, leading to the development of socio-translation studies (Holmes 176-177).

The concept of grid, as introduced by André Lefevere, would be a valuable analytical tool in this study. The idea was initially presented in the renowned work *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* authored by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere. Within this framework, the concept of grid was further divided into two distinct categories: the textual grid, which refers to the actual lexicons and their translation into different languages (14), and the conceptual grid, which delves into the underlying meaning of these lexicons in both the source and target languages (30).

Notably, the concept of textual grid originates from the notion of capital culture that is proposed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, which Lefevere adopted and further developed within his Rewriting Theory. The textual grid can be understood as a framework including the acceptable ways in which ideas and expressions can be formulated. Interestingly, different cultures may share common textual grids, such as the French, German, and English cultures, which draw upon the foundations of Greco-Roman antiquity (5). Also, these grids represent constructed frameworks that reflect the patterns of expectations internalized by members of a particular culture.

For conceptual grid, Lefevere defines it as sets of conceptual categories that transcend national boundaries and bear resemblance to the concept of ideology (Marinetti

29). In the essay titled *Composing the other* from the book *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice* by Susan Bassnett, Lefevere emphasizes that both conceptual and textual grids are products of the socialization process. According to him, translators do not initially think of the linguistic aspects when approaching a translation task. Instead, their primary focus lies on the conceptual and textual grids (75-76).

Furthermore, Lefevere raised concerns regarding the potential constraints imposed by the textual and conceptual grids on both authors and translator. He emphasizes that translation difficulties arise not only from linguistic discrepancies but also from discrepancies in these two grids (76). He explains that these cultural grids significantly shape how reality is constructed and perceived in both the source and target texts. The translator's ability to navigate and handle these grids become crucial in producing a satisfied translation outcome.

Throughout this study, the product-oriented approach of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) will be applied to investigate the underlying habitus, conceptual grids, and textual grids that influence Chang Jung's writing and translation. At the same time, the function-oriented approach of DTS will be employed to explore potential distinctions in the portrayal of historical characters between the source and target texts. To accomplish this objective, it is essential to carefully analyze not only the linguistic aspects but also the ideological perspectives conveyed in the translations.

This study aims to investigate the relationship between habitus, field, cultural capital, and self-translation. A case study methodology will be employed, consisting of four distinct stages.

The first stage will involve an extensive review of the literature on habitus, field, cultural capital, and self-translation. The theoretical framework for this study will be based on the works of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), who introduced

the theory of practice in 1972, in which he first mentioned the concepts of habitus and field, as well as some key concepts of cultural capital. Bourdieu's later works provide a more detailed analysis of how cultural capital is related to social classes and the reproduction of social inequality. Therefore, his works, as well as related papers produced by other scholars, will be reviewed in a detail way. Additionally, literature on self-translation, a long-established but relatively less discussed concept in the field of translation, will be reviewed as well.

The second stage of the case study will focus on Chang Jung's literary works. Chang Jung is known for portraying historical characters in a way that differs from their traditional images. To understand how her works are received by both Western and Chinese-speaking readers, a review of commentaries written by different reviewers will be conducted. This stage is also helpful in understanding how Chang Jung continuously earns her cultural capital in the literary field.

The third stage will involve an analysis of Chang Jung's personal background. Given the lack of academic research conducted on Chang Jung or her works, her biography, interviews, news, commentaries, and related articles will be largely analyzed. This analysis will provide insight into how Chang Jung's personal experiences have shaped her habitus, her position within particular fields, and her cultural capital.

Finally, the fourth stage will involve a detailed analysis of the source texts and target texts of the three trilogies: *Mao: The Unknown Story*, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, and *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China*. The analysis will aim to identify the self-translation strategies employed by Chang Jung and how habitus, field, and cultural capital affected her translations.

1.6 Overall Structure

This thesis comprises of five chapters, each with a specific purpose of examining the relationship between habitus, field, cultural capital, and self-translation in the works of Chang Jung. The introductory chapter provides a background of the study, research questions, objectives, significance, and research methods.

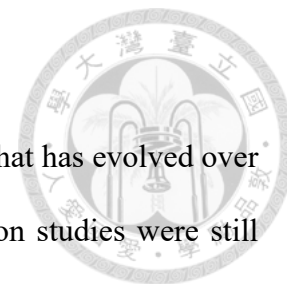
The second chapter is a literature review that provides an overview of the key concepts of habitus, field, cultural capital, and self-translation, which serve as the foundation for subsequent analyses. This chapter also explores how Chang Jung's works have been received among Western and Chinese-speaking readers, challenging traditional images and contributing to her cultural capital in the literary field.

The third chapter explains Chang Jung's personal background, analyzing sources such as her biography, interviews, and other relevant material to examine how her habitus, positions in different fields, and cultural capital have been shaped by her life trajectory.

The fourth chapter provides an analysis of Chang Jung's self-translation strategies in three of her works, concluding how her habitus, field, and cultural capital have influenced her translations.

The fifth and also the final chapter draws on the previous analyses to provide a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between habitus, field, cultural capital, and self-translation in Chang Jung's works. Furthermore, it offers insights into the broader implications of this relationship for the field of translation studies. The chapter concludes the study by summarizing the main findings, drawing conclusions, and providing implications for future research on self-translation and its relation to habitus, field, and cultural capital.

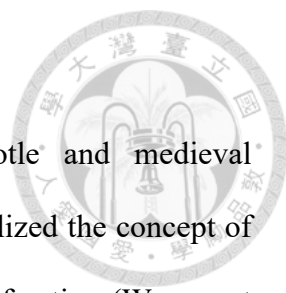
Chapter 2 Literature Review



The study of translation has a long and complicated history that has evolved over time. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, translation studies were still focused only on the formal aspects of translation, such as grammar and vocabulary, in an attempt to create a standardized approach to translation. However, this approach was soon challenged as scholars began to realize the idea of translation is in fact a process of intercultural communication. The renowned scholars, Eugene Nida and Roman Jakobson were among the first who emphasized the cultural and social factors that influence the translation process. They argued that how a translator understands the cultural context of the source text and the intended audience is crucial for producing an effective translation.

As translation studies continued to develop, interdisciplinary approaches to translation started to emerge, drawing on fields such as anthropology, sociology, literary studies, and more. These approaches recognized the complexities of the translation process and sought to explore the social and cultural factors that influence the act of translation. Since 1980s, scholars such as Lawrence Venuti, André Lefevere, and Susan Bassnett challenged the dominant Eurocentric approach to translation that had been already well-established and prevalent in the field. They argued for a more diverse and inclusive approach to translation that takes into account the politics of translation. Since then, translation studies has evolved beyond the boundaries of linguistic analysis to encompass a range of facets, including sociological theories. One such sociological approach is the theory of practice and its key concepts introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, which have been then applied for investigating the intricacies of the translation process.

2.1 Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Habitus



Incorporating historical philosophical ideas from Aristotle and medieval Scholastics, the renowned French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu revitalized the concept of habitus in the 1960s and used it to develop a dispositional theory of action (Wacquant 317). The concept of habitus was officially introduced in his 1972 publication, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*, which was later translated by Richard Nice into English and published as *Outline of a Theory of Practice* in 1977. The central idea of the theory of practice is to comprehend the ways in which social practice and cultural norms shape individuals, and habitus is the key concept of it. In the book, Bourdieu tried to resolve the long-standing debates concerning subjectivism versus objectivism, which he explained in chapter 2 of the book. Objectivism sought to establish the social rules and structures that governed individuals' behavior, while subjectivism emphasized the primacy of individual choice and decision-making as the ultimate act of personal freedom (Grenfell 44). In his opinion, social practices are not determined by only external structures nor are they solely the result of individual intentions (Navarro 16).

In his explanation, Bourdieu applied the concept of habitus to overturn the prevalent idea that the relationship between the individual and the social is separated. He famously defined habitus as “the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality” (73). It refers to the process through which the social world becomes internalized within individuals as a result of their interactions and experiences with external structures and forces. At the same time, individuals externalize their internal dispositions and life experiences through their actions and behaviors in the social world. In other words, the concept of habitus provides a framework for comprehending how external social structures are internalized and manifested in individual practices, while

simultaneously influencing and shaping these practices. As a mediating concept, the idea of habitus breaks down the false dichotomy between the individual and the social by revealing their interdependence and interconnectedness.

Bourdieu argued that habitus embodies distinctive features of the social agents, representing a “structured and structuring structure.” The shaping of habitus is influenced by an individual’s past and present life experiences and circumstances, including their family and educational backgrounds, making it “structured.” Additionally, habitus plays a vital role in shaping one’s current and future social practices, thus being also regarded as “structuring.” Furthermore, habitus is in fact systematically organized rather than randomly formed, and as a result classified as “structure” (Bourdieu 72, 93).

According to Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, the social structures and conditions within a given environment can produce sets of deeply rooted dispositions that predispose individuals towards particular ways of thinking and behaving. These dispositions, known as habitus, can serve as certain guidelines for organizing practices and representations. Although these practices may appear to be the result of individuals’ conscious intentions, they are in fact shaped by past experiences and are collectively coordinated (82-83). In contrast to the concept that practice is just a mechanical response to stimuli or a product of conscious and intentional action, Bourdieu put forth the idea that habitus organizes practice by generating strategies without requiring any conscious awareness or intention.

The idea of habitus is very complex and cannot be fully explained in just a few pages. To put it plainly, habitus refers to the way society shapes individuals within it by instilling long-lasting tendencies and structured inclinations towards thinking, feeling, and behaving in particular ways. These tendencies guide individuals in their responses to the constraints and opportunities of their social environments (Wacquant 318). The application of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus in the translation field was first introduced

by Daniel Simeoni in 1998. Simeoni's work focused on the comparison of norms and habitus in translation, illustrating the potential of habitus as a useful analytical tool for understanding the complexities of translation practice (Simeoni 1). Also, Simeoni explicated the concept of translatorial habitus (21) based on Bourdieu's theory, which posits that a translator's dispositions and tendencies at any given time are formed and structured through their social experiences as well as the norms within the translation field. These translatorial dispositions have to be acquired and shaped over time, contributing to the development of norms and conventions, which in turn reinforce their influence and impact (21-23). It is apparent that life trajectory plays an important role in shaping the habitus of a translator or any individual. In order to comprehensively comprehend the habitus of a particular translator, it is necessary to investigate not only their personal experience and socialization process but also their educational, professional, and personal background. Conducting a thorough study in this manner is imperative to gain a full understanding of one's translatorial habitus.

2.2 Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Field

Other than habitus, the concept of field is also a significant aspect of Bourdieu's theory of practice. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the interactions between social agents, it is essential to analyze the social space wherein their interactions, transactions, and events take place. Bourdieu's definition of field can be understood as a set of objective relationships between social agents. They all have different positions that are defined by their capital and potential status in a system of power distribution. This power is often in the form of capital that provides access to certain benefits within the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 97). Overall, a field can be seen as a network of relationships that shape the actions and experiences of those occupying positions within it. Various scholars have put forward their own interpretations of this concept of field.

One of them is Michaela Wolf, who defines field as a social domain where conflicts and tactics are employed by the social agents, in order to take control over particular resources and the means of obtaining them. This definition characterizes field as an objective and external structure, and it operates independently of the wills and consciousness of the social actors who participate within it (4).

Moreover, field is closely related to the concept of habitus. According to Bourdieu's theory of practice, field refers to a set of social and institutional contexts within which individuals express and reproduce their dispositions while engaging in competitive struggles to get access to different kinds of capital. Bourdieu explains that field acts as a mediating connection between the actions of the social actors within it and the larger social and economic context surrounding it. There are three key attributes of such connection. The first one is that external factors do not directly affect the social agents within the field, but rather operate through particular forms and forces of the field. All these determinants have been subjected to restructuring, a process that is especially vital in the field. The more a field imposes its unique logic and cumulates history, the more autonomous it is.

The second main feature is the structural and functional similarities between various fields, such as philosophy, politics, and literature, and the broader social space surrounding them. Each field has its own dominant and dominated social agents or participants, who actively struggle for powers and avoid being excluded. Also, every field has its unique mechanisms for reproduction. However, these characteristics take a specific and unique form within each field. It can be said that various fields have similar patterns to a certain degree but at the same time retain their own specific features.

The third characteristic is that fields are made up of relationships that exist independently of the social actors who participate within them. When referring to a

particular field, the focus is on the system of objective relationships within it, rather than the social actors themselves. In fact, individuals can be seen as a product of the field, much like particles are a product of a physical field. This means that a particular translator or artist exists only because there is a field of translation or artists. In other words, individuals within a field exist as a result of the field's existence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 105-106).

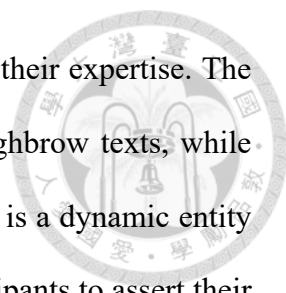
An individual's experience of power depends on the field in which they are positioned. The relative amount of power that an individual can exercise may differ across various fields. For instance, a highly respected writer may hold greater power or influence in the literary field than in the political field. Moreover, social actors such as writers and artists are unlikely to produce entirely autonomous works of art within the literary field, as external factors, such as social influences, inevitably come into play. Thus, while fields operate independently, they also interact with each other in complicated ways.

Scholars have expressed varying opinions regarding the definition of the "translation field", with some even denying the existence of such a field. The concept of field has typically been applied to the study of reconstruction of fields such as literature and political science. However, translation is seen as a process in a mediation space, making it difficult to be conceptualized by using the same analytical tool (Wolf 109). Wolf argues that translation can be seen as a form of mediation that involves the transfer of cultural and linguistic elements. However, it is hard to define translation as a single and autonomous field, as it is closely linked to other fields and cultures. Moreover, according to Bourdieu, the hierarchical order is the essential feature of many fields, but it only applies partially to the translation context. Although translators do participate in hierarchically organized power structures which are based on different forms of capital, they tend to have little prestige or recognition as translation is often seen as a secondary

profession and not officially protected by law (110-112). Another scholar Yu-ling Chung observes that under Bourdieu's framework, the conceptualization of translation field would be comparable to a site or arena where the agents, which is the translators, are able to perceive its intangible presence either by accepting or resisting its normative practices. This, in turn, alters the social arena within it. Furthermore, the limits of a translation field are not confined only to the translation industry, but extend to other related fields, such as publishing and reviewing, given their significant influence on and also their frequent interactions with the process of translation (31).

Bourdieu has presented a formula to elucidate the practices undertaken within fields that are governed by distinct logics, consequently producing diverse forms of actualization. This formula can be expressed as: $(\text{habitus})(\text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice}$ (Bourdieu, *A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* 101). Translators are the social agents in the translation field. Within the field, they possess their own habitus and a range of capitals, and engage in struggles for resources and positions within the field of power (Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* 24). This dynamic process in fact gives rise to the formation of the translation field.

Furthermore, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy observes that the translation field is characterized by its dynamism, and it is shaped by the actions of its participants, namely translators, who engage in "the game of translation" (11). Within the field, translators strive to attain more specific forms of capital. Bourdieu often compared social life to games such as football (Grenfell 68). He describes a field as a stratified space in which individuals struggle for specific positions, driven by particular incentives and rewards. Translators, therefore, constitute a distinct field of power that is divided into various subgroups, such as literary and non-literary domains. This distinct field is marked by a hierarchical structure that distinguishes between junior and senior translators. Within this



field, translators are allocated with different types of texts based on their expertise. The translator with a higher position is assigned with important and highbrow texts, while others are relegated to less significant material. The translation field is a dynamic entity that is continually formed through the ongoing struggles of its participants to assert their claims within it. These struggles, in turn, influence the broader cultural status of the field (Sela-Sheffy 10-11).

This study highlights the fact that the translation field is not restricted to translators alone, but encompasses various other social actors, including editors, critics, publishers, authors, readers, and academic scholars. All of them are actually engaged in this “game of translation” and contribute to the social network of relationships within the field. While the translation field has connections with other fields, particularly the literary field, it still maintains a certain degree of independence.

2.3 Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu, capital refers to the accumulation of labor, which can take the form of material goods or embodied knowledge. Agents who have private and exclusive access to such capital can harness social energy in the form of living labor. This dynamic relation makes social games, including economic ones, more than simply games of chance, as the accumulation and deployment of capital influence outcomes beyond pure luck or chance (Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital* 15). Bourdieu states that the concept of capital is applicable to all forms of resources that hold value, irrespective of whether they are tangible, intangible, social, or symbolic. In this sense, capital is considered as a power relation that serves as the foundation of power structures and conflicts. According to Bourdieu, the value of resources is determined by the social relations of power that are constructed around them. It is reflected in the interest expressed by individuals and groups in acquiring or disputing these resources. In order to secure their places in the social

hierarchy, individuals make use of various resources, which are considered as forms of capital when they operate as social relations of power. In essence, resources become objects of social contentions or struggles, as they are contested by individuals competing for power as well as status.

Bourdieu identified four distinct types of capital that individuals may possess. The first one is economic capital, which includes financial assets and resources. The second one is cultural capital, which refers to knowledge, aesthetic preferences, language, and other forms of cultural expertise. The third one is social capital, which relates to an individual's social networks and affiliations, including familial and cultural ties. The fourth and last one is symbolic capital, which refers to objects or symbols that stand in for other forms of capital and may be exchanged in other fields, such as academic credentials (Thomson 69). Basically, Bourdieu asserts that all forms of capital can only attain legitimacy through their recognition as symbolic capital. For instance, if a student acquires a degree from a distinguished university, the graduation certificate represents their cultural capital. However, only when others acknowledge the university's prestige can this cultural capital be elevated to the status of symbolic capital for that student (Lu 110).

This study focuses on Chang Jung's cultural capital across various fields. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital refers to the enduring dispositions of the mind and body, while objectified cultural capital is reflected in the forms of cultural goods, such as books and instruments. Finally, institutionalized cultural capital is conferred through educational qualifications, and it is unique in its ability to grant distinct properties to cultural capital (Bourdieu, *Forms of Capital* 17).

Capitals are exchangeable and can take on various forms, which are originated from different fields that structure a given social order. As a result, empirical investigation on an individual can locate his or her capitals. The investigating process also help to interpret how the accumulation of different forms of capitals creates distinctive hierarchies and power structures (Bourdieu 16). As an illustration, the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital may occur when an individual accrues sufficient financial resources to study abroad and successfully completes a degree program. Conversely, the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital can be observed when an individual is offered with a high-salary job based on their intellectual prowess.

Agents develop particular dispositions within various fields, enabling them to recognize which forms of capital are most valuable in struggles for positions or power within the fields. The most effective means of accumulating capital is through the recognition of other agents within the same field, which is known as symbolic capital. Once an agent has gathered together a certain quantity of capital, they would start to engage in efforts to augment or preserve it, often by transforming the established rules of the field to some degree. Agents may also attempt to discredit certain forms of capital that their opponents rely on. At the same time, agents with more capital would also valorize the species of capital they themselves possess in greater measure (Bourdieu and Wacquant 99).

The interdependence of field and capital is central to Bourdieu's theory. The key attribute of a field is the competition for positions, with social agents seeking to increase their capital within various fields. In essence, a field is a social arena where agents compete for recognition and power through the mobilization of the capital they hold. As agents gain capital and positions of influence, they are better able to shape the rules and norms of the field, promoting the value of the specific forms of capital they possess. This,

in turn, reinforces their positions of power and consolidates their holdings of capital. In other words, the more capital the social agents hold, the easier they secure a center position within a certain field.



2.4 Self-Translation

Self-translation has become an increasingly researched topic of translation studies. However, it was not until the emergence of topics such as monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism that scholars began to take notice of this practice. Various scholars have provided similar definitions of self-translation, also known as auto-translation. For example, John Laver and Ian Mason define self-translation in their book, *A Dictionary of Translation of Interpreting*, as “the process and product of an original text translated by its author into another language. Self-translations may provide insights into intended meanings which other translators may not attain when the quality of the translation is high enough (Mason and Laver 120).” In 2002, Christopher Whyte defined self-translation as “the author of a literary text completed in one language subsequently reproduces it in a second language (Whyte 64).” However, scholar Elena Bandín has criticized this definition, arguing that it is narrow in scope as it only pertains to literary works and fails to account for self-translation in aspects other than the literary field. Additionally, Whyte’s definition neglects the writer’s relationship with both languages of the source and target texts. Self-translators are in fact bilingual writers capable of writing their works in either language, and both languages can serve as their source language (Bandín 36).

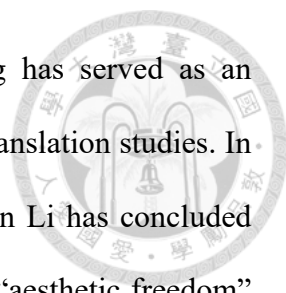
In the field of translation studies, some scholars have criticized the concept of self-translation. Susan Bassnett, for example, argues that it is basically an unnecessary and misleading concept. She contends that the concept forces us to consider the problem of the existence of an original (Bassnett, *The Self-Translator as Rewriter* 13-14). As a result, the act of self-translation is often considered more of a rewriting process than a

traditional translation, as the self-translator, or the author, is working with their own original text instead of a distinct source text. Additionally, the issue of ownership is worth noticing, as the author of the original text can exclusively capture their intended meaning. Such feature may result in various modifications or even shifts in the target text that other translators may find it difficult to replicate. In fact, while reading self-translated works, readers may also encounter difficulties in distinguishing between the source and target texts, which echoes the concern raised by Bassnett regarding the notion of an original in self-translation.

Self-translation can be traced back to the late Middle Ages in Europe. At that time, European writers would translate their own works between Latin and vernacular languages (Roscoff 28). In contemporary times, many notable writers have gained recognition for their self-translated works. For example, well-known Chinese writer Eileen Chang has translated her own works into English, which have been well-received in the Western world.

Eileen Chang is undoubtedly one of the most significant Chinese literary figures of the 20th century in China. Her formative years were spent in Shanghai, where she attended a Christian boarding high school and developed her brilliant English skill. After graduating high school, she went to the University of Hong Kong and majored in English Literature. As a result, she successfully mastered the English language besides her proficiency in native Chinese. In addition to writing novels in Chinese, she also translated noteworthy English literary works, including *The Old Man and the Sea* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, into Chinese to supplement her livelihood.

Moreover, similar to Chang Jung, Eileen Chang exhibits a unique translation practice in that she also initially composed certain works in English, and then self-translated them back into her native Chinese. Examples include her celebrated work *The*



Rice-Sprout Song and *the Naked Earth*. Therefore, Eileen Chang has served as an important and compelling subject of self-translation in the field of translation studies. In *Politics of Self-Translation: Eileen Chang*, scholar Jessica Tsui Yan Li has concluded that the power of self-translation grants Eileen Chang unparalleled “aesthetic freedom” (Li 8) than conventional translators could have. Also, the act of self-translation enables Eileen Chang to break through the language and cultural boundaries by accentuating distinctive cultural perspectives within the English and Chinese renditions. Li further commented that the act of self-translation itself contributes partly to Eileen Chang’s triumphant status in the literary field. For example, in September 1956, Eileen Chang published an English short essay titled *Stale Mates: A Short Story Set in the Time When Love Came to China* in *The Reporter*. Subsequently, she self-translated the essay into Chinese in January 1957, giving it the title 《五四遺事——羅文濤三美團圓》. In the Chinese title, she explicitly included the date “May Fourth,” which references the May Fourth movement of 1919, known as the “Chinese Renaissance.” However, in the English version, Chang chose to introduce the story background by stating that it is set “in the time when love came to China,” indicating a period of transition from traditional to modern notions of love. The reason for omitting “May Fourth” in the English title is probably the complexity of the historical background of the May Fourth movement, which could be challenging to explain clearly to English readers. This example also bears resemblance to Chang Jung’s work *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister*, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4.3.

Another significant self-translator is the esteemed Irish novelist Samuel Beckett, who is also a recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1969. Born in 1906, Beckett has shown a lifelong dedication to the field of arts, including literature, translation, music, and theatre. He has spent most of his life since 1937 in Paris, mastering both French and

English (Almeida and Veras 103-104). During his initial years from 1923 to 1927, he studies English, French, and Italian at a distinguished university in Dublin. At that time, there was already manifestation of his language intelligence, resulting in his appointment as a scholar of Modern Languages during college.

A few years later, Beckett has published his first work titled *Dante... Bruno. Vico.. Joyce* in English and entered the literary world. However, it was since 1946 that Beckett started to self-translate his own works. Much like Eileen Chang and Chang Jung, some of his books were initially written in French and then translated back to native English by himself. One of the examples is his first renowned French novel *Mercier et Camier* and the English translation *Mercier et Camier*.

However, Beckett's approach to self-translation has been controversial as large number of adaptations and shifts have been spotted in the rendering texts. In *How I did not translate Beckett*, scholar Matías Battistón observed that within the works of Beckett, the idea of a pristine text is blurred, and the French or English translations themselves may even play a role as the second original (Battistón 1). During Battistón's attempt to translate Beckett's masterpieces into Spanish, which was a third language other than French and English, he came across the idea of twin-texts. This phenomenon reflects that both the French original and English translation produced by Beckett were regarded as sources in the process of a third-language translation (11-12). Take Beckett's renowned trilogy as example, when Battistón translated them into Spanish, the French original served as an initial source. However, Battistón also recognized the undeniably essential role played by the English translation, acting as a lodestar to clarify the unclear concepts in the French source.

The preceding scholarly researches on both Eileen Chang and Samuel Beckett serve as a great inspiration for the present thesis. Chang Jung, being the subject of this

study, also serves as a unique case study for self-translation, considering her special linguistic background. As a native speaker of Chinese, she also acquired English as a second language and eventually pursued a doctoral degree in the United Kingdom. In light of her bilingualism and experience living abroad, she opted to initially write her books in her second language, English, and subsequently translate them back into her mother tongue.

In contrast to Eileen Chang and Samuel Beckett, Chang Jung's journey toward acquiring English proficiency did not start in a relatively early stage of her life. She did not learn English properly until she entered university and studies abroad. Nevertheless, skin to the case of Samuel Beckett, a myriad of additions, reductions, and shifts could be found in her self-translated works.

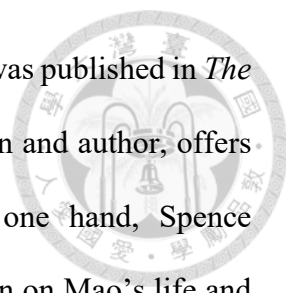
2.5 Reviews of Chang Jung's Work

Chang Jung is an award-winning author whose first publication, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, received recognitions including the NCR Book Award and the 1993 British Book of the Year. The book was well-received among both Western and Chinese-speaking readers, particularly in Taiwan and Hong Kong as her books are prohibited in Mainland China. Following this success, Chang Jung continued to publish several other books, including *Mao: The Unknown Story*, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, and *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China*. As her reputation in the literary world grew, her publications naturally gained more attention. It is worth noting that Chang Jung's books are in fact banned in Mainland China, which means most of the Chinese-speaking readers locate in Taiwan and Hong Kong. For this reason, in comparison to the Western world, there lacks book reviews on Chang Jung's works in the Chinese-speaking world. As a result, this section will focus mainly on reviews from Western sources.

2.5.1 Mao: *The Unknown Story*

In a review of *Mao: The Unknown Story* published in *The Independent*, Frank McLynn critiques that the historical facts in the books is somewhat exaggerating and lack of objectivity. At the same time, McLynn also acknowledges that he agrees with the stance of Chang Jung and Jon Halliday. He further argues that the portrayal of Mao as an evil or monster is oversimplified. Also, he observes that Chang Jung devotes great space to emphasize Mao's personal life, which plays down the more significant political and historical matters. The reviewer also notes that the book's content is extensively based on hearsay and speculation rather than concrete evidence, and it affects the reliable of the evidences. Despite these criticisms, McLynn admits Chang Jung's engaging writing style and her contribution to uncovering rarely-known aspects of Mao Zedong.

Moreover, in a review of *The Guardian* which is written by Michael Yahuda, he commends Chang and Halliday's biography for its revelatory and revealing insights into Mao Zedong as both a man and ruler of China. Also, Yahuda praised the authors for clearing up the falsehoods that were made up purposely by Mao and the Chinese Communist party. The reviewer notices the authors' discoveries, including the made-up facts and myths surrounding the Long March. Also, the authors point out that Mao is responsible for more than seventy million deaths and therefore place him in the ranks of the greatest monsters of the twentieth century alongside Hitler and Stalin. These newly revealed information has given Yahuda a shock. However, he also notices some shortcomings of the book, such as the lack of discussion on the quality of the historical sources, the heavy reliance on asserted stance, and the absence of an introduction and conclusion chapters to unify the book's central contentions. Yahuda concludes that the biography on Mao Zedong is an important work and it is a pity that Chinese people, who have yet to fully confront their history, do not have access to it.



Furthermore, in the review titled “Portrait of a Monster” that was published in *The New York Review of Books*, Jonathan Spence, the renowned historian and author, offers quite a critical assessment of *Mao: The Unknown Story*. On one hand, Spence acknowledges the book’s contribution in providing detail information on Mao’s life and his ruling in China. On the other hand, Spence also identifies several drawbacks that he discovered in the work, including a lack of balance on the historical evidences, an over-reliance on not yet proven sources and hypothesis. Also, Spence has spotted that the authors have a tendency to reduce Mao’s complex legacy and indicate he as a total “monster.” He points out that such a simplistic view is not enough for capturing the broader systemic factors that contributed to Mao’s accumulation of power and the perpetration of the crimes of his. Spence also criticizes the focus on Mao’s personal failings, resulting in the lack of analysis of the historical context in which Mao operated. To conclude, Spence ultimately finds the book to be an unsatisfying and unfair account of Mao and his era.

Similarly, in the review titled “Jade and Plastic” published in *London Review of Books*, Andrew J. Nathan, a professor of Political Science at Columbia University, discusses the authors’ approach to history writing and their portrayal of Mao Zedong. Nathan points out that the book indeed contains a large amount of information and insight into Mao’s life experience and history. However, much of the contents are based on doubtful sources and circumstantial evidence, and such sources may cause difficulties to assess the accuracy of their claims. Nathan also criticizes the authors for portraying Mao plainly as a fiend, rather than as a complex historical figure with both strengths and weaknesses. Nathan concludes that Chang Jung and Jon Halliday’s approach results in a portrayal of Mao that is “possible but not plausible.” He adds that the authors have made themselves the omniscient storyteller and therefore granted themselves the right to

speculate the intended meaning of the words of Mao Zedong and those historical character surrounding him.

It is worth noting that both Jonathan Spence and Andrew Nathan did not explicitly express their personal stance on Mao Zedong in the book reviews. Their criticisms primarily focused on the way how Chang Jung and Jong Halliday make use of only historical evidences that are favorable to their stance in the book. Both scholars agree that Mao Zedong is a controversial character, but the target of a cautious historian should be presenting a comprehensive history with reliable evidences. Nathan even states that Mao Zedong deserves a harsh and stringent moral assessment. Also, they do not agree the way the authors blame Mao Zedong for every adverse or negative outcome in the history of modern China.

The book *Was Mao Really a Monster? The academic response to Chang and Halliday's Mao: The Unknown Story*, features reviews by both Western and Chinese scholars who express critical views towards the book *Mao*. The fact that the book reviews written by Spence and Nathan are also included in the book is note highlighting. The Chinese scholars, including Cheng Yung Fa, Mobo Gao, and Jin Xiao Ding, all strongly criticize that the portrayal of Mao in the book lacks persuasiveness and sufficient evidence. Notably, Mobo Gao, a Chinese-Australian professor known for his critique of the way Mao ruled China and the Cultural Revolution are often distorted in both Chinese and Western media, titled his review “An Intellectual Scandal.” The title itself is already a condemnation towards the book by referring it as a scandal. The reviewers also pointed out that the evidence presented in the book is selectively chosen to fit the authors’ political stance. Gao listed some of the unusual references and skeptical interviewees in the book as examples of this selective approach, characterizing it as a “clever marketing strategy (Gao 120).”



Charles W. Hayford, the editor of *the Journal of American East-Asian Relations*, offered a brilliant analysis of the varying receptions of the book *Mao: The Unknown Story*. Hayford noted that reviewers of the book can be divided into two types. The first type is the readers who warmly received it, and the second is those who took a more critical stance against it. Hayford attributed this divergence to the different modes of historical writing—academic history and popular history—that have distinct aims, audiences, as well as presenting methods. Hayford pointed out that academic histories are dense, specialized, and theoretical, and such historical writing often aim at scholars and experts rather than public readers. On the other hand, popular histories prioritize narrative clarity, individual actors, and accessible prose more than the academic value. In Hayford’s view, *Mao: The Unknown Story* undoubtedly falls into the latter category as the authors apply an attractive storytelling technique to present a clear sequence of events and emphasize the role of Mao in shaping modern China. However, Hayford also identified weaknesses in the historical approach of the work. He noted that some of the sources used by the authors were difficult to verify, speculative, or even untrue. The usage of such evidence leads some critics to view the authors as randomly taking all available evidence without sufficient regard for its reliability. Just like most of the reviewers, Hayford concluded that *Mao: The Unknown Story* in fact offers a possible interpretation on the history of modern China and Mao Zedong, but it also failed to provide a fully convincing and trustable portrait of this Chinese leader.

Overall, despite being a best-seller in the West, *Mao: The Unknown Story* has been subject to criticisms regarding primarily its objectivity of Mao’s portrayal and the use of unreliable evidence. While reviewers recognize the overall appeal of the book and the authors discovery and contribution of new information, skepticism remains due to the heavy reliance on unverified sources, including interviews with people who lack

credibility and unpublished documents. As a result, some of the evidence presented in the book lacks fact-checking and is based on circumstantial evidence. Furthermore, reviewers of Mainland China have consistently expressed negative opinions about the book, which is unsurprising given the country's political censorship and the book's prohibition in Mainland China.

2.5.2 Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China

Published in 2013, eight years subsequent to Chang Jung's previous work, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China* has also gained critical acclaim and achieved a global readership in both Western and Chinese-speaking world. In line with her earlier literary achievements, this publication brought a new historical perspective for readers and expanded its reach through translations into fifteen languages in total. However, critical receptions of the book still varied among Western reviewers, reflecting a spectrum of both positive and negative assessments.

According to Chang Jung's official website, her biography of Empress Dowager Cixi has won her some positive reviews. Many newspaper critics laud her comprehensive and captivating portrayal of Cixi's history and her capacity to overthrow the preconceived notions surrounding this historical figure. Bel Mooney of *The Daily Mail* commends that the use of new evidence and meticulous research effectively shines a spotlight on Cixi as the influential figure behind China's modern transformation. Moreover, Frank Dikotter from the *Sunday Times* praises Chang Jung for largely applying the vast resources of the imperial archives in Beijing, which were rarely used in the previous works related to Cixi.

Orville Schell, a distinguished author known for his scholarly work *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century*, shares with Chang Jung the favorable perspective on the historical figure of Empress Dowager Cixi. In his book review titled "Her Dynasty" that was published in *The New York Times*, Schell has

thoroughly explored the revisionist interpretation on Empress Dowager Cixi that is put forth by Chang Jung in her work. In the review, Schell critically evaluates how people normally hold a preconceived and misunderstanding view with prevailing biases when it comes to the historical portrayal of Cixi. He was impressed by the meticulous research conducted by Chang Jung as well as her comprehensive analysis. Additionally, Schell highlights that Cixi has faced numerous challenges regarding her leadership in relation to the contemporary Chinese context.

Moreover, the book has been recognized by various reputable publications, such as *BBC History Magazine* and *Financial Times*, all of which acknowledge the biography's ability to present a fresh and alternative perspective on Cixi. These reviews highlight the book's contribution to reshaping the long-established negative image of Cixi, ultimately positioning her as a vital figure in China's historical development in modernization.

Other than positive reviews, there are also negative ones. In a review published by *The Guardian*, Isabel Hilton offers a detailed assessment on Chang Jung's biography of Empress Dowager Cixi. Like all the reviewers, Hilton starts with acknowledging the extensive research conducted by Chang, praising her for including a comprehensive range of primary and secondary sources that enables a detailed account of the Chinese history of Qing dynasty. Additionally, Hilton appreciates Chang Jung's intriguing storytelling skills, expressing that they definitely make the book more accessible and appealing to a broader readership. Then, the reviewer highlights a potential and serious limitation, which is Chang Jung's admiration for her writing subject can possibly compromise a more critical and biased analysis on Cixi's actions. This aspect, according to the reviewer, could hinder a thorough and full exploration of the consequences arising from Cixi's decisions.

In other words, Chang Jung may view Cixi through rose-colored glasses, resulting in, once again, a historical biography with subjectivity and selective evidences.

Oliver Stuenkel, a political scientist, published a book review titled “Book Review: Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China” in *The Diplomat*. Stuenkel offers a critical and thorough assessment of Chang Jung’s portrayal of Empress Dowager Cixi, suggesting that the book may suffer from an overly positive and simplistic depiction of individuals, categorizing them as either good or evil. Stuenkel also observes a tendency for Chang Jung to romanticize the Western world, despite historical events such as England’s exploitative opium trade and the violent suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. Stuenkel admits that Chang Jung has an excellent ability of transforming extensive and complex historical information into an engaging narrative accessible to a wide readership. However, he also identifies this as a potential weakness as it reflects Chang Jung’s strong subjective views on the historical figures she portrays. Stuenkel characterizes the book as a “hagiography,” implying that the depiction of Cixi in the book is uncritical and idealized in a certain degree.

The book reviews and commentaries on Chang Jung’s portrayal of Empress Dowager Cixi in her book are somewhat reminiscent of the reception to her previous work, *Mao: The Unknown Story*. Reviewers generally praise Chang Jung for her outstanding storytelling skills, appreciating her ability to transform complex and extensive historical information into an engaging and accessible narrative. Furthermore, the way she includes fresh and rarely-used evidence to provide novel perspectives on historical figures has been widely acknowledged. Most of the reviewers observed that the work effectively revolutionizes the understanding of Chinese history.

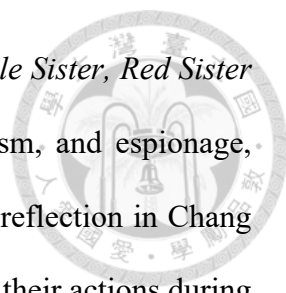
However, certain reviewers have criticized Chang Jung for her pronounced subjectivity and selective employment of favorable and unreliable historical evidence. In

her portrayal of Mao Zedong, he is wholly depicted as a malevolent, cruel, and manipulative figure, while Cixi is presented as a total intelligent, patriotic, and progressive leader. These reviewers contend that her narrative may lean towards an overly favorable view of her subjects, potentially neglecting a more comprehensive analysis.

2.5.3 Red Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at The Heart of Twentieth Century

As highlighted in the introduction of *Red Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at The Heart of Twentieth Century*, Chang Jung started to search for inspiration following the publication of her previous works, *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*. Following her established pattern of writing, she probably sought to reveal the untold story of yet another significant historical figure. Initially, she contemplated writing about Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), the Father of Modern China who is respected among both Chinese and foreigner. Through extensive research, Chang Jung did discover that Sun is actually a political tactician who is relentlessly driven by nothing more than his ambitions. However, she realized that the personal feature of Sun is too simple and redirected her focus towards his wife, Soong Ching-ling, and her two sister, Ei-ling and May-ling.

In contrast to Chang Jung's previous works of historical biographies, *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*, which were translated into multiple languages, this book on the Soong sisters was only translated into the Chinese language by the author herself. This could be attributed to the lesser familiarity and interest of English readers with the lives and legacies of the Soong sisters. Despite the limited versions of translation, the book still received overwhelmingly positive reviews, with many critics enthusiastically recommending it.



In a review by Julia Lovell for *The Guardian*, *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister* is described as a captivating story that intertwines war, communism, and espionage, delivered with nuanced empathy. Also, Lowell points out a lack of reflection in Chang Jung's portrayal of the Soong sister, which counters the criticisms of their actions during World War II. In the book, the big sister Ei-ling, who was commonly described as an unethical opportunist, is depicted as a caring sister who provided financial support to her siblings. The little sister May-ling, despite her tendencies towards indulgence, is shown as affectionate and loyal to her family. However, the red sister Ching-ling, due to her political convictions, may be perceived as a less likable character. One criticism of the book is its occasional detours into male-centric accounts of the Soong sisters' context. Lovell suggests that this may reflect the complex situation of those influential female figures in Chinese politics, who often had to align themselves with the flawed yet dominant men in order to exert their own power. Lastly, Lowell recommends the author to include in the book a further contemplation on the difficulties that were faced by ambitious women in the 20th China.

Moreover, in a review from *Popular History Books*, a website that provides commentaries on only history books, the reviewer Anthony Webb highlights some aspects of the book, such as its accessible writing style, blending the characters' life stories with the Chinese history, and inclusion of some interesting and memorable anecdotes. However, Webb also points out the main perceived flaw of the approach in the book. It tends to present historical events as a result of personal decisions in an inflammatory way without fully addressing broader influences or motivations. He provides examples including Sun Yat-sen's portrayal as a power-hungry figure rather than a visionary, and the hesitation of Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) in taking down the communists due to his son being held hostage. These explanations seem to be inadequate

and inconsistent with Webb's understanding of the historical figures. Also, he spots some idiosyncratic interpretations of some well-known historical events such as the warlord period in China, which is described as less destructive than the commonly believed version. Webb then concludes that the book is recommended to readers who are interested in early twentieth-century Chinese history. However, he reminds readers better approach the book with prior background knowledge of the period, in order to evaluate the author's judgements and narratives in a more independent and objective manner.

Furthermore, the book in fact holds particular relevance for Taiwanese readers due to the significant and influential status of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan. It has also received some positive feedback among the readers. For instance, in a review by Lu Yujia for *The Reporter*, the focus is on the portrayal of Sun Yat-sen in the book and the comparison drawn between the historical narrative presented by Chang Jung and the contemporary political events happening in Taiwan. Unlike Western reviewers, Lu's emphasis is not on questioning the historical evidence but rather on examining the reflection of the political circumstances in Taiwan throughout the reading journey.

In contrast, a Taiwanese reviewer known by the pseudonym Killer Velvet, writing on Vocus blog, focuses primarily on the Soong sisters in the review. The reviewer expresses admiration for Chang Jung's empathetic portrayal of the female characters including the three sisters. Killer Velvet also commends the author's ability to present the Soong sisters and Empress Dowager Cixi in an objective manner, which contrasts the opinions with most reviewers in the West. The assessment of the book's feminist perspective, which the reviewer rate at 8 out of 10, is particularly noteworthy.

In summary, the book *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister* is less controversial compared to Chang Jung's previous works on Mao Zedong and Cixi. Not only *The Guardian* but also other prominent Western newspapers such as *Spectator*, *Sunday Times*,

The Times, *The New York Times Book Review*, and *Financial Times* have provided positive reviews for this book. However, some reviewers have criticized Chang Jung for occasionally taking an extreme approach, such as attributing the entire historical period to the personal decisions of a single character. These critiques primarily target the male characters, including Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, who held a relatively dominating positions in the past. Interestingly, when comparing the commentaries from Western and Taiwanese reviewers, it becomes evident that Taiwanese readers tend to accept the historical narratives in the book without questioning the sources or reliability of the evidence.

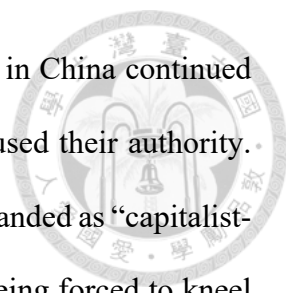
Chapter 3 Chang Jung and Habitus, Field, and Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu, the development of an individual's habitus is significantly influenced by their socialization process and past experiences. As a self-translator in the field of translation, Chang Jung's life trajectory plays a vital role in the development her dispositions. To conduct an extensive investigation and comprehensively understand the self-translation decisions made by Chang Jung, it is essential to study not only her life experiences in China and Britain, but also her family and educational backgrounds.

3.1 Chang Jung's Experience in China

Chang Jung, the author of *Wild Swans*, provides an autobiographical account of the lives of her grandmother, mother, and herself. Born into a privileged family in Sichuan Province, China, Chang Jung's parents were both officials of the Chinese Communist Party, deeply committed to its cause. In the book, Chang Jung describes herself as one of the "high officials' children" (174), who grew up taking hierarchy and privilege for granted. Despite their status, her family was loving and supportive. Chang Jung recalls her parents' willingness to spend time with their children and their unwavering commitment to protecting the family.

Moreover, Chang Jung depicts her parents as individuals with a strong sense of justice. Despite their loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party, they did not hesitate to stand up for innocent people who were wrongly treated by the Party or other officials. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards acted in unacceptable ways, causing many people to suffer. Chang Jung's father criticized the Cultural Revolution as "terribly wrong (198)" and even wrote a letter to Mao Zedong expressing his disapproval, a dangerous move as many who had done the same suffered dire consequences.



Following the onset of the Cultural Revolution, the situation in China continued to deteriorate. People in power became increasingly violent and abused their authority. Chang Jung's parents were not immune to these atrocities and were branded as "capitalist-roaders," leading to their public humiliation, including her mother being forced to kneel on broken glass. They began to see that Mao Zedong was solely interested in maintaining his power and advancing his personal interests. Consequently, Chang Jung's father wrote a second letter to Mao Zedong imploring him to end the Cultural Revolution, a bold move given the political climate at the time. As a result, he was arrested, and her mother was forced to travel to Beijing to seek help from Zhou Enlai. Following her father's release, he became mentally unstable, often raging at Chang Jung's mother and even resorting to physical violence, which was uncharacteristic of him. At one point, he attempted suicide, but Chang Jung managed to intervene and prevent it. Eventually, he was committed to a mental hospital. Despite these traumatic experiences, he remained steadfast in his commitment to his beliefs, insisting that he would never "sell his soul" (226).

In 1969, Chang Jung's father was sent to Miyi County in Xichang for "re-education through labor," while her mother was detained. During this time, her father was severely mistreated and prevented from seeing his family. This, coupled with the passing of Chang Jung's grandmother, whom she was unable to see for the last time, had a profound impact on Chang Jung and her family. After her father's release and return home, he was a changed man, feeling deep guilt for the suffering he had caused his family. Unfortunately, he passed away suddenly from a heart attack.

These tragic events led Chang Jung to question her beliefs in Mao Zedong, ultimately leading her to challenge him openly for the first time in her mind. In the English version of *Wild Swans*, she writes, "I experienced the thrill of challenging Mao openly in

my mind for the first time” (320). The Chinese translation goes even further, directly stating that “Mao Zedong is a sinner.”

Chang Jung’s personal experiences, as recounted in her book *Wild Swans*, reveal how her views on Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) evolved over time. Born into a privileged family of CCP officials, she initially accepted the hierarchical structure and privileges that came with her status. Chang Jung’s recollections of her past reveal a childhood steeped in a “cult of Mao.” She vividly recalls reading *The Diary of Lei Feng* and admiring Chairman Mao, and her given name, Chang Rung, was bestowed upon her in reference to a poem Mao wrote about women adopting a more masculine, military style. Raised in a family of loyal Communist Party officials, she was taught from a young age to uphold the values of communism and to respect and admire the Party. Her parents instilled in her a sense of justice and encouraged her to perform good deeds and practice humility. For much of her youth, Chang Jung’s life was idyllic, but everything changed with the onset of the Cultural Revolution. The upheaval of this period caused irreparable damage to her once happy family. Her grandmother's passing, her father’s severe illness, and eventual death profoundly affected her, leading to a fundamental shift in her perspective.

3.2 Chang Jung’s Educational Background

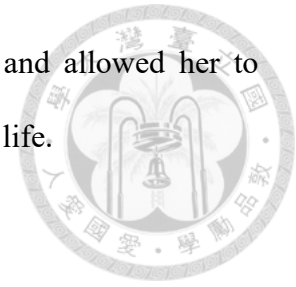
Chang Jung’s privileged upbringing provided her with access to more resources than most others from a young age. Her father’s love for reading exposed her to various books, and she was able to attend the best primary school in Chengdu, which was under her mother's department. This school was known to be selective, but Chang Jung’s family connections gave her an advantage, as the staff there referred to her mother as “Director Xia.” However, not all children in China had the opportunity to attend school at that time.

In 1964, Chang Jung entered the Number Four Middle School, which was the leading key school for the province. Despite receiving full marks for Math and Chinese in the entrance exam, some “high officials’ children” were admitted to the school based on their family backgrounds. When it came to university enrollment in the summer of 1973, Chang Jung desired to study in the Foreign Languages Department at Sichuan University, but knew the only way to gain entry was through the back door. Her father, however, believed that utilizing their power would be unfair to those without such privileges. Eventually, her mother was willing to use their connections to gain Chang Jung admission, and she successfully entered Sichuan University to study English.

Chang Jung’s studies provided her with the opportunity to converse with actual foreigners. Mao Zedong passed away in 1976, and in 1978 Chang Jung took a national exam after completing her studies at Sichuan University, receiving a scholarship to study abroad. She was one of fourteen students selected to study in London, UK, and became the first Chinese citizen to obtain a Ph.D. degree there.

The Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* contains a preface which is not present in the English version. In the preface, Chang Jung recounts her newfound freedom and exploration of the world in Britain. She vividly recalls the thrill she felt when she first entered Hyde Park. However, despite being in a new country, the Chinese students were still required to attend political lectures. This obligation, which had been annoying back in China, proved to be equally frustrating in London. Furthermore, the rule that students had to go out with a partner rather than alone felt restrictive and suffocating to Chang Jung. She often planned to flout these rules and even snuck into a bar once. Additionally, Chang Jung was not content with being identified as Chinese. When she encountered people who resembled Chinese, she instinctively avoided them and even claimed to be

from South Korea. In her opinion, Britain represented liberation and allowed her to express herself without prejudice or restraint for the first time in her life.



3.3 Chang Jung in the Literary and Translation Field

Chang Jung had long desired to write in China, but due to the oppressive policies of Mao Zedong, expressing oneself through writing was highly dangerous. Mao's regime instilled a pervasive fear among the populace, such that any form of written expression could be construed as criticism against the country or its leadership. It was only after Chang Jung had the opportunity to study abroad that she could freely express her opinions without fear of retribution. However, despite her desire to write, the trauma of losing loved ones and living through a harrowing existence in China made it difficult for her to put pen to paper.

Fortunately, the visit of Chang Jung's mother to London in 1988 proved to be a turning point. Her mother shared with her stories of their family and even left a sixty-hour recording tape for Chang Jung, which gave her the courage and inspiration to finish writing *Wild Swans* within two years. In the preface of the book, Chang Jung acknowledges the significant role her husband Jon Halliday played in the writing process. As English was not her first language, writing a whole book in English was challenging for her, and she greatly appreciated her husband's valuable feedback and support.

Chang Jung's book, *Wild Swans*, achieved significant success in the literary domain, particularly in Western countries. The work was translated into thirty-two languages and sold over thirteen million copies, garnering outstanding reviews. Chang Jung's mother also received invitations to different countries and was greatly respected and understood by readers worldwide.

Wild Swans has catapulted Chang Jung to a prominent position in the literary world. In her preface, she acknowledges that the book has opened doors to various

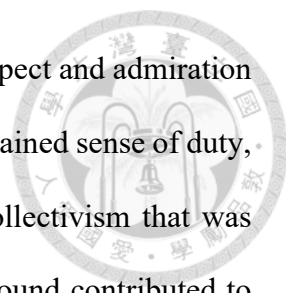
international archives. The success of the book allowed Chang Jung and her husband to interview important figures related to Mao Zedong and access files from different countries. As a multilingual, Jon Halliday, her husband, proved to be instrumental in the research process. Inspired by the positive reception of *Wild Swans*, Chang Jung resolved to write a book exposing the true character of Mao Zedong. In her view, Mao is no less a villain than Hitler and Stalin, but unlike these two tyrants, Mao had not yet received the same level of scrutiny and condemnation. Her aim was to present the truth about Mao to the world after more than three decades of his reign still being celebrated in China.

Following the publication of her book *Mao*, Chang Jung, an already established author in the literary field, ventured into the translation field. During the translation process of her three historical biographies from English to Chinese, her brother, who had previously translated *Wild Swans* into Chinese, provided her with valuable feedback. Despite her established position in the literary field, Chang Jung's capital has not yet extended to the field of translation.

3.4 The Habitus of Chang Jung

Given Chang Jung's unique experience of being exposed to both Chinese and British cultures, it is conceivable to consider the development of a dual habitus that extracts various elements from both cultural backgrounds. This dual habitus may exert influence over her perspectives, writing styles, translations, and interpretations of historical events, reflecting a complicated interplay between the two cultural contexts.

Chang Jung's initial habitus was developed within the background of China. She underwent a formative period that was influenced by her family background, experiences during the Cultural Revolution, and the repressive policies implemented under the ruling of Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party. As a member of a privileged family consisting of Chinese Communist Party officials, she was indoctrinated and brainwashed



with the principles of communism and taught to hold unwavering respect and admiration for the Chinese Communist Party. This upbringing gained her an ingrained sense of duty, strict adherence to social norms, and a deep-seated belief in the collectivism that was promoted by the Communist Party. Furthermore, her family background contributed to her acceptance of the hierarchical structure and privileges associated with the social status of her parents. Mao Zedong, in particular, occupied a revered position within her upbringing in China, commanding loyalty to the leader of the country and of the Communist Party.

Nonetheless, the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution have brought a significant transformation to Chang Jung's development of her habitus. The firsthand experiences of suffering, witnessing injustices, and enduring personal losses caused her to critically reevaluate the actions of the Party and begin to reassess Mao's leadership. She then realized that Mao's motivations were primarily driven by self-preservation and solely for the consolidation of his personal power, rather than the claimed objective of serving the people. Such a moment of revelation acted as a catalyst, giving rise to a sharp shift in Chang Jung's perspective on the world and her habitus. All these events have led her to questioning the established beliefs and challenge the authority that had once been unquestionable and taken for granted.

On the other hand, Chang Jung's habitus in Britain was influenced by the encounters with a brand-new foreign culture and the exposure to novel ideas, freedoms, and cultural diversity during her time studying abroad in London. The preface found only in the Chinese translation of her book *Wild Swans* reflects her deep-rooted sense of liberation and exploration in her newly adopted country. In the West, Chang Jung was totally immersed in a different cultural context and given with the opportunity to express her opinions without fear of retribution. These factors have contributed to the further

development of her second habitus. Under the British context, she came across a society that highly values individualism, freedom of expression, and critical thinking, which starkly contrasted with the more collectivist and strictly-controlled environment she had experienced in China.

In Britain, Chang Jung's habitus embraced a more independent and questioning mindset, allowing her to openly challenge and criticize Mao Zedong—an act that would have posed significant danger in Mainland China, especially under the ruling of Mao Zedong at her time. The experience of living in a society that fostered individual agency and welcomed diverse viewpoints has likely shaped her habitus to be more critical, open-minded, and receptive to questioning the traditional norms and established authorities.

Furthermore, Chang Jung's experiences in both China and Britain suggest a strong inclination towards integration into the Western society. Her biography vividly illustrates her longing to break free from the constraints of conventional and restricted life in China. Also, she described her strong desire for freedom and exploration beyond the traditional borders. Particularly during her time in China when the torturing Cultural Revolution has finally come to an end, she was craving to escape the confines of her native country and commence the journey of self-discovery in the wider world. Moreover, her pursuit of academic studies in London as a doctoral student was accompanied by a memorable incident where she deliberately misrepresented her national identity, falsely claiming to be from South Korea rather than China. This intentional act of concealing her Chinese origin hints at a deeper aspiration to distance herself from her native culture and take up a new Western identity.

3.4.1 How Habitus Affects Chang Jung's Writing Styles

Writing style is not solely determined by language itself, but is also influenced by a series of aspects, including cultural, social, and personal factors. Chang Jung has

encountered life-changing and significant events in both China and Britain. To consider individuals like her with dual habitus developed in different countries, it is essential to look into their writing styles when expressing themselves in different languages.

Undoubtedly, language plays a prominent and vital role in shaping writing styles, as linguistic structures, lexical, and rhetorical devices differ across languages. For instance, when writing in Chinese, Chang Jung may naturally follow the conventions of Chinese literature, applying traditional storytelling techniques, symbolism, and cultural references that can easily resonate with the Chinese readers. Conversely, when writing in English, she may adopt a more Westernized writing style, incorporating narrative techniques and literary devices that are commonly found in English literature.

However, beyond linguistic considerations, Chang Jung's developed dispositions in each country may also significantly impact her writing styles. Having been born and raised in China and having experienced numerous significant events there during the first twenty-six years of her life, she has definitely gained a deep understanding of Chinese lifestyles and cultures. Moreover, her strong personal connection to the country may make it challenging for her to maintain complete objectivity and detachment while writing about Chinese history, as she is, or at least was, an essential part of it.

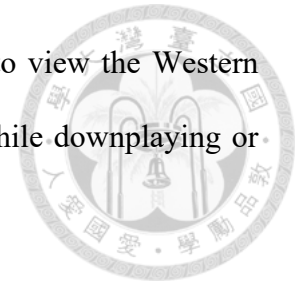
Furthermore, in her book *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Chang Jung openly expresses her strong animosity towards Mao Zedong. She explicitly states her political agenda and writing purpose, which was to unveil the malevolence of Mao Zedong. Drawing from her personal experiences in China, it is conceivable that she may exhibit subjectivity and emotional involvement when writing in her mother tongue. Similarly, when she writes about historical figure Empress Dowager Cixi, her intention is to challenge fixed perspectives on the character. Considering her comprehension of Chinese society and

influenced by her established ideologies in China, these factors may further influence her translation.

On the contrary, Chang Jung had harbored a deep longing for freedom long before her departure from China, and it was in London where her aspirations found fulfillment. She perceived Western society as a haven for diverse opinions, noting an appreciable atmosphere of freedom of speech during her studies in the British capital. Her habitus developed in Britain was significantly influenced by the prevailing cultural values and intellectual climate she encountered throughout her academic pursuits and immersion in Western society. Within the British context, individualism, the uninhibited expression of ideas, and a commitment to critical thinking are highly valued. Consequently, her English writing style is likely to manifest a high-level sense of independence, a tendency to question firmly established norms and authorities, and an open-minded inclination towards the exploration of diverse perspectives. Freed from the constraints and traumas experienced in China, she may adopt a more objective and critical approach when delving into the portrayal of Chinese history.

Moreover, the analysis conducted by reviewer Oliver Stuenkel reveals a noticeable trend in Chang Jung's work, wherein her depiction of the Western world tends to exhibit an obvious favorability. Within her widely acclaimed memoir, *Wild Swans*, instances portraying the West in a negative or critical perspective are rarely found. Instead, her descriptions of the Western world are characterized by an aura of admiration, highlighting the perceived virtues, achievements, and freedoms of it. This predisposition towards a positive portrayal of the West can be traced back to her prolonged exposure to British society and her immersion in its cultural, social, and political circumstances. Having spent a substantial period in Western settings, Chang Jung may have cultivated an affinity for Western values, ideologies, and ways of life. Consequently, this affinity

could possibly impact her writing style, leading to an inclination to view the Western world through a prism of idealism, stressing its positive aspects while downplaying or omitting potential criticisms.



3.4.2 The Influence of the Fields

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the influence of the field on habitus is a crucial aspect to consider. Habitus, a concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu, covers the internalized dispositions, behaviors, and attitudes that individuals acquire through their social environment. Conversely, the field pertains to the specific social realm or domain where individuals engage in and interact with each other. Within this context, the field establishes the regulations, norms, and power dynamics that govern social interactions. These regulations and norms subsequently shape the habitus of individuals who participate in the field, thereby influencing their embraced values, beliefs, practices, and the perspectives through which they perceive and assess their surroundings.

Moreover, the field plays a pivotal role in individuals' allocation of capital within a specific social context. The positions and power dynamics within the field offer individuals with distinct opportunities and resources, which further influence their dispositions. This distribution of capital not only impacts individuals' habitus but also shapes their strategic choices, aspirations, and behaviors within the field. As a result, the field assumes the role of a structuring force that shapes the habitus of individuals by shaping their thoughts, actions, and even ideologies. By outlining the specific regulations and power relations within a given field, it internalizes how individuals perceive, interpret, and engage with the social world. Ultimately, the field exerts significant influence in shaping the habitus of individuals within the particular field.

In order to find out the impact of habitus on Chang Jung's self-translation process, it is crucial to consider the interplay between habitus and fields. Within the literary and

translation fields, the involvement of various social actors such as editors, literary agents, and readers can be significant in shaping Chang Jung's translation practices. Through interactions with these individuals from diverse fields, the norms established in these fields are internalized as part of her translatorial habitus.

Firstly, it is notable that the editors in the West and the Chinese-speaking world have a very different approach to editing. In an interview with Taiwan Panorama, Chang Jung disclosed her experience with the editing process for her book *Wild Swans*. Before starting to write the book, she has entered into a contract with an American publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, which provided her with, in Chang Jung's words, an excellent editor. Throughout the writing process, the editor acted as a reader and offered her with valuable insights, including the suggestion to remove unnecessary sections. Chang Jung readily complied with the editor's recommendations.⁴

Moreover, when Chang Jung was writing *Wild Swans*, she worked with Toby Eady, a respected literary agent specializing in introducing the works of Chinese authors to the Western literary world. In an interview,⁵ Eady shared that the writing and editing process of *Wild Swans* took them seven years to finish. Throughout that period, he engaged in weekly meetings with Chang Jung to discuss the work's progress. Also, Eady dedicated six months to conducting interviews with Chang Jung's mother, aiming to get a more objective narrative for the book.

Following the publication of *Wild Swans*, Chang Jung gained widespread recognition. In 1993, she visited the country and actively participated in interviews and public speaking engagements. She successfully gained popularity in Taiwan through the visiting trip. In 1996, when she was working on her next publication, *Mao: The Unknown*

⁴ See <https://www.taiwanpanorama.com/Articles/Details?Guid=52d9cc77-4334-4eda-a77a-21ccd62301d1>.

⁵ See https://www.bbc.com/ukchina/trad/cool_britannia/people_in_uk/2015/10/151020_people_literary_agent_toby_eady.

Story, she connected with Chong Fanling, a former advisor from a Taiwan publishing company, and invited Chong to serve as her literary agent in Taiwan. Impressed by Chang Jung's previous memoir, Chong accepted the offer readily. In an article written by Chong, she mentions that she talked to Chang Jung once in a while during that period. Chang Jung mainly shared her new findings and provided updates on the book's publication schedule adjustments.⁶

However, the publication journey took a different turn when Chang Jung and her husband sought to publish *Mao: The Unknown Story* in the Chinese-speaking world. They entered in a contract with a Taiwan publisher, Yuan-Liou, in July 2005, with plans to release the Chinese translation in May 2006. Unfortunately, the publisher terminated the contract in April 2006. The main reason for this decision was the inclusion in the book of the allegations that Hu Zongnan (1896-1962), a former general in the National Revolutionary Army and Republic of China Army, acted as a spy for Mao Zedong. General Hu is commonly regarded as a loyal soldier under Chiang Kai-shek, and his son publicly refuted the claim, challenging Chang Jung to provide explicit evidence rather than relying on speculation. This incident compelled Chang Jung to seek publication with a Hong Kong publisher instead.⁷

The contrast between the editing approaches of the Western publishers and the publishers in the Chinese-speaking world become evident to Chang Jung. The editor from the American publisher displayed a better willingness to engage in detailed discussion with Chang Jung and provided thoughtful suggestions. By offering insights from an outside observer's perspective, his involvement in the writing process extended traditional editing tasks such as correcting the grammars and sentence structures. This

⁶ See <https://art.ltn.com.tw/article/paper/90337>.

⁷ See https://www.rfa.org/cantonese/news/taiwan_book-20060428.html and <https://art.ltn.com.tw/article/paper/121408>.

interacting approach is good at fostering a sense of respect for Chang Jung, who appreciated the collaborative nature of the editing process.

On the other hand, editors in the Chinese-speaking world may prioritize the reception of the target readership. In the case mentioned above, Chang Jung and Jon Halliday refused to remove the sensitive sections related to Hu Zongnan, which contradict the established value of the readers in Taiwan. These readers constituted the primary target reader for the book. For this reason, the publisher had no choice but to terminate the publication as it foresaw a potential conflict with the readers' expectation.

In addition, the literary agents in the Western and Chinese-speaking world fulfill distinct rules. Today Eady, for instance, actively engaged in the writing process, providing help with interview tasks and following the publication progress tightly. In contrast, Chong Fanling applied a different approach that she relied more on Chang Jung to provide updates on the progress of the book. These contrasting approaches by the literary agents potentially contributed to the formation of a dual writing habitus for Chang Jung, influenced by the varying expectations present in the two publishing environments.

3.4.3 The Accumulation of Chang Jung's Cultural Capital

Once individuals have developed their habitus in a certain field, they are able to gain an understanding of the specific types of capital they need to accumulate in order to attain recognition from other social agents in that field. By doing so, they can be benefited from and solidify their power within particular fields. The position an individual holds within a field is directly influenced by the quantity and composition of the various capitals they possess. For this reason, the relationship between habitus, field, and capital is closely intertwined.

Chapter 2.3 explains the concept of cultural capital, which exists in three distinct forms: embodies, objectified, and institutionalized. According to Bourdieu, the embodies

form corresponds to the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (17), and it actually echoes the definition of habitus. Hence, habitus can as well be seen as a particular form of cultural capital. While Bourdieu suggests that the forms of capital could be transformed, embodied cultural capital represents a unique case. Once an individual develops habitus, this kind of cultural capital becomes internalized and hard to be taken away. Nevertheless, through interacting with other social agents in the fields, it can carry out a complex interplay between these embodied cultural capitals. In this regard, all the personal life experience of Chang Jung can be a powerful foundation for her embodied cultural capital.

As an internationally renowned author, Chang Jung undeniably possesses a considerable amount of cultural capital in the literary field. The accumulation of her cultural capital can be divided into three primary stages: upbringing, education, and literary accomplishments.

Firstly, Chang Jung was born in China under the ruling of Mao Zedong, which as a disordered and unstable period of both political and social transformation. Growing up in a family that has experienced both privilege and hardship, she gained valuable insight into the complexities of the Chinese society. Her parents, who were both officials in the Chinese Communist Party, played a significant role in her upbringing experience. In Chang Jung’s memoir and various interviews, she mentioned how her father was passionate for books. He has introduced Chang Jung to the literary world and offered an opportunity for her early exposure to a wide range of sophisticated works.

Furthermore, Chang Jung’s firsthand experiences of the Cultural Revolution, which later became an important topic in her book, provide her with unique insights. Coming from a politically engaged household, she was inevitably exposed to ideological discussions and sociopolitical climate of that period. This is what other Western authors

can rarely achieve. Such experience also laid foundation for her later exploration of the history of modern China.

Secondly, Chang Jung's education background further contributed to her cultural capital. Through her mother's social connections, she was able to attend prestigious schools in China since a young age, which offered her valuable opportunity for intellectual growth. Later, she pursued English studies at Sichuan University, where she developed her language skills and gained exposure to Western literatures and ideas. By reading the classic Western publications, she started to rethink and challenge the established systems and perspectives.

The immersion in the academic world continued when she got the scholarship and moved to Britain to pursue further studies. Notably, this is an example of transforming cultural capital into economic capital. She obtained a Ph.D. in Linguistics in London, which not only enhanced her critical thinking ability but also provided her with the skills necessary to conduct a thorough and comprehensive research on a specific subject.

However, it was through her literary achievements that Chang Jung truly gained cultural capital on a broader scale. Her debut memoir, *Wild Swans*, achieved remarkable international success and became an objectified cultural capital for her. It was translated into thirty-seven languages and selling over thirteen million copies worldwide, despite being prohibited in China. Chang Jung then became a bestselling author, elevating her status within the literary field. In an interview with Story Studio, she expressed how the success of *Wild Swan* brought her the most important thing, which was freedom. It has relieved her financial burden and allowed her to dedicate a long period of time to focus on her research and writing. Also, she mentioned that the recognition and fame brought by the success of *Wild Swan* facilitated her access to individuals for interviews later.

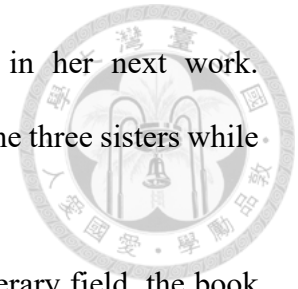
Evidently, the objectified cultural capital not only bring her economic capital, but also social capital and symbolic capital, further solidifying her position in the literary field.

Moreover, Chang Jung continued to build her cultural capital with the publication of the historical biography on Mao Zedong. This groundbreaking work challenged the established narratives and offered a fresh perspective on this famous Chinese ruler and was well-received by the readers worldwide. The book gained widespread attention, sparking intense debates and discussions on Mao Zedong's role in modern Chinese history.

As Chang Jung accumulated cultural capital and gained power within the literary field, there was likely a direct influence on her habitus as well. Her evolving habitus and the successes she achieved through the previous publications may shaped her inclination to challenge conventional perspectives and introduce new historical evidence regarding the controversial historical figures. During that time, she thought of Empress Dowager Cixi and decided to make Cixi the subject of her next publication.

Unsurprisingly, the book *Empress Dowager Cixi* was also a bestseller with translations available in seventeen different languages. The “challenging conventional perspective” pattern clearly proved to be a fruitful approach for Chang Jung, allowing her to acquire various forms of capital, including cultural capital, in the literary field. For this reason, it is natural for any author to pursue a similar path of overturning established narratives of specific historical figures. However, when searching for a suitable subject for her next book, Chang Jung initially thought of Sun Yat-sen, but turned out finding that his character was too monotonous. Therefore, she shifted her attention to the Soong sisters. In the preface of *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister*, Chang Jung emphasized that both the Western and the Chinese-speaking worlds seem to view Sun Yat-sen as a saint, “but he was no saint was a relief (to a biographer) (xviii),” indicating her desire to

challenge traditional opinions towards another historical figure in her next work. Nonetheless, lacking a suitable subject, she ended up writing about the three sisters while interweaving the characters of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek.



As Chang Jung has already built up her popularity in the literary field, the book *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister* naturally gained attentions as soon as it was published. However, unlike her previous works, the book was only translated into Chinese by the author herself, suggesting it may not have achieved the same level of success, possibly due to the choice of subject matter.

Chang Jung's life experience indicate a privileged family background, providing her with better educational opportunities compared to most children in China during that time. From a young age, she had the advantage of receiving a proper education. Furthermore, despite challenging circumstances, she managed to complete her university studies and even obtained a Ph.D. degree in London. These educational achievements can be seen as institutional cultural capital. Additionally, the enduring dispositions that she has developed throughout her life has shaped her habitus and become her embodied cultural capital. By making use of these cultural capitals, she made her entry into the literary field and began accumulating objectified capital through producing cultural goods, which were her publications.

As for the translation field, Chang Jung's accumulation of cultural capital may not be as much as in the literary field. Still, she has gained objectified cultural capital by publishing three Chinese translation books. There are two primary reasons for this. Firstly, she has focused on translating only her own works into Chinese and has not done the translation of other authors' works. In an interview with the New York Times Chinese, she explained that her decision to personally translate her own books motivated by her

exclusive knowledge of the sources of the historical evidences used in her books.⁸ Clearly, her intention was not to make translation a central aspect of her work, but rather to ensure the quality of the Chinese translations of her own works. In other words, she did not actively pursue a prominent position within the translation field.

Secondly, the limited target readership also hindered her development in the translation field. As previously mentioned, all of Chang Jung's books are banned in Mainland China. Considering the huge population within the country, the fact that her works could not enter such a large market has definitely impacted her accumulation of cultural capital in the translation field.

⁸ See <https://cn.nytimes.com/culture/20131104/t04chang/zh-hant/>.

Chapter 4 Translation Strategies



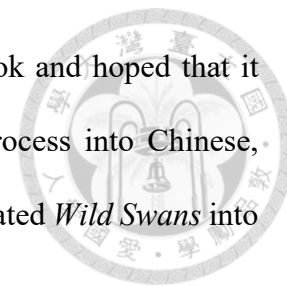
4.1 *Mao: The Unknown Story*

The perception of Mao Zedong among Westerners is multifaceted and can encompass both favorable and unfavorable opinions. Some Westerners, especially those of socialist persuasion, view Mao as a revolutionary leader who resisted imperialism and established a socialist government in China. They commend his efforts to re-distribute land, promote gender equality, and eradicate illiteracy, and they regard Maoism as a viable alternative to capitalism. Conversely, many Westerners consider Mao to be a totalitarian dictator who engaged in various human rights violations, including the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the persecution of political dissidents. They denounce Mao's policies for triggering widespread famine, social disruption, and political repression, and they contend that Mao's legacy has been predominantly negative for China and the world.

Chang Jung's book challenges the Western perception of Mao Zedong, which draws heavily on sources such as Edgar Snow's *Red Star over China*, a book based mostly on interviews with Mao and other Communists. Chang's writing was unavoidably influenced by her firsthand experience of her family's sufferings during the Cultural Revolution, which was initiated by Mao. Her objective was to dispute the prevailing Western outlook on China under Mao's governance.

The inclusion of a preface in both the first and second editions of Chang Jung's book, unlike the English edition, is noteworthy. In the preface to the Chinese edition, Chang Jung asserts that her writing is an objective and truthful portrayal of Mao, based solely on historical evidence. She and Jon Halliday conducted extensive research, utilizing documents from China, Russia, and the West, as well as conducting interviews with individuals who had worked with or encountered Mao, including some who had

never been interviewed. The authors spent twelve years on the book and hoped that it would offer a new perspective on Mao. During the translation process into Chinese, Chang Jung's younger brother, Chang Pu, who had previously translated *Wild Swans* into Chinese, provided valuable comments and insights.



4.1.1 Attitudes Towards Foreign Countries

Upon comparing the source text and target text, it becomes apparent that Chang Jung exhibits varying attitudes towards different topics in the two languages. One instance of this is evident in the description of the people of Japan, which is rendered as “Japanese” in the English version but is replaced with the more emotionally charged term “鬼子,” a derogatory term used by the Chinese to refer to Japanese invaders, in the Chinese translation.

Some of us were so desperate we adopted the method the **Japanese** used with their labourers-collected the men's trousers and stowed them in the company HQ at night. (288, emphasis added)

逼急眼了，有的甚至用鬼子對付勞工的辦法，晚上睡覺把褲子都收到連部去。(288, emphasis added)

The use of the word “鬼子” in the Chinese language can easily evoke strong emotions, including anger, as it is a pejorative term used to refer to the Japanese. However, Chang Jung did not choose to convey such emotions in the English version. This reflects her shared emotional response as a Chinese individual. Nevertheless, when writing in English for English-speaking audience, such an evocation of emotions is considered unnecessary.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the Chinese translation includes the addition of terms such as “westerners” and “foreigners”:

The Communist propaganda machine was effective . . . This accomplice of Mao's was extremely successful in spreading the lie, thanks to his charm. (232)

共產黨宣傳機器的效率是國民黨難以望其項背的……毛的這位配合者迷惑了無數西方人。(236, emphasis added)

Yet Snow's account was based entirely on a CCP intelligence man in Hong Kong. (233)

中共在香港對付外國人的情報人員給斯諾提供了大量中共方面的說法 (237, emphasis added)

The two examples illustrate Chang Jung's attempt to exclude certain information, such as Chou Enlai's charm towards many westerners and the intelligence officer in Hong Kong who targeted solely foreigners, from the English version. This could be attributed to the fact that most English readers are from western countries and Chang Jung may have wished to avoid conveying sensitive content that could potentially offend or alienate her intended audience. In contrast, during that period, many Chinese people harbored hostility towards foreigners, whom they regarded as invaders who had caused harm to China.

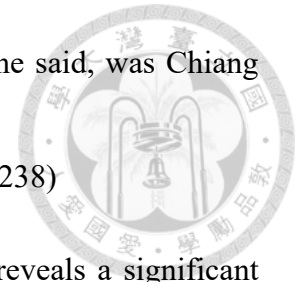
In the first example, Chang Jung's anti-Communist stance becomes evident as she highlights the proficiency of the CCP in propaganda. However, in the Chinese translation, she goes further by emphasizing that the CCP was even more adept at propaganda than the Kuomintang. For Chinese readers, particularly those in Taiwan, the intensity of Kuomintang is well-known for its intensity, making it difficult to conceive of a party surpassing their level of aggressiveness in propaganda efforts.

In the chapter "Death Trap for His Own Men," Chang Jung depicts Mao Zedong's animosity towards the British and American governments, and quotes Mao's words to Chou Enlai:

On 25 October 1940, he had told his top brass **how he hoped Britain could be occupied by the Nazis, and the Japanese would continue to occupy China:**

“the most difficult, most dangerous and darkest scenario,” he said, was Chiang “joining the Anglo-U.S. bloc”: . . . (234, emphasis added)

一九四〇年十月二十五日，他給周恩來的電報說：…… (238)



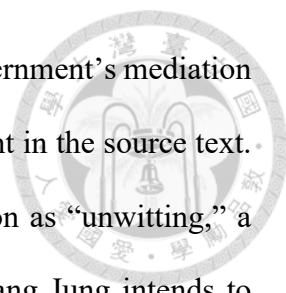
A comparison of the word count between two paragraphs reveals a significant reduction in the content of the Chinese translation. In the English version, Chang Jung highlights Mao Zedong’s desire for the occupation of Britain by the Nazis and the continued Japanese occupation of China. This sensitive information has the potential to trigger English readers. Considering Chang Jung’s extreme hostility towards Mao, it is possible that she intends to strengthen his negative image. However, Chinese readers do not share the same emotional response as Westerners. Thus, she omits this portion in the Chinese translation, as it cannot reach the same purpose.

The Chinese translation of the chapter “Saved by Washington” is 「美國人救了中共」 (The Americans Saved the Chinese Communist Party), which is more specific than the English title as it includes the object “Chinese Communist Party.” In contrast, the English title is vaguer. Additionally, the concluding section of this chapter outlines the role played by the US government in the triumph of the Chinese Communist Party.

By spring 1947 . . . Marshall had left China in January; **marking the end of U.S. mediation efforts** . . . The goal the Communists had been secretly seeking for more than two decades, “linking up with the Soviet Union,” had been accomplished-with help from Washington, **however unwitting**. (300, emphasis added)

一九四七年一月，馬歇爾離華，美國調停宣告失敗……中共二十多年來孜孜以求的「打通蘇聯」，已經大功告成，而且是在美國人的幫助下實現的。(300)

Upon comparing the source text and the target text, it is apparent that Chang Jung downplays the role of the US government in the success of the Chinese Communist Party



in the English version. Specifically, Chang Jung portrays the US government's mediation as a failure in the Chinese translation, but such wording is not present in the source text. Additionally, the English version describes the aid from Washington as “unwitting,” a term not translated into Chinese. This comparison reveals that Chang Jung intends to avoid emphasizing the US government's responsibility for the Communist Party's triumph in order to prevent any negative reactions from English readers. Conversely, she explicitly concludes in the Chinese translation that the US government's actions in China were a failure and that the Communist Party achieved its goals with the assistance of the US.

4.1.2 Tone

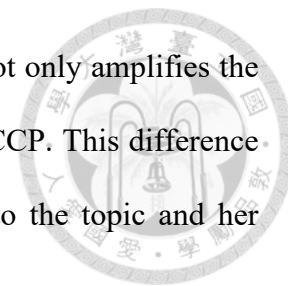
In her English writing, Chang Jung's style leans towards neutrality and composure. However, the tone of her Chinese translation sometimes deviates from the English version. This can be attributed to the different habitus she developed while living in China and Britain. When writing in Chinese, her past experiences have a significant impact on the translation process, resulting in a more hostile tone towards Mao Zedong.

In late September that year, when Edgar Snow asked Mao how he felt about a Soviet-Japanese pact, Mao's reply was enthusiastic. He said that Russia might sign such a pact “as long as this does not hinder its support for . . . **the interest of the world liberation movement [i.e., Mao himself and the CCP].**” (219-220, emphasis added)

這年九月底，斯諾問毛對蘇日條約可能簽訂的反應，毛答道：「可以簽訂」，如果不妨礙「世界解放運動的利益」，「半殖民地，殖民地的民族革命的利益」。這些利益在中國除了指中共的利益，還有什麼呢？(222, emphasis added)

Chang Jung's original text makes a direct statement that the “interest of the world liberation movement” is solely the interest of Mao and the CCP. However, in the Chinese

translation, Chang Jung opted to use a rhetorical question, which not only amplifies the tone but also conveys a sense of resentment towards Mao and the CCP. This difference in tone can be attributed to Chang Jung's emotional attachment to the topic and her Chinese habitus, which can influence her translation choices.



Mao claimed he received no communication. During those days, Xiang's radio operators were sending out repeated, desperate SOS messages, and Liu Shao-ch'i had no problem receiving them. It is hard to believe that Mao's communications had conveniently "broken down" just for the four days when the N4A HQ was being massacred. And even if there was some glitch, this cannot explain how Mao did nothing-for days-to resume contact. (228)

毛沒有接到過項英的電報？在這些日子裡，項英的電臺不斷發出求救的電訊，劉少奇都收到了，唯獨毛沒收到？真是沒收到，為什麼不設法恢復聯繫，在這樣重要的時刻？(232, emphasis added)

The English and Chinese versions of Chang Jung's work exhibit differences in tone and rhetorical strategies. While the English version employs declarative sentences to express Chang Jung's concerns and doubts, the Chinese translation uses three rhetorical questions to convey a more furious and confrontational tone, as if addressing Mao Zedong directly. This contrast can be attributed to the different rhetorical traditions and cultural habits in English and Chinese writing, as well as Chang Jung's personal emotional responses to the events described in the book.

Mao lived behind an impenetrable wall of secrecy, so that very few knew anything about his life and his world, including where he lived, or where he was (he made few public appearances). Even up close, he did not give an obvious impression of high living. (329)

毛的生活是什麼樣的呢？是不是像他和他的後繼者宣傳的那樣「艱苦樸素」呢？出現在人前時，不管是公開還是私下，毛都不給人一種驕奢淫逸的印象。(330, emphasis added)

Likewise, the example cited above illustrates the disparity in tone between the source text and the target text. In the chapter “Totalitarian State, Extravagant Lifestyle,” Chang Jung judges Mao Zedong’s lavish lifestyle after the Chinese Communist Party’s victory in the civil war. The tone of this paragraph is ambiguous in the English version, making it difficult to ascertain whether it is critical. However, in the Chinese translation, Chang Jung, once again, employs rhetorical questions to convey the message that Mao, in reality, does not lead a simple or austere life.

In general, the Chinese translation of Chang Jung’s works exhibits a more emotional tone compared to the source text, particularly when it comes to the portrayal of Mao Zedong’s misdeeds. This emotional tone may stem from Chang Jung’s personal experience of suffering under Mao’s regime in China. When writing for readers in the Chinese-speaking world, Chang Jung appears to employ a more evocative tone, reflecting her deep-seated resentment towards Mao and the CCP. This contrasts with her English writing, which tends to be more neutral and restrained, perhaps influenced by her exposure to Western literary and cultural norms during her studies and professional career in the UK. It is worth noting that Chang Jung’s differing writing styles in English and Chinese may also reflect the distinct habitus or cultural backgrounds that shape her language use and communication strategies in these two linguistic contexts.

4.1.3 Large Amount of Addition and Reduction

Chang Jung’s book largely relies on direct quotations from various documents. Nonetheless, the length of nearly every quote differs between the English and Chinese versions, with longer quotes occasionally appearing in the English version, and vice versa.

The young volunteers, who numbered many tens of thousands in Yen-an alone, had been through a hell of mental confusion and anguish. There had been many breakdowns—some lifelong. People who lived through Yen-an remembered seeing

caves in valleys crammed with people “many of whom had gone mad. Some were laughing wildly, some crying,” producing “screams and howls like wolves every night.” (247)

這些人中，不少已精神失常。中共元老薄一波回憶道：「那時我母親也同我一起到了延安，我把她安置在深溝的一個窯洞居住。有一天我去看她時，她說：『這裡不好住，每天晚上鬼哭狼嚎，不知道怎麼回事。』我於是向深溝裡走去，一查看，至少有六七個窯洞，關著約上百人，有許多人神經失常。問他們為什麼？有的大笑，有的哭泣……最後，看管人才無可奈何地告我：『他們都是「搶救」的知識分子，是來延安學習而遭到「搶救」的！』」（當時把逼人承認是特務叫作「搶救」他們。）(253)

It is challenging to identify quotes in *Mao* that are consistent between the source and target texts. Chang Jung frequently transforms an indirect quote into a direct quote or vice versa. In the example cited, only a handful of phrases are directly quoted in the English version, whereas the Chinese translation contains much more comprehensive information, including the name and position of the character. Such a phenomenon is uncommon in translation. As the author of the source text, Chang Jung is aware of the quote's origin and can use it directly in the Chinese translation, which is difficult for other translators to achieve. Moreover, this difference in quoting practices leads to distinct evocative effects in the two versions. In the English text, Chang Jung tends to portray the scenario in a more objective and descriptive manner. In contrast, by choosing to quote the entire statement made by the Chinese Communist Bo Yibo, she enables Chinese-speaking readers to gain a deeper understanding and become more emotionally involved in the topic.

Aside from the quotes, Chang Jung also tends to make significant modifications to the text in the Chinese translation. This can be seen in various examples throughout the book.

YENAN, MAO's HQ during the Sino-Japanese War, was run somewhat differently from former Red bases like Ruijin. With the policy changes the CCP introduced for the "United Front," the practice of designating "class enemies" for slave labour and dispossession was drastically scaled down. But the maximum extraction went on, through taxation. (273)

延安被叫做中國革命的「聖地」，以共產黨人「自己動手，豐衣足食」著稱。真正使延安能夠生存發展，靠的是什麼呢？(274)

The opening paragraphs of the chapter *Revolutionary Opium War* in English and Chinese versions present significant differences in their contents. Although both paragraphs aim to highlight the vital importance of Yen-an in Chinese history, it is challenging to discern if the Chinese version is a translation of the English version or not. The English version primarily emphasizes Mao Zedong's brutal governance of the region, whereas the Chinese version portrays Yen-an as the holy land of the Chinese revolution and emphasizes the Chinese Communist Party's self-sufficient lifestyle there. The two versions diverge in their focus, tone, and level of detail, revealing significant differences in Chang Jung's treatment of the same topic in different languages.

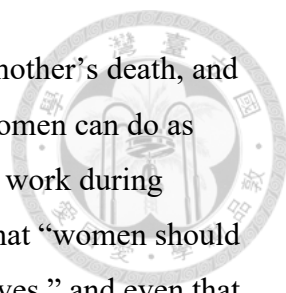
The above examples illustrate Chang Jung's approach in handling English and Chinese texts with distinct styles and perspectives. Additionally, she also tends to abridge certain paragraphs in the Chinese translation. While some of these modifications can be attributed to the assumption that Chinese readers possess the required background knowledge, there are instances where certain paragraphs are inexplicably omitted. One such example can be observed on pages 14-15 of the source text, where Chang Jung cites several statements made by Mao Zedong and those who had interacted with him to illustrate his repugnant personality. Notably, a total of eight paragraphs comprising 473 words are not translated in the Chinese version.

4.1.4 Gender Issues

The handling of gender issues by Chang Jung is another noteworthy translation strategy, particularly within the context of the growing discussion on feminism in translation studies. Sherry Simon, one of the prominent scholars in this field, explores the role of gender in translation in her influential work titled *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. Simon explained that translators consciously draw upon feminist principles in their choice of texts and the way in which they are translated. Such connections show how translation shapes and guides the ongoing process of intellectual transmission. It is also important to recognize that the mediation links established through translation are not automatic, nor are they dictated by some impartial cultural authorities. Instead, translators actively engage with the materials they work with, fully investing themselves in the process of transferring meaning (Simon 5).

According to Simon, translators inevitably bring their own ideological perspectives on gender issues into the translation process. Another scholar Luise von Flotow identifies three strategies commonly employed by translators when addressing gender issues: supplementing, prefacing and footnoting, and hijacking (Flotow 13). The first and second methods involve additional information or context, which is commonly applied by various translators. However, the third strategy, hijacking, is a more controversial one. It refers to the appropriation of a text by a feminist translator, even if the original text may not carry explicit feminist intentions (14).

However, the case of Chang Jung is somewhat unique as she serves as both the author and translator of the texts. This situation may result in a shift in her ideological perspectives on gender issues when writing in different languages, influenced by her dual habitus. Consequently, unlike the conventional cases that are discussed by Simon and Flotow, Chang Jung occasionally reduces the presence of feminism in her target text.



In an article written on 21 November 1919, shortly after his mother's death, and entitled "On Women's Independence," Mao claimed that "Women can do as much physical labour as men. It's just that they can't do such work during childbirth." So his answer to "women's independence" was that "women should prepare enough ... before they marry so as to support themselves," and even that "women should stockpile necessities for the period of childbirth themselves"

Evidently; as a man, Mao did not want to have to look after women. He wanted no responsibility towards them. Moreover, his insistence that women could manage the same kind of manual labour as men, which went against obvious reality; showed he felt little tenderness towards them. When he came to power, the core of his approach to women was to put them to heavy manual labour. In 1951, he penned his first inscription for Women's Day; which went: "Unite to take part in production ... (18, emphasis added)

毛的硬心腸也反映在他關於女人的文章裡。一九一九年十一月二十一日的〈女子自立問題〉說女子可以跟男子做一樣重的體力勞動：「女子用其體力工作，本不下於男子」，只是「不能在生育期內工作」。對此毛說：「女子需自己預備產後的生活費。」(30)

In the source text, Chang Jung includes her own interpretation of an article written by Mao Zedong, suggesting that his intentions towards women's right were not wholehearted but rather aimed at using them as an additional labor force. However, this discussion was not translated into Chinese in the target text.

Being merely a girl, Mao's mother did not receive a name; as the seventh girl born in the Wen clan, she was just Seventh Sister Wen. **In accordance with centuries of custom, her feet had been crushed and bound to produce the so-called three-inch golden lilies that epitomised beauty at the time.** (3, emphasis added)

毛的母親由於是女人，沒有自己的名，文氏家族姊妹中排行第七，就叫作「七妹」。(19)

Women became the main labour force. Traditionally, women had done only fairly light work in the fields, **as their bound and crippled feet meant that heavy manual labour caused great pain.** (105, emphasis added)

婦女成了主要勞動力。依傳統她們只幹輕活 (113)



The two examples above show that the concept of foot-binding is included in the source text. Chang Jung emphasizes the mistreatment of women in China by introducing the practice of foot-binding custom, even referencing the specific term “three-inch golden lilies”, which means “三寸金蓮” in Chinese, in the first example. Both examples depict the cruelty of such practice. It is worth noting that these concepts are in fact rooted in Chinese culture, and therefore would be straightforward to translate into Chinese. However, Chang Jung chooses not to include such information in the Chinese version. Also, the terms “纏足”, which is the Chinese translation of foot-binding, is never mentioned in the target text.

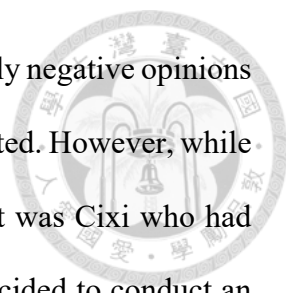
In order to understand the rationale behind Chang Jung’s translation strategy, it is important to look at the difference between the literary fields of the Western world and the Chinese-speaking world. Marlene LeGates, the scholar who focuses on women’s history and feminism, points out in her work *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society* that the first wave of feminism in the West began to take shape by the 1950s and 1960s. During that period, women started forming more sophisticated organizations and eventually achieved the right to vote shortly after World War I (197). Over a hundred year later in 1968, women in Europe and North America initiated the second wave of feminist movement, advocating for “Women’s Liberation” (327). On the other hand, Yen-lin Ku, a prominent feminist in Taiwan, discusses the emergence of the first feminist movement in Taiwan during the early 1970s in her essay titled “Selling a Feminist Agenda on a Conservative Market: The Awakening Experience in Taiwan.” (Ku 1) This indicates a slower development of women’s right in the Chinese-speaking world compared to the West.

However, the English version of *Mao: The Unknown Story* was published in 2005, followed by the Chinese translation in 2006. By the time, the feminist movements had already flourished in both the Western world and the Chinese-speaking world. Therefore, Chang Jung's translation decisions may instead be influenced by the varying literary fields. Chang Jung's English work was published in both Britain and America, targeting readers who had long been engaged with feminism as a significant and sensitive issue. Additionally, having lived in the West for over two decades at the time of writing, Chang Jung was influenced by the Western cultures to a certain level and naturally focused more on gender issues when writing in English.

On the other hand, the Chinese translation targeted readers in Hong Kong and Taiwan, regions that were grappling with serious political challenges related to China. Consequently, factors such as nationality and ethnicity likely held more prominence in the mind of these target readers. The specific socio-political contexts in Hong Kong and Taiwan may have shaped the priorities and concerns of both the translator and the readers, potentially affecting Chang Jung's translation decisions regarding the presence of gender issues.

4.2 Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China

The book *Empress Dowager Cixi* by Chang Jung aims to challenge prevailing perceptions of Cixi, a historical figure who is generally viewed unfavorably by both Westerners and Chinese individuals. Just like the subheading of the book: *The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, Chang Jung underscores her intention to overturn conventional portrayals of Cixi as an entrenched conservative leader. In the Chinese translation of the book, Chang Jung includes a preface, not present in the English version, where she cites the accounts of individuals including Nicholas Romanov and James Reeve, who had direct encounters with Cixi, as an inspiration for her exploration of Cixi's



life. Before undertaking the research, Chang Jung herself held a slightly negative opinions about Cixi, although her understanding of the historical facts was limited. However, while writing her earlier work, *Wild Swans*, Chang Jung discovered that it was Cixi who had banned foot-binding in China. Intrigued by this fact, Chang Jung decided to conduct an extensive research endeavor to gain understanding of Cixi's story, ultimately choosing Cixi as the subject of her next book.

Chang Jung asserts that the negative portrayal of Empress Dowager Cixi was perpetuated by Mao Zedong and the Communist Party. She mentioned that, following Cixi's death, the republicans initiated a campaign to vilify her character. Furthermore, Chang Jung argues that the Communist Party sought to establish Mao as the founding father of modern China, thereby diminishing Cixi's contributions and distorting historical narratives. This manipulation of political propaganda led to widespread dissemination of negative perceptions of Empress Dowager Cixi among the Chinese populace. Similar to Chang Jung's earlier work on Mao, political considerations are presented in her book on Cixi. By advocating for a fairer representation of Empress Dowager Cixi, Chang Jung aims to highlight Cixi's vital role in the modernization of China, challenging the dominant attribution of this achievement to Mao Zedong.

4.2.1 Attitudes Towards Foreign Countries

Similar to her previous publication, *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Chang Jung demonstrates a tendency to romanticize the West in the English version of *Empress Dowager Cixi*. However, in the Chinese translation, Chang Jung occasionally adopts a more direct and forthright approach to write about the negative aspects of the West.

JUST BEFORE HE fled to the Hunting Lodge, Emperor Xianfeng ordered his younger half-brother, Prince Gong, to remain in the capital and deal with the **invaders**. (43, emphasis added)

出走避暑山莊之前，咸豐把他二十七歲的弟弟恭親王奕訢留在北京與英、法談判。(46, emphasis added)

Now, thanks to these qualities, he quickly settled with the **allies** – by accepting all their demands, including paying indemnities of eight million taels of silver to **each European country**. (43, emphasis added)

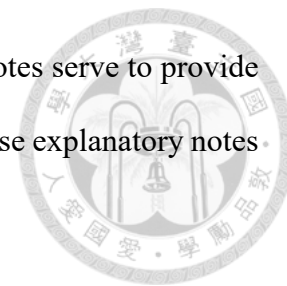
這些特點如今使他的談判一帆風順：他接受了英法的要求，答應兩國各八百萬兩銀子的賠款。(46, emphasis added)

The examples above are quoted from the first paragraph of chapter 3: “Emperor Xianfeng Dies (1860-61)”. Chang Jung discusses the conclusion of the first and second Opium Wars, during which the Chinese government engaged in negotiations with the French and British governments to establish a ceasefire agreement. In the English version, Chang Jung avoids explicitly mentioning the names of Britain and France. Instead, she refers them with terms such as “the invaders,” “allies,” and “each European country.” It is common for the opening paragraph of a chapter to provide sufficient background information for the readers. Even though the names of France and Britain were mentioned in the previous chapter, *From the Opium War to the Burning of the Old Summer Palace*, it is important for the author to reiterate and clarify this information in the new chapter. The possible reason for this approach could be Chang Jung’s consideration of her target readership in the West, which includes the French and British people. By downplaying their responsibility in the Opium War, she may try to avoid offending these readers.

On the other hand, when translating the text into Chinese, Chang Jung adopts another strategy to resonate with the Chinese readers. She directly refers the invaders as France and Britain. This approach meets the expectations and perspectives of the Chinese-speaking world, allowing for a more direct and explicit discussion of the historical events.

In addition to the translation of the content, another noteworthy aspect is the explanatory notes. In the English version of the book, Chang Jung often includes notes

when writing sensitive topics related to the foreign countries. The notes serve to provide further context and clarification to the English readers. However, these explanatory notes are sometimes omitted in the Chinese translation of the book.

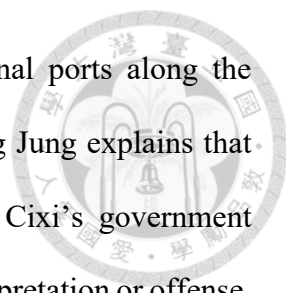


This is according to Chinese records. Some suggest that Lord Macartney did not perform this ritual. But Emperor Qianlong specifically told his court he would see Lord Macartney ‘now that he has agreed to follow the rules of this Celestial Dynasty’ on this matter. For other arguments suggesting that Lord Macartney did perform the detested ‘three kneelings and nine head knockings’, see Rockhill, p. 31. (24)

The first example is related to the practice of *sangui jiukou*, which means people should kneel three times and touch the ground with their forehead nine times as a form of etiquette when they have an audience with the Chinese emperor. According to the book, Lord Macartney, a British ambassador, visited Beijing in 1793 and performed the *sangui jiukou* practice during an audience with Emperor Qianlong. Such practice had been strong objected by the West in the past and present. For this reason, Chang Jung includes a note to explain that the evident was from a Chinese source and provide additional references. This inclusion of a note indicates her intention to safeguard the dignity of the foreigner readers, who may view such a requirement by the Chinese government as unfair and unreasonable. However, this particular piece of information is not included in the Chinese translation of the book, as it may not resonate with Chinese readers in the same way.

Cixi’s government opened them willingly, in response to a request from Thomas Wade.*

*The opening up of these new ports was written into the same convention (the Chefoo Convention) as the settlement for the murder in Yunnan of Mr. Margary, a member of the British Legation. But the British did not demand it with any threat of force. (148)



Another example is about Cixi's decision to open additional ports along the Yangtze River for international trade. In the English version, Chang Jung explains that although Thomas Wade had previously suggested this to China, Cixi's government opened these ports by their own wills. In order to prevent any misinterpretation or offense, even though Chang Jung has already mentioned in the text that Cixi's government acted willingly, she still includes an explanatory note emphasizing that the British did not demand the opening of these ports with any threat of using force. Again, this note is not translated in the Chinese version, as Chinese readers may find greater resonance with contents that highlights Western oppression in China.

In the Chinese translation, Chang Jung occasionally includes additional words or sentences when discussing events involving the West. Evidently, she is less cautious in her writing compared to the English version.

In fact it was facing another gigantic problem: foreign powers had invaded. (23)
就在載淳出生那一年，外國人又打來了。(29, emphasis added)

In the example above, Chang Jung adds the word “又” in the Chinese translation. This addition emphasizes that it was not the first time for the West to invade China. However, in the source text, it was simply described as “foreign powers had invaded.” The meaning of “again” is not there.

Emperors and princes set up shrines in their homes to honour their deceased tutors.
(88)
天子王公都在家裡擺設已故老師的龕位，不時祭奠他們。這樣的待遇如何能給外國人？(82-83, emphasis added)

In the chapter “Virgin Journey to the West (1861-71)”, Chang Jung discusses Cixi's decision to employ Western teachers at Tongwen College, the first modernized educational institution in China. However, the decision faced strong opposition from

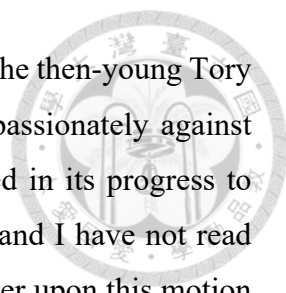
Chinese scholars, who believed that Westerners did not deserve the same level of respect as traditional Chinese teachers. In the Chinese translation, Chang Jung adds the sentence “How can westerners be treated in such an honored way?” This additional statement is not included in the English version, as it may be perceived as disrespectful to English readers. On the hand other, Chinese readers, who are relatively familiar with the historical context, may understand this statement.

One day he burst into sobs while giving a lesson to the nine-year-old child emperor, who, having never seen the elderly teacher cry, was frightened and disconcerted. (88)

倭仁仇恨西洋人，壓根兒就不同意引進西學，面對現實又無可奈何。一天，給九歲的小皇帝上課時，他哭了起來。小皇帝沒見過老先生哭泣，嚇得許久不安。(83, emphasis added)

Similar to the previous example, when describing the emotional reaction of Woren, a highly respected Mongol scholar at the time, to the introduction of Western teachers, Chang Jung includes the statement “Woren hates Westerners and there never agrees to introduce Western Learning to Chines.” This additional information is not presented in the source text. In order to avoid offending English readers, Chang Jung is more cautious when discussing topics related to the West. However, in the Chinese translation, she appears to be more inclined to adopt a direct and assertive tone, potentially expressing stronger judgments.

In fact, apart from translation decisions, Chang Jung’s inclination to emphasize the positive aspects of the West can also be observed in the overall context of the book. One of the most obvious examples is that, when discussing the Opium War, many scholars attribute significant responsibility to Britain. However, Chang Jung appears to present a more defensive stance for Britain and France in her book.



When the matter was debated in Parliament on 8 April 1840, the then-young Tory MP and future Prime Minister, William Gladstone, spoke passionately against it: . . . a war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of . . . No, I am sure that Her Majesty's Government will never upon this motion persuade the House to abet this unjust and iniquitous war. (29)

When Lord Elgin decided to burn the Old Summer Palace, the French refused to take part, calling it an act of vandalism against a '*site de campagne sans défense*'. Nonetheless, the burning was carried out, methodically. General Grant described the scene in his letter to the Secretary of State for War in London: . . . "was a magnificent sight. I could not but grieve at the destruction of so much ancient grandeur, and felt that it was an uncivilised proceeding; but I believed it to be necessary as a future warning to the Chinese against the murder of European envoys, and the violation of the laws of nations. (39)

The examples show Chang Jung's tendency to selectively quote specific individuals, such as Lord Elgin and William Gladstone, to challenge the prevailing narrative that portrays Westerner as hostile in other historical accounts. By including these quotes, she aims to explain that not all British people wanted to declare war on China and that some expressed hesitation and remorse when it came to actions such as setting fire on the Old Summer Palace. However, evidence that may portray Westerner unfavorably is hardly found in her narrative.

4.2.2 Gender Issues

The topic of translation strategy concerning gender issues is discussed in chapter 4.1.4. It is observed that in the previous publication *Mao*, Chang Jung occasionally omits the concept of foot-binding in the Chinese translation. However, in her work *Cixi*, she decides to include the relevant discussion in the target text.

As a Manchu, she was spared foot-binding, a Han practice that tortured their women for a millennium by crushing a baby girl's feet and wrapping them tightly to restrict their growth. (6, emphasis added)

慈禧是滿族女孩，不必纏足，逃過了漢族女人終身得忍受的痛苦。(16)

As the example above shows, the difference between the English and Chinese version is that Chang Jung adds an explanation of foot-binding in the source text. This strategy is applied due to the unfamiliarity of English readers with Chinese cultural practices. Additionally, the portrayal of Empress Dowager Cixi may also contribute to this translation decision. As previously mentioned, Chang Jung was attracted by this historical figure in the first place as Cixi banned foot-binding. Consequently, Chang Jung would inevitably highlight the historical fact that Cixi actively encourage the feminist movement in China.

Cixi detested age-old prejudices against women . . . But clearly she admired the female emperor, and would have liked to stake a similar claim – if the cost were not so high . . . (216)

The same decree required the Han Chinese to abandon their tradition of foot-binding . . . (390)

. . . Cixi began to release women from their homes and from male–female segregation, breaking a fundamental Confucian tradition. Women started to appear in public, and to go to theatres and cinemas, enjoying undreamed-of pleasures. She particularly espoused modern education for women, repeatedly urging Viceroy, high officials and aristocrats to lead the way and set up and fund girls' schools . . . (390)

In the first decade of the twentieth century the expression 'women's rights' – *nü-quan* – was in vogue in China. An influential booklet proclaimed as early as 1903: 'The 20th century will be the era of revolution for women's rights.' In a civilisation that had treated women with unparalleled cruelty, their emancipation had begun. (391-392)

The above examples demonstrate Chang Jung's inclusion of a significant amount of gender-related discourse in the book *Empress Dowager Cixi*. Such discussions effectively resonate with the book's subheading, *The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, as Cixi defied conventional norms and policies concerning women in China. As a result, unlike the book *Mao*, there is no obvious disparity between the English and Chinese versions regarding this subject. However, subtle differences can still be observed.

Treated like a son, Cixi was able to talk to her father about things **that were normally closed areas for women**. (8, emphasis added)

父親跟慈禧談論一般不和女人談的話題。(18, emphasis added)

In the first example above, Chang Jung discussed the upbringing of Cixi, describing that she engaged in conversations with her father on topics typically considered off-limits for women, including official matters and state affairs. However, in the Chinese translation, the phrase “normally closed areas for women” is rendered as “一般不和女人談的話題,” which means that the topics were not commonly discussed with women (by Cixi's father). When reading the Chinese translation without considering the source text, the emphasis on these subjects being forbidden for women may not be apparent.

This was the back entrance to the Forbidden City. The front, south gate, was prohibited to women. In fact, the entire front - and main - **section was for men only**. (11, emphasis added)

神武門是紫禁城的後門，女人只能從後門出入。前門為「午門」。(20, emphasis added)

In the second example, Chang Jung describes the construction of the forbidden city. She specifically highlights the restricted access for women at the front and main gate, emphasizing it was exclusively designed for the use of man. In the English version, the

idea that women were not allowed to enter the front gate is clear. However, in the Chinese translation, it is rendered as “女人只能從後門出入,” where conveys the meaning that women could only enter through the back entrance. The difference in emphasis is obvious, with the English version focusing on the limitations imposed on women, while the Chinese version focuses on the alternative entrance available to them.

The harem she entered on that summer day was a world of walled-in courtyards and long, narrow alleyways. **Unlike the all-male front section**, this quarter had little sense of grandeur, but quite a lot of trees, flowers and rockeries. (13, emphasis added)

慈禧入住的後宮，是一個高牆深巷的世界。與外朝相比，這裡沒有宏偉建築。外朝為了烘托威嚴肅穆，盡除樹木花草，在環繞大殿的廣闊地面上遍鋪石板；這裡卻是假山小院、四季留香。(22, emphasis)

In the last example, Chung Jung depicts the living area of Cixi right after she entered the forbidden city. In the English version, when contrasting the harem with the front section, she deliberately emphasizes the front section as an “all-male” space. However, when it comes to the Chinese translation, she chooses to omit the phrase “all-male” and instead includes descriptions related to the construction of the harem.

4.2.3 Cultural Issues

In the English version of the book, Chang Jung offers some explanations regarding certain cultural aspects of Chines. One of the examples discussed in the previous chapter is the practice of foot-binding. This chapter is going to discuss several additional examples, exploring how Chang Jung provides further explanations and context in different languages to help readers better understand the cultural backgrounds.

In Spring 1852, in one of the periodic nationwide selections for imperial consorts, a sixteen-year-old girl caught the eye of the emperor and was chosen as a

concubine. **A Chinese emperor was entitled to one empress and as many concubines as he pleased.** (3, emphasis added)

一八五二年春天，在全國上下數年一度為皇上挑選后妃的「選秀」中，一個十六歲的女孩被看中。(14)



In the example provided, Chang Jung recognizes that many foreigners may not be aware of the fact that Chinese emperors' practice of having multiple wives. Hence, she includes this information in the English version to provide necessary context. However, in the Chinese translation, she assumes that Chinese-speaking readers are already familiar with such historical practice and therefore omits the explanation in the target text.

Cixi's knowledge of written Chinese was rudimentary, **and she may be considered 'semi-literate'. This does not mean that she lacked intelligence. The Chinese language is extremely hard to learn. It is the only major linguistic system in the world that does not have an alphabet; and it is composed of numerous complicated characters - ideograms - which have to be memorised one by one and, moreover, are totally unrelated to sounds.** (6-7, emphasis added)

少年慈禧的漢語文字程度不高。(16)

The given example above shows that in the source text, Chang Jung highlights the complexity of written Chinese and the use of logograms in Chinese characters, as opposed to the phonogram system used in English. This explanation is likely included to prevent English readers from misunderstanding Cixi's intelligence in learning. However, in the Chinese translation, where readers are already familiar with the Chinese language system, Chang Jung may not feel the need to provide such information.

As an emperor is referred to as a 'dragon', gossips in Beijing nicknamed him 'the Limping Dragon'. (9, emphasis added)

在北京的街談巷議中，他被稱作「蹶龍」。(18)

She was also of poor physique, and the gossip that had dubbed her husband ‘the Limping Dragon’ named her ‘the Fragile Phoenix’ (**phoenix being the symbol of the empress**). (14, emphasis added)

慈安相貌平平，身體多病。咸豐被稱為「蹶龍」，她也被叫做「病鳳」。
(23)

Similarly, the two examples show that Chang Jung includes an explanation only for English readers regarding the cultural symbolism used in China, where the emperor and empress are often referred to as a dragon and a phoenix respectively.

. . . though they risked the most horrific consequences. For their leaders, **the mandatory punishment was *ling-chi*, ‘death by a thousand cuts’, during which the condemned was sliced piece by piece in public.** (15-16, emphasis added)

儘管他們都明白造反的後果是什麼：最輕也是砍頭，領導者還要凌遲處死。
(24)

Other than providing explanations for specific Chinese cultural elements, Chang Jung also includes transliterations sometimes. As seen in the example above, she includes the phrase “*ling-chi*,” which means slow slicing, along with its explanation in the source text. While she does not translate the explanation of slow slicing into Chinese, she adds additional information related to forms of torture used in China. In the target text, she introduces the idea of beheading, which is not present in the source text. This reflects the flexibility and freedom of the self-translation practices. The following examples further exemplify how Chang Jung includes additional cultural content into the target text.

Cixi was not made the empress. She was a concubine, and a lowrank one at that. There were eight rungs on the ladder of imperial consorts, and Cixi was on the sixth, which put her in the lowest group (the sixth to the eighth). (14)

后妃分為八等，皇后之下是皇貴妃、貴妃、妃、嬪、貴人、常在、答應。
慈禧只是一個低微的「貴人」。康熙年間的一份「本朝定制」，說明「皇

后居中宮，主內治」，皇貴妃等「分居東、西十二宮，佐內治」，稱貴人等最低的三等為：「俱無定位，隨居十二宮，勤修內職」。(22, emphasis added)



... promote Cixi in 1854 from Rank 6 to 5. (18)

一八五四年，慈禧升了一級為嬪。(26, emphasis added)

Overjoyed, Emperor Xianfeng instantly elevated Cixi to a higher rank. (21)

大喜的萬歲爺立刻把慈禧晉封為「妃」。(27, emphasis added)

The three examples above show how Chang Jung handles the idea of the ranking of imperial consorts in both the source and target texts. In contrast to the previous examples where she decides to include additional information in the source text, Chang Jung adds more details in the Chinese translation rather than the English version in these instances. In the English version, she briefly mentions the existence of eight rungs and assigns numbers to each ranking. However, in the Chinese translation, she further explains it by explicitly citing the name of each ranking and reiterating it whenever Cixi's rank changes. This decision is probably due to the consideration that the knowledge of the hierarchical system is not crucial for understanding the context in these particular examples. Furthermore, the names of each ranking in Chinese can be complex for English readers, even in translation. To avoid potential misunderstandings, the most straightforward approach would be referring them using numbers. However, Chinese readers already likely possess a basic understanding of this system, so Chang Jung may intend to provide them with a more concrete and clearer concept of Cixi's ranks by introducing the specific names.

At this the young man answered: 'Even Prince Gong is subject to such things and he does not shy away. We small people can only do our utmost in our jobs.' (99)

志剛答道：「恭親王尚且不敢回護，奴才等更當竭力辦事。」（志剛是滿人，所以自稱「奴才」。漢人自稱「臣」。）覲見完畢，志剛退步到皇上面前跪下，對同治用滿語說：「恭請聖主萬安。」起身退步出簾外。他收到慈禧的禮物：「紅綢大卷袍褂料各一件，黃辦珊瑚豆大小荷包各一對。」(92, emphasis added)

In another instance, Chang Jung includes a quote from the Chinese deputy Zhigang and provides an explanation for why he referred to himself as a lackey rather than an official. This distinction was due to the cultural background, where Manchurians were required to call themselves “lackey” while only Han people could use the term “officials.” Similarly, Chang Jung decides not to include this information in the source text, as it does not hinder the understanding of the content. However, she recognizes that Chinese readers, unlike the English readers, may be curious about why Zhigang downplayed his status and referred to himself as a lackey. To cater the Chinese readers’ expectations, she decides to include this additional information in the target text. Moreover, as observed in the example, Chang Jung also adds more quotations in the target text. In the English version, there is not mention of Zhigang receiving presents from Cixi as an act of encouragement. This phenomenon will be further explored and discussed in the subsequent chapter.

4.2.4 Additional Quotations

Chapter 4.1.3 discussed the disparities in the length of English and Chinese quotations found in the book *Mao: The Unknown Story*. Additionally, it observes that Chang employs indirect quotations more frequently in the English text, while opting for direct quotations in the Chinese text. This tendency can be attributed to the language of the source materials, which are mostly written in Chinese. In the case of the book *Empress*

Dowager Cixi, a similar phenomenon persists, but it is observed that Chang Jung tends to include more additional quotations or information in the Chinese translation.



Her most arresting feature was her brilliant and expressive eyes, as many observed. In the coming years during audiences she would give officials the most coaxing look, when suddenly her eyes would flash with fearsome authority. (12)

但慈禧最著稱的還是她一雙會說多種語言的眼睛。長期在宮中服務的老太監信修明寫道：慈禧皇太后之威嚴，皆在眼神。平日直如日電，無人敢對其光，聲音亦宏亮。每朝見群臣時，霽顏寒暄，令大臣之心情有意外之感激。初見面，必問大臣家中日常之瑣事，如妻妾子女等，無不詳細動問，乃至姬妾孰賢，子女孰肯讀書。對於老臣之飲食起居，亦切切囑之以珍重，令大臣等幾乎忘記是在朝廷之上。言談之間，忽然辭鋒轉變，眼光灼耀，問某一件事情，「你們辦得怎麼樣？」此一問往往令人答之不及，不由汗透衣褂。所以，每一大臣覲見退朝時，差不多滿頭是汗，極道太后之聖明。(21, emphasis added)

In addition to the previous example of Zhigang in the earlier chapter, another instance shows the differences between the use of English and Chinese quotations. In contrast to the concise mention in the English version, where Chang Jung briefly describes how Cixi shifted between coaxing and fearsome expression during the audiences, the Chinese translation includes a lengthy quotation of 236 words. The Chinese direct quotation provides a more detailed description and serves as additional evidence to support the same observation.

... in which he faked a diary, depicting Cixi as a very hawkish figure who urged her husband not to flee and not to talk peace with the foreigners, but to kill their messengers. This was sheer invention. (41)

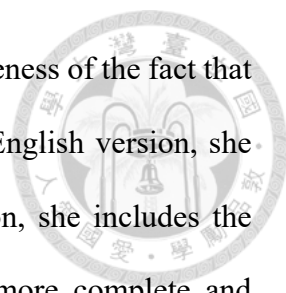
白克豪斯無中生有地把慈禧描述成一個仇外好戰的人物，說她竭力鼓動咸豐不要和談、不要逃跑、殺掉俘虜。白克豪斯今天已被揭穿為有妄想症傾向。在他的形同淫書的「自傳」裡，他自稱來華後成為慈禧的英倫情人，

隨侍慈禧身旁，直到皇太后臨死——死在袁世凱連發三彈的手槍下。這一切都毫無根據。浩如煙海的清宮史料中，沒有白克豪斯存在的蛛絲馬跡。(45, emphasis added)

In the example above, Chang Jung aims to challenge the reliability of *China Under the Empress Dowager*, a widely quoted biography of Cixi written by Sir Edmund Backhouse. In the Chinese translation, she points out the fact that Backhouse suffered from delusional disorder and falsely claimed to be Cixi's paramour. Chang Jung asserts that these claims lack credibility and supporting evidence. However, the English version of the book does not include the information regarding Backhouse's delusional disorder and his false claims about his relationship with Cixi. This omission becomes significant when considering the controversy surrounding the content of Hu Zongnan in the book Mao, as discussed in Chapter 3.4.2. This controversy, particularly in Taiwan, one of the primary target regions for the Chinese translation, led to criticism of Chang Jung's selective use of evidence in the biography. As a result, Chang Jung's translatorial habitus may have been influenced by this incident. To establish trust and credibility among Chinese readers, she tends to include additional evidence or quotations in the Chinese translation.

A diplomat of hers reported to her that he had quizzed Hart on where his loyalty would lie, if there were a clash between China and Britain, and that Hart had replied: 'I am British.' (81)

一次她與外交官郭嵩燾談到赫德。她問：赫德「為中國辦事用心否」。郭答道：「赫德是極有心計的人，在中國辦事亦是十分出力。然卻是英吉利人民，豈能不關顧本國？臣往嘗問之：君自問幫中國，抑幫英國？赫德言……我只有兩邊調停。臣問：無事時可以中立，有事不能中立，將奈何？赫德笑言：我固是英國人也。」(76, emphasis added)



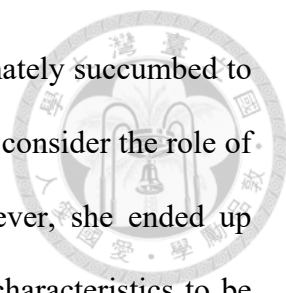
In this example, Chang Jung tries to demonstrate Cixi's awareness of the fact that Hart's ultimate loyalty lay with his home country, Britain. In the English version, she merely quotes Hart's response. However, in the Chinese translation, she includes the entire conversation between Cixi and the diplomat, providing a more complete and comprehensive account. Throughout the whole book, a consistent pattern emerges where Chang Jung includes additional quotations and information in the Chinese translation. This phenomenon not only suggests her desire to gain trust of the Chinese readers but also points out the unique advantages afforded by the act of self-translation.

4.3 Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China

In Chang Jung's latest work, *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister*, published in 2019, there are several differences compared to her previous two works. Unlike *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*, which focus on challenging the established perspectives of specific historical figures, this latest work explores the lives of multiple characters. Also, the subheading of the book, "Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China," is obviously less shocking and surprising than the earlier works.

Furthermore, while *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi* were translated into more than ten languages, the latest work has, so far, only been translated into Chinese by the author herself. This could be attributed to a change of Chang Jung's writing pattern. Rather than offering a groundbreaking and unexpected conclusion about a single historical character, as she did in her previous works, Chang Jung chose to explore the story of the Soong sisters and their roles in the development of China in this book.

The English version of the book features an introduction that was not present in the previous works. Chang Jung shares her thoughts and inspirations in it. After finishing *Empress Dowager Cixi*, she began to wonder how China, which has seemingly started on



a path toward parliamentary democracy under the rule of Cixi, ultimately succumbed to Mao Zedong's totalitarian regime after four decades. This led her to consider the role of Sun Yat-sen, as known as the Father of republican China. However, she ended up choosing the Soong sister as the central characters, finding Sun's characteristics to be uninteresting and lacking depth. This decision deviates from her previous publishing pattern of challenging established narratives about historical figures. As discussed in Chapter 3, the political agenda driving her to write this book appears to be relatively weaker compared to the previous works. Also, the Chinese translation of *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister* remains more faithful to the source text compared to *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*. Nonetheless, some translation strategies can still be observed in this work.

4.3.1 Book Title

In the case of the previous two works, *Mao: The Unknown Story* is faithfully translated into 《毛澤東：鮮為人知的故事》，while *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China* is rendered into 《慈禧：開啓現代中國的皇太后》，both demonstrating a high level of fidelity in the translation. However, in the case of *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China*, the Chinese translation is somehow different from the English version. It is rendered into 《宋氏三姊妹與她們的丈夫：20 世紀三位傳奇女子，一部動盪百年的中國現代史》。

In fact, the Chinese translation effectively captures the central idea of the English version while providing additional information. It not only mentions the main characters, the Soong sisters, but also includes their husbands. This inclusion acknowledges the significant roles played by the husbands in the narrative. In Chapter 2.5.3, it was mentioned that the reviewer Julia Lovell from *The Guardian* judges the occasional

detours into male-centric accounts within the book. Indeed, certain chapters of the book do focus more on the male characters, especially Sun Yat-sen. In the first half of the book, Chang Jung dedicates considerable attention to portraying Sun Yat-sen as a negative and selfish historical character, evidently showing that he occupies a significant portion of the book. Moreover, considering the importance of both Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese readers, especially those who located in Taiwan, Chang Jung may have intended to highlight their roles by including them in the title.

As for the subheading, the addition of “the tumultuous history of modern China spanning a hundred years” acts as supplementary information that enhances its attractiveness. This phrase provides readers with a sense of the historical background and the dynamic changes that happened in the twentieth-century China. By including this extra information, the translation aims to make the subheading more compelling to the target readers.

4.3.2 Introduction and Preface

As mentioned, the English version of the book includes an introduction, which differs from the previous works *Mao* and *Empress Dowager Cixi*. In the past, Chang Jung typically included a preface only in the Chinese translation. However, by comparing the English introduction and the Chinese preface of this latest publication, it is evident that the Chinese version does not serve as a translation of the English introduction. The content, as well as the function, of the two texts are not identical.

The English introduction of the book begins by introducing the Soong sisters, providing details about their names, birth years, family background, and physical appearances. It then mentions their relationships with prominent male figures including Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and H. H. Kung, as known as Kung Hsiang-his. Following this, Chang Jung shares her personal impressions of the three sisters and explains her

inspiration for writing this book. Here, she points out the different perspective on Sun Yat-sen's image compared to the traditional view. Towards to end of the introduction, she emphasizes that Sun Yat-sen played a pivotal role in China's transition from monarchy to republic, and his revolutionary had greatly influenced the lives of the Soong sisters.

On the other hand, the Chinese preface begins with Chang Jung discussing her inspiration for writing the book and expressing her perspective on Sun Yat-sen as a political animal driven solely by the pursuit of power. She then proceeds to share her impressions of the Soong sisters, briefly mentioning Chiang Kai-shek and acknowledging the individuals or institutions that provided assistance during her writing process.

Both the English translation and Chinese preface address the inspiration behind writing the book. However, they also differ in their emphasis and content. The English introduction, which is longer than the Chinese one, focuses more on providing basic information about the Soong sisters and other significant historical figures in the book, as English readers may be less familiar with them. Chang Jung positively describes the three sisters as "fairy tale" and modern China's "princesses," while negatively referring Sun Yat-sen as "political animal." Her stances towards these characters are obviously showed in it. The English introduction serves as a chapter that offer necessary context for readers who are new to the main characters.

In contrast, the Chinese preface begins by discussing the role of Sun Yat-sen, a significant figure in Taiwan and respected as the "Father of the Nation." Given the strong interest among Taiwan readers in learning about the unknown aspects of Sun, Chang Jung starts the preface with his negative portrayal in the book. For the same reason, Chang Jung also includes "and their husbands" in the Chinese book title.

4.3.3 The portrayal of Sun Yat-sen

Interestingly, despite Chang Jung's intention to primarily focus on the Soong sisters and the 40-year history leading up to Mao's control of China, she spends a significant length of the book to the portrayal of Sun Yat-sen. Undeniably, the role of Sun Yat-sen is definitely important during that period. However, while Chang Jung adopts a more faithful translation approach when rendering passages concerning other historical figures, including the main characters Soong sisters, she tends to include additional information in the Chinese translation when depicting Sun Yat-sen.

A Cantonese interpreter, Tang, chatted to him. They agreed that Sun would return the next day, and that they would go together to the port to meet some Cantonese merchants. (17)

翻譯鄧廷鏗是廣東人，跟他聊了一陣。談話中孫藉口看時間，掏出金錶，有意讓翻譯看見錶上孫的英文名字縮寫。兩人說好孫第二天再來，一起到港口去會廣東客商。(28, emphasis added)

In the example above, Chang Jung describes an incident where Sun Yat-sen, despite being a wanted criminal by the Chinese government, deliberately entered the Chinese Legation in London to attract attention. This action was regarded as foolish and unhelpful. Sun was subsequently detained and made a desperate plea to save his life. In the Chinese translation an additional detail is included, mentioning that Sun intentionally revealed his golden pocket watch carved with his initials to the interpreter at the Chinese Legation. This added information serves to further emphasize Sun's impulsive and reckless image.

He conceded to the arrangement, and on 29 December, the delegates voted Sun the interim president. Sun went by a special train from Shanghai to Nanjing and was sworn in on 1 January 1912. (55)

這就是說，孫就任的，「實際上只不過是一個主持和議的總統罷了」。大家看得出他「很失望」，但他別無選擇，只能同意這一安排。在這個前提下，十二月二十九日，代表們選舉孫中山為臨時總統。孫從上海乘坐專列到達南京，於一九一二年一月一日就任。(66, emphasis added)

In the second example, Chang Jung mentions a situation in which Sun Yat-sen expressed his desire to hold the title of president with the term “interim”. However, the delegates had already reached a decision that he would serve as the interim president only until Yuan Shi-kai successfully persuaded the ruling monarchy to abdicate power. Despite his preference, Sun reluctantly accepted the arrangement, as he had no alternative options. In the English version, the incident is described in a relatively objective manner. However, in the Chinese translation, Chang Jung adds that Sun felt deeply disappointed by the decision and he was left with no choices. This additional information serves to highlight the negative image of Sun as someone solely driven by his thirst for power and status.

This ‘parliament’ opposed Sun when he tried to retain office, and voted decisively for Yuan Shi-kai to take over. Time and again, the delegates demonstrated that they would not take Sun’s orders. Sun wanted to be obeyed – he had already been regarded as ‘dictatorial’ by his comrades. (65)

可是，孫中山在跟臨時議會共事的日子裡，意識到他不能跟這樣的機構合作：他們不聽話。雖然他們選舉他為臨時總統，但他們沒有按照他的要求去掉「臨時」二字；他們不讓他一直當下去，反而選舉袁世凱接任；他們還一而再、再而三地投票否決他的其他意願，比方遷都南京。一句話，他們在不斷制約他，他們不聽命於他。孫中山要的是服從，同事們早就認為他「專制跋扈」。(78, emphasis added)

Similarly, in the third example, Chang Jung tries to demonstrate the dictatorial nature of Sun Yat-sen. She mentions that the delegates refused to comply with Sun’s orders. In the English version, she presents the incident from a relatively descriptive

perspective. However, in the Chinese translation, she reiterates Sun's desire to remove the term "interim" from his title. She emphasizes twice that the delegates disregarded his commands and includes another instance where his proposal to relocate the capital to Nanjing face opposition from the delegates. These additional details serve to enhance the portrayal of Sun as an authoritative and unpopular leader.

Sun went ahead and ordered a series of riots against Yuan to try to force Yuan to resign in favour of him. This, the first war in the infant republic, unleashed decades of bloody internal strife. The 'Father of China' was the man who fired the first shot. (70)

儘管大多數人反對，孫中山還是發動了他所稱的「二次革命」。他發表的宣言名字叫〈促令袁氏辭職宣言〉，說「國家安危，人民生死，胥繫於袁氏一人之去留」，「願全體人民一致主張，令袁氏辭職，以熄戰禍」。說到底，孫要的就是取代表世凱，自己當總統。初生民國的第一場戰爭，就這樣由「國父」發動。(84, emphasis added)

In the fourth example, Chang Jung portrays how Sun Yat-sen initiated a series of riots against Yuan Shi-kai with the aim of making himself the president. In the Chinese translation, Chang Jung includes additional details, such as the specific name and part of the contents of the statement published by Sun at the time. These details further illustrate how Sun used the country and its people as an excuse to pursue his own power. This additional information in the target text could worsen the negative image of Sun Yat-sen.

註：孫深知查理的慷慨，也不跟他客氣，在給朋友信上說：「弟擬送漢民、精衛、仲愷兄並兄等以最好之洋服，並託宋君帶公等往最好之洋服店做之，請兄等盡量做，多多益善也。(67)

Apart from including additional quotations or information in the target text, Chang Jung also adds notes that are not presented in the source text. For instance, when Sun Yat-sen returned to Shanghai, Charlie Soong, the father of the Soong sisters, immediately

invited Sun to stay at his house. In the Chinese translation, Chang Jung adds a note to highlight the fact that Sun was aware of Charlie's generosity and did not hesitate to make unrestrained requests to him. Sun even boasted to his friends about how Charlie would buy them the best suits, encouraging them not to be shy and to make full use of this opportunity. This addition in the Chinese version could lead readers to perceive Sun as someone skilled in taking advantage of others without showing gratitude.

4.3.4 Additional Quotations

Similar to the observation made in Chang Jung's previous publication, *Empress Dowager Cixi*, the Chinese translation of *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister* also includes additional quotations. This practice further proves that Chang Jung aims to regain the trust of her Chinese readers and it contributes to one of her translatorial habitus.

He sent three different groups of envoys to Germany to invite the German army to invade China and attack Beijing. The Germans thought he was 'crazy'. He implored Japan via its consul in Shanghai to back him in his war, offering to give Japan Manchuria and Mongolia when he succeeded. The Japanese ignored him. (88)

他派人去德國，邀請德國軍隊入侵中國，建議「德與俄共聯絡，將俄境內華人及士兵一萬二千人與德軍一萬人合組成一支中國軍隊，配以飛機三至五架，及製造軍火等機器……打回北京」。由於德國第一次世界大戰結束後物資匱乏，孫提出回贈德國「食物及各種物資，由鐵路接濟德國」。德國人認為孫的建議「近乎狂想」，拒絕了他。孫中山又向日本駐上海有吉總領事「再三要求」日本援助他推翻北京政府，承諾成功後，他「可以承認日本對『滿蒙』的領有」。日本人沒有反應。孫還找到莫斯科在上海的派員，請求蘇聯從西北入侵中國，跟他合作以武裝推翻北京政府。莫斯科認真考慮了，派能幹的、說一口漂亮中文的米哈伊·波波夫（Mikhail G. Popov）上校於一九二〇年三月來到上海，同孫討論計畫。波波夫上校對莫斯科的報告是：孫的計畫「不可能成功」，還說「布爾

什維克厭倦了戰爭，希望和平」。莫斯科沒有答應孫的要求。(101, emphasis added)

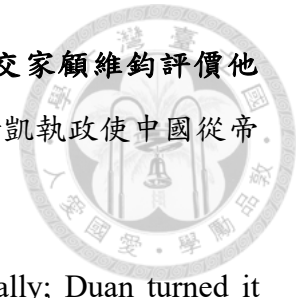
In Chapter 6 of the book, Chang Jung depicts Sun Yat-sen's actions after his failed war against Beijing and his subsequent residence in Shanghai for over two years. In 1918, with the intention of continuing his campaign, Sun sought assistance from foreign countries to attack the Beijing government. In the example above, it is briefly mentioned in the English version that Sun dispatched envoys to Germany and implored Japan for support, but both countries rejected his proposal. However, in the Chinese translation, a more detailed account with direct quotations is provided. Additionally, Chang Jung chooses to include the example of Moscow in the Chinese version, pointing out Sun's requests for the Soviet Union to invade China and citing the words of Popov.

Army chief Li Yuan-hong, a stocky and unassuming man much loved by the soldiers and the local population (who called him 'the Buddha'), rose to the occasion and took leadership. (25-26)

兵變官兵請他們的長官黎元洪出任領導。胖胖的、人稱「菩薩」的黎元洪，時人描述他「性情澄爽，樸重端誠，面帶愉色」，是個忠厚長者，深受士兵和當地人愛戴。他早就有了共和的理想與藍圖，辛亥革命中接受英國記者採訪說：「我個人渴望看到每個省成為一個擁有自己的議會的自治省，但受全國性政府領導。我們的藍本取自美利堅合眾國。」他一向默許共和黨人在他軍隊裡的活動，此時爽快地答應了官兵的請求，當天出來執掌帥印。(37-38, emphasis added)

The Chinese public liked the idea too. Yuan provided some crucial continuity as China moved from age-old monarchy to republic. (64)

中國一般人也認可他的執政。做過他的祕書的傑出外交家顧維鈞評價他「的確是少數的數一數二的一個領袖」。特別是，袁世凱執政使中國從帝制到共和的過渡得以平穩進行。(76, emphasis added)



The Germans offered Duan \$1 million for himself personally; Duan turned it down flat. (84-85)

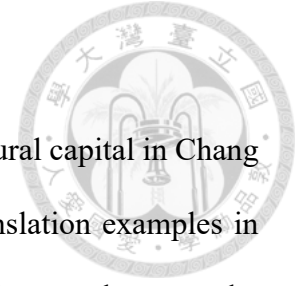
德國人要送給他私人一百萬美金，被段一口回絕。與段同過事的顧維鈞評價他「廉潔得很」，「很清廉，他的確愛護民國」。(97, emphasis added)

... Hsu Shih-chang, a politician known as ‘a scholar and a gentleman’ and respected for his integrity. (88)

熟悉他的顧維鈞描述他「是一個文人，是一個有君子風度的學者」。跟他同事的顏惠慶在自傳裡說：「徐總統在品格和學問方面，可謂超群絕倫，……他可說是一位學而不厭的讀書人」。(102, emphasis added)

The four examples above demonstrate the differences between the source text and the target text regarding the introductions of Li Yuan-hong, Yuan Shi-kai, Duan Qi-rui, and Hsu Shih-chang. These disparities reflect Chang Jung’s translation approach when it comes to presenting the historical figures. In the English version of the book, she tends to omit direct quotations or provide only minimal quotations about these individuals. However, in the Chinese translation, she chooses to include additional quotations or information that is absent in the source text. This phenomenon aligns with the observations discussed earlier in Chapter 4.2.4, suggesting a consistent translation strategy after the publication of *Mao*. Presumably, following the controversy of Hu Zongnan, Chang Jung has adjusted her Chinese translation approach to offer more explicit evidence that her writings are based on appropriate historical references.

Chapter 5 Conclusion



This thesis aims to explore the role of habitus, field, and cultural capital in Chang Jung's practice of self-translation. Through the examination of translation examples in the previous chapter, it becomes evident that there are obvious differences between the source texts and the target texts in Chang Jung's trilogy on modern Chinese history and its prominent figures. This challenges the common assumption that self-translation entails faithful translation.

Firstly, in the book *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Chang Jung demonstrates a clear political agenda that is reflected in her translation choices. For instance, she sometimes adopts a more skeptical and strong critical tone in the Chinese version, expressing her strong disapproval of Mao Zedong, while attempting to maintain a more objective and balanced approach for her English readers. Furthermore, she occasionally makes additions and omissions in the translation without providing specific justifications. Compared to her later publications, these modifications appear to be more arbitrary in nature. Additionally, Chang Jung exhibits different attitudes towards gender issues in the English and Chinese versions, which can be attributed to her recognition of the distinct interests and concerns among the English readers and the readers in the Chinese-speaking world.

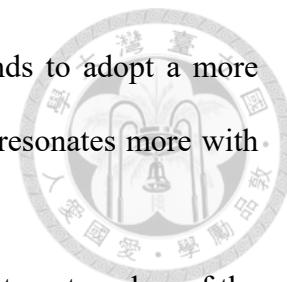
Secondly, in *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, Chang Jung retains some of her previous translatorial tendencies while also introducing certain changes. Notably, she avoids directly mentioning sensitive foreign issues in the English version catering to the preferences of her Western readership. Throughout the book, she occasionally defends the doings of Western countries by including favorable historical evidence, a strategy similar to her translation of *Mao*. However, there is an obvious shift in her translation of gender issues. In the Chinese

translation, she includes more extensive discussions on gender equality compared to the previous work. This shift can be attributed to the nature of the central figure in the book, as Cixi's role in launching modern China necessitates discussions on gender issues. Additionally, Chang Jung starts paying more attention to cultural matters, introducing Chinese cultural elements that may be unfamiliar to English readers in the English version, while providing further explanations of complex cultural issues in the Chinese translation. Notably, following the controversy surrounding Hu Zongnan in Taiwan, Chang Jung deliberately includes more quotations or information in the Chinese translation to substantiate her use of actual historical sources.

Lastly, in the most recent publication, *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister: Three Women at the Heart of Twentieth-Century China*, Chang Jung adopts the most faithful translation approach among the trilogy. The Chinese title differs slightly from the English one, likely to underscore the significance of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, both prominent figures for Taiwan readers. Additionally, the English version includes an introduction for the first time, where Chang Jung specially provides background information on the key figures in the book. In terms of translation strategy, she maintains her practice of incorporating detailed quotations and additional information in the Chinese version, enhancing its reliability. With regards to the portrayal of historical characters, Chang Jung generally applies a relatively faithful translation approach, except for the part of Sun Yat-sen. She deliberately aims to challenge his positive image, particularly within the Chinese-speaking world. This effort seems to be in line with her writing pattern in overturning established perspectives of historical figures.

In Chapter 3, an in-depth exploration of Chang Jung's background reveals the development of her dual habitus, shaped by her experiences in both China and Britain. This dual habitus influences her perspectives on the Chinese-speaking world and the

Western world. It is noticed that when writing in English, she tends to adopt a more positive view on the Western world, while her Chinese translation resonates more with Chinese readers.



Field, as another important factor, also comes into play. The target readers of the English and Chinese versions are in distinct fields. To establish her position within both fields, Chang Jung must accumulate relevant capitals and the method is to cater to the specific needs of each readership. This is evident in her approach to translating gender issues. In the book *Mao*, she emphasizes in the English version the mistreatment of Chinese women in the past, catering to the concerns of English readers. Conversely, in the Chinese translation, she focuses on shaping Mao Zedong's negative image, which resonates more strongly with Chinese readers.

Furthermore, Chang Jung effectively leverages her cultural capital to gain influence in various fields, particularly the literary one. Her Chinese-British background provides her with advantages, drawing from her experiences in both the Chinese-speaking and Western worlds. Moreover, her choice of writing about pivotal Chinese historical figures capitalizes on her Chinese identity, further enhancing her writing process. Additionally, the success of her initial publication, *Wild Swans*, has earned her significant cultural capital, paving the way for her subsequent works.

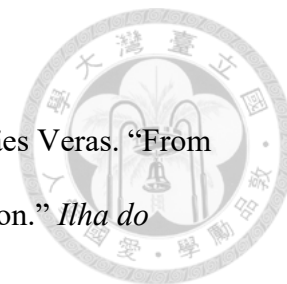
As a self-translator, Chang Jung's comprehensive understanding of both the source and target cultures empowers her to make strategic decisions and exert control throughout the translation process. Her deep knowledge and familiarity with both languages also enable her to carefully select and shape the content, ensuring its resonance with the intended readership.

Moreover, as the original author, Chang Jung possesses unique and exclusive insights and information that may not be readily accessible to external translators. This

allows her to enrich the target text by including additional details, quotations, and contextual information, thereby enhancing the readers' comprehension and engagement.

Through her role as a self-translator, Chang Jung effectively bridges the cultural gaps that may exist between the source and target cultures. This enables her to provide a more culturally sensitive reading experience for her Chinese readers. Her practice of self-translation showcases the distinctive advantages and possibilities that arise from this approach.

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