

The Influence of Political Ideology In the Chinese Translations of English Works by Chinese Migrant Writers

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ABSTRACT

Since China's Reform and Opening-up (改革開放 *Gǎigé Kāifàng*) in the late 1970s, there has been a growing number of Chinese migrants living in the "West". Some of them have become writers in the English language and produced astonishingly successful works, such as Jung Chang's *Wild Swans* (1991) and Li Cunxin's *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003). Such works have placed these migrant writers amongst the most well-known contemporary Chinese people in the "West". However, as they generally express highly critical views on the Communist Party of China and frequently deal with controversial topics such as the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命 *Wénhuà Dà Géming*) and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident (六四事件 *Liùsì Shìjiàn*), all books have been banned in Mainland China, and the names of these writers are virtually unknown to Mainland Chinese. Nevertheless, their works have been translated into Chinese and published outside the Chinese Mainland: an unusual phenomenon where a book is translated into the source author's native language, and in a few cases, with direct contribution from the source authors in the translation decision-making. A previous study of the present author (Li 2012) found a small number of instances that show less favourable evaluation of the Communist Party of China in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*. It was then hypothesized that the Chinese translations of these politically volatile English works express stronger anti-Mao and anti-communist ideologies than do the English source texts.

The present dissertation tests this hypothesis by investigating the influence of political ideology in the Chinese translations of these highly successful but politically volatile English works by Chinese migrant writers, with a focus on *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*. To date, the ideological shifts in this source-text-author-assisted translation type have received little scholarly examination. To enhance systematicity and objectivity in descriptive translation studies, and to trace language choices within their situational and cultural contexts, the present dissertation adopts Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the overarching theoretical framework, which is a theory much informed by both English and Chinese in its development (Halliday 1956; 1961). In addition, the present thesis adopts methods and perspectives from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Corpus Linguistics (CL), and Multimodal Social Semiotics. This thesis by publication approaches ideological shifts in the same books from four perspectives based on metafunction and mode: 1) within the ideational metafunction: PARTICIPANT, AGENCY, DYNAMISM and INSTANTIAL WEIGHT; 2) within the interpersonal metafunction: MOOD and MODALITY; 3) also within the interpersonal

metafunction: DEGREE OF INTENSITY; and 4) through multimodal analysis applied to the book production. Results show strong evidence that leads to the rejection of the hypothesis. The four analytical chapters, each prepared as a journal article, show dramatically modified evaluation of historical figures, such as the diminishing and ‘backgrounding’ role of Mao in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*. The ideological shifts are achieved through motivated selections of lexicogrammatical and semantic patterns. However, such striking ideological shifts do not apply to all translations.

The significance of the present thesis firstly lies in bridging the current gap in a detailed study of the ideological shifts in the Chinese translations of some of the most successful English works by Chinese migrant writers. The present thesis hence contributes not only to a better understanding of ideology in translation but also of ideological differences between the Anglophone and Sinophone spheres. Secondly, it consolidates corpus- and linguistics-based translation studies, and calls for them as empowering tools in translation studies. Some of the proposed analytical approaches are expected to be highly applicable to future translation and typological studies. Thirdly, it elaborates the works of contrastive grammarians by contributing richer typological descriptions of two major world languages, English and Chinese, mainly from but not limited to the SFL perspective. The present thesis will be of interest to future academic studies in SFL- and corpus-based translation studies, ideology in translation, multimodal translation studies, contrastive linguistics, and to the general public who are interested in linguistic and ideological differences between the “West” and China.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I certify that the research described in this dissertation has not already been submitted for any other degree.

I certify to the best of my knowledge all sources used and any help received in the preparation of this dissertation has been acknowledged.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The present thesis, by publication, investigates the influence of political ideology in the Chinese translations of two ‘highly valued’ (Halliday 1988, ix) English works written by contemporary Chinese migrant writers in the last two to three decades, *Wild Swans* by Chinese-British writer Jung Chang (Chang 1991/2003; Chang 1992/2011), and *Mao’s Last Dancer* by Chinese-Australian writer and ballet dancer LI Cunxin (C. Li 2003/2009; C. Li 2009). Despite their cross-cultural nature and the phenomenal success in some Anglophone countries or even internationally, these books in fact can be considered as some indicators of the ongoing ideological friction between contemporary China and the “West”. In the present thesis, Mainland China, or the Chinese mainland, refers to the People’s Republic of China (PRC), led by the Communist Part of China (CPC) since 1949 but excluding Taiwan and the two special administrative regions (SAR) of Hong Kong and Macau; this term is convenient in discussing the differentiated censorship. In comparison, China can refer to the PRC or the preceding political entities such as the Qing Dynasty, or Greater China (大中華 *Dà Zhōnghuá*), the last of which is an apolitical term that is generally considered to include Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. The “West”, or the “Western” world, refers to the traditional Euro-American conceptualisation of a collective unity consisting Europe and areas where populations largely originate from there, including mainly the four Anglophone countries outside of Europe – U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; this term, however, generally excludes many countries on the eastern side of Europe that have been associated with communism during the Cold War period such as Russia. Although specific discussions of the “West” in the present thesis focus only on the three major Anglophone countries most relevant to the production and reception of the chosen texts: the United Kingdom (UK), the United States (US), and Australia, the umbrella terms the “West” and “Western”, in scare quotes, are used when the implications are considered broadly applicable to the entirety of the “West”; this generalised use is important as it is consistent with the conceptualised dichotomy of China and the “West” in the chosen English books by the Chinese migrant writers.

The abovementioned books are amongst the most well-known books by contemporary Chinese authors in the “West”. However, they are virtually unknown to the 1.3 billion people in Mainland China. The present thesis compares the semantics of grammatical choices in the

English source texts (ST) and the Chinese target texts (TT), with particular reference to descriptions from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The latter is a theory much informed by both English (Halliday 1961) and Chinese (Halliday 1956, in Halliday 2005; Halliday and McDonald 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014) in its development. In addition, the present thesis has adopted perspectives and methodologies from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Corpus Linguistics (CL), and Multimodal Social Semiotics.

1.2 Background: Who are Chinese Migrant Writers?

In the 2010s, migrants and students from China are no new phenomenon to popular migration and study destinations such as Australia. For example, 523,700 Chinese students left China to study abroad in the year 2015 alone (MoE, quoted in DET 2016). In Australia, there were around 140,000 students from China in 2017, which make up 30% of the total international students in Australia (ibid.). However, the flourishing population of students and migrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC) is only a relatively recent phenomenon.

After 1949, when the Communist Part of China (CPC) founded the PRC and when the Kuomintang (KMT) Party retreated to Taiwan, civil society in China largely became disconnected from the international community, especially from the “West”, amid the historical backdrop of the Post-WWII Cold War (1945-1991). For instance, P.R. China was not represented at the United Nations until 1971 (MFAPRC 2016), and did not establish full diplomatic relations with Australia and the United Kingdom until 1972 (NAA 2017; GOV.UK 2017), and with the United States until 1979 (OOH 2017). This relative isolation only started to change after the end of the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命 *Wénhuà Dà Géming*) in 1976, especially after China's Reform and Opening-up (改革開放 *Gǎigé Kāifàng*) in 1978 (Zhongguowang 2008). After this, the option of studying in the “West” and emigrating started to become available to Mainland Chinese. Naturally, the first wave of such opportunities was mostly taken by members of the elite groups: for example, descendants of high-ranking party officials – known in Chinese as ‘高幹子弟 *gāogàn zǐdì*’ (children of high-ranking officials), or ‘紅二代 *hóng èr dài*’ (the Red Second-generation), rising and prominent artists and intellectuals, many of whom emigrated to the “West” in the late 1970s and 1980s.

In comparison to current students and migrants from China, these earlier Mainland Chinese migrants faced a vastly different political environment when arriving in the “West”. The late 1970s and 1980s were still overshadowed by the Cold War tensions and disdain of

Communism, which had started since the end of WWII and officially ended only in 1991, when the dissolution of the Soviet Union marked the default victory of the US-led coalition of the “Western” democracies. The world in the previous three decades prior to the late 1970s was highly volatile, with fierce confrontation between the communist world and the “Western” democracies, and even amongst the communist countries; these three decades were characterised by world-changing events, campaigns, and crises such as the Korean War (1950-1953), the Sino-Soviet Split in 1960, the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the Space Race, nuclear proliferation, and the full-scale Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s. Internally, Mainland China experienced the Three-year Great Famine (三年大饑荒 *Sānnián Dà Jīhuāng*) in 1958-1961 and the turbulent Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976. Meanwhile, across the Pacific Ocean, the United States was also experiencing high social and political volatility with the post-WWII McCarthyism, and revolutionary movements of counter-culture such as the African-American Civil Rights Movement (1954–68), gay rights movement, feminist movement, and anti-war and anti-nuclear movements. Tension, revolution and hostility marked the world in these three decades. The first wave of Chinese emigrants from the PRC arrived in the “West” when such tensions between communist China and the “West” were only starting to ease in the late 1970s.

The 1980s saw signs of improvements in the relations between the communist world and the “West”, with experiments at democratization being carried out in both the Soviet Union and Mainland China: for example, *Perestroika* (Перестройка) and *Glasnost* (Гласность) in the USSR, and *Gǎigé Kāifàng* (改革開放) in China. However, the Sino-Western relations once again plummeted with the June 4th Incident (六四事件 *Liùsì Shìjiàn*), called by some with the highly sensational English title – ‘Tian’anmen Square Massacre’. Although this incident was widely condemned in the “West”, it has remained one of the most sensitive and censored topics in China, largely unknown to younger generations. In showing sympathy for Chinese people, former Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke famously made a tearful promise to grant a visa to all Chinese students in Australia to stay (SMH 2003). The aftermath of historical hostility, disagreement, misunderstanding and distrust carried into contemporary Sino-Western and Russo-Western relations. However, after the last rock-bottom in 1989, the overall trend in Sino-Western relations has been upward.

Many early Mainland Chinese emigrants stayed in the “West”: some settled as early as in the late 1980s, and others made such a decision after 1989. There were writers amongst them.

From the late 1980s to early 2000s, some migrant writers wrote autobiographies about their pre-emigration life; others wrote fictions with contemporary China as the backdrop. Subsequently, many of them achieved success in writing in English. Most of these writers share the common experience of having grown up under the communist regime of China and having lived through the Cultural Revolution.

These writers had varying levels of English proficiency when they first arrived in the “West”. Some, such as LI Cunxin (李存信 Lǐ Cúnxìn), born in 1962, arrived in America with virtually no English; some, such as Nien Chang (鄭念 Zhèng Niàn) (1915-2009), presumably had excellent, native-like English, thanks to her elite, pre-Communism education under the KMT government and her experiences of living in the U.K. and Australia for years; others, such as Jung Chang (張戎 Zhāng Róng), had completed a university degree in English in China and presumably spoke fluent English, even though the proficiency may not have been native-like. Despite the differences in initial English proficiency, all eventually produced work(s) in English that have become extremely successful. Such successes have put them amongst the most well-known contemporary Chinese people in the Anglophone sphere and in the “West”: for example, LI Cunxin is presumably the most famous contemporary Chinese person in Australia. However, the same writers may be completely unknown to people in Mainland China: due to the political nature of their writing, many such works that have achieved success in the “West” have been banned in Mainland China.

Despite the ban by Beijing, these successful books by Chinese writers in the “West” have attracted attention and curiosity in parts of the Sinophone sphere not subject to Mainland Chinese censorship. Subsequently, they have been translated into traditional Chinese and published in Taiwan, a Sinophone region noted for a high level of press freedom. The success of these books may naturally induce curiosity and questions from Chinese readers: ‘What are these books about?’, ‘Why do the authors write in English, but not in their native language?’, ‘Did the English language and the Western context allow them to tell the truth more freely, or distort facts more easily?’, ‘Since their works largely revolve around the Communist Party, the Cultural Revolution and Mao, do they give a somewhat objective and balanced account?’, ‘What made their books so well-received in the West?’, and ‘Have they translated the books into Chinese by themselves?’.

The Chinese translations of *Wild Swans* (Chang and Zhang 1992/2011) and *Mao’s Last Dancer* (Li and Wang 2006) are both of an unusual translation phenomenon, where books are

translated into the native language of the source text authors, and where source text (ST) authors have directly contributed to the translation decision-making. In this case, the source text authors may be in an authoritative position to introduce some liberal translation shifts, which ordinary translators could not normally afford to consciously introduce; the ST authors may even use the Chinese translation as an opportunity for rewriting what was conveyed in the English ST.

1.3 Introduction to the Data

In the present dissertation, *Wild Swans*, *Mao's Last Dancer*, and their Chinese translations, have been included as domains of study. The commensurability of the two STs and that of the two Chinese translations are set out in detail in the following section.

In addition, three other successful works by Chinese migrant writers serve as a reference within the perspective of the present thesis, and are referred to when necessary.

Table 1.3 lists some of the honours and recognition that these books have received in the “West”, which explain why they should be considered ‘highly valued’ texts (Halliday 1988, ix) in the “West”.

Table 1.1 Books under in-depth analysis in the present thesis

Parallel Corpora: STs	ST Authors	Destination of Emigration	Parallel Corpora: TTs (First line: original titles in Chinese; second line: transliteration)	Translators
<i>Wild Swans</i> (1991/2003)	Jung Chang (張戎)	U.K.	「鴻：三代中國女人的故事」(1992/2006) <i>(Hóng: Sāndài Zhōngguó Nǚrén de Gùshi)</i>	張僕 (ZHANG Pu)
<i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> (2003/2009)	Li Cunxin (李存信)	U.S.A. & Australia	「毛澤東時代的最後舞者」 (2006/2009) <i>(Máo zédōng Shídài de Zuìhòu Wǔzhě)</i>	王曉雨 (WANG Xiaoyu)

Table 1.2 Additional books for reference in the present thesis

Parallel Corpora: STs	ST Authors	Destination of Emigration	Parallel Corpora: TTs (First line: original titles in Chinese; second line: transliteration)	Translators
1. <i>Life and Death in Shanghai</i> (1986)	Nien Cheng (鄭念)	Canada & U.S.A	「上海生與死」 <i>(Shànghǎi Shēng Yǔ Sǐ)</i> (1987)	曾國清/陳小安 (TSENG Kuo-ch'ing / CHEN Hsiao-an)
2. <i>Waiting</i> (1999)	Ha Jin (哈金)	U.S.A.	「等待」 <i>(Děngdài)</i> (2000/2012)	金亮 (JIN Liang)
3. <i>Death of a Red Heroine</i> (2000)	Qiu Xiaolong (裘小龍)	U.S.A.	「紅英之死」 <i>(Hóngyīng zhī sǐ)</i> (2003: published in Mainland China)	俞雷 (YU Lei)

Table 1.3 Reasons that these five books are considered ‘highly valued’

Text	Reasons for being considered as ‘highly valued’
1. <i>Wild Swans</i> (1991/2003)	The book won two major awards in the UK: the <i>1992 NCR Book Award</i> and the <i>1993 British Book of the Year</i> . Having been translated into 40 languages, it is an international bestseller with over 15 million copies sold as of 2018 (http://www.jungchang.net).
2. <i>Mao’s Last Dancer</i> (2003/2009)	<p>The book has sold more than 500,000 copies as of 2017 (Penguin Australia 2017). In 2004, it won the <i>Australian Publishers Association’s Book of the Year for Younger Children</i> (Penguin Australia 2017). It is in the 56th reprint as of 2018 (http://www.licunxin.com/bio.htm).</p> <p>The young readers’ edition has won a number of awards including the <i>Young Australians Best Book Award (YABBA) Children’s Choice Awards</i> for Year 7-8 in 2008 (Penguin Australia 2017); this edition is extensively used in Australian English curriculum. In addition, <i>Mao’s Last Dancer</i> was adapted into a 2009 feature film of the same name by director Bruce Beresford and writer Jan Sardi.</p>
3. <i>Life and Death in Shanghai</i> (1986/2010)	The front cover indicates that over a million copies of this book had been sold as of 2010 (Cheng 2010). The front and back cover contain extremely positive press blurbs from well-known American press, including <i>The New York Times</i> , <i>Time</i> , and <i>The Washington Post</i> .
4. <i>Waiting</i> (1999)	The book won both the <i>National Book Award for Fiction</i> (U.K.) and the <i>PEN/Faulkner Award</i> . It was also a finalist for the <i>2000 Pulitzer Prize</i> .
5. <i>Death of a Red Heroine</i> (2000)	This book won the <i>Anthony Award for best first novel</i> in 2001.

Besides their status as ‘high valued’ texts in the Anglophone context, these five books share additional broad similarities:

- **Logogenesis**

- All five have China as the overall setting in the inner context;
 - Three out of the five are autobiographies, although there is also a detective story and a novel;
 - The inner contexts of all books focus on temporal periods of high political volatility in China. In all books but *Death of a Red Heroine*, the period between the 1960s and the 1970s, during which the Cultural Revolution took place, provides an important backdrop to the inner context. The inner context in *Death of a Red Heroine* mainly covers 1990 and 1991, shortly after the June 4th Incident in 1989.
- **Ontogenesis**
 - All were written by writers who were born and grew up in Mainland China and left China for the “West” after reaching adulthood (between the ages of 18 and 65). All ST authors speak Chinese as their native language (including standard Mandarin and various other spoken dialects such as Sichuanese, Qingdao dialect, and Shanghainese), and speak English as a second/foreign language.
 - For *Wild Swans*, *Mao’s Last Dancer* and *Waiting*, the Chinese translations were produced by Chinese-language writers (rather than professional translators) who were based in the same Anglophone country as the ST writers.
- **Phylo/sociogenesis**
 - Due to the politically sensitive plots, all books (including STs & TTs) are currently banned in Mainland China (although a Chinese translation of *Life and Death in Shanghai*, *Death of a Red Heroine*, and a condensed translation of *Mao’s Last Dancer*, were once available in Mainland China; also, a DVD of *Mao’s Last Dancer* appears to be available on Taobao.com as of June 2018, perhaps suggestive of inconsistent and differentiated policy of censorship in China). Nevertheless, there is evidence that some of the books are available in Mainland China as pirated copies.
 - All Chinese translations were published in Taiwan in traditional Chinese except for that of *Death of a Red Heroine*. The translation of the latter was once published in simplified Chinese in the Chinese mainland.

- All Chinese translations were produced shortly after the first publication of the STs, within one to three years.

The reasons for focusing on the two autobiographies/family chronicles, *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, are their greater social impact and high commensurability. Globally, *Wild Swans* (1991/2003) has crowned Jung Chang with a celebrity status. The same can be said about *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003/2009), at least in the Australian context: both the Chinese-Australian ballet dancer LI Cunxin and his book are household names; the inclusion of its young readers' version in the English curriculum is likely to continue to attract younger readers. In addition, another important factor that makes the two Chinese translations commensurable is that both Chang and Li are known to have personally contributed to the decision-making in the translation (Chang 1992/2011; C. Li 2009). This creates an unusual situation of translation, where deviation from the source text may be justifiable due to the intervention of the ST authors, and where the notion of the source text as the golden standard becomes questionable. Furthermore, they were both translated by Chinese language writers who lived in the same city as the ST authors, and who had collaborated with the ST authors on the translation. *Wild Swans* was translated by Jung Chang's brother, ZHANG Pu, who lives in London, where Jung Chang also lives. *Mao's Last Dancer* was translated by WANG Xiaoyu, who is based in Melbourne, where Li Cunxin used to live at the time of writing the book. Wang has personally interviewed Li and consulted his advice for the translation (C. Li 2009).

1.4 Reception of the Two Books and Previous Studies

1.4.1 The source texts

The five source texts have received overwhelmingly positive reviews in the “West” outside academia, as evidenced by the sale figures and awards previously mentioned. Reviewers comment on *Wild Swans* for its detailed descriptions of tragedies in 20th century China: for example, Ballard from *Sunday Times* praised it as ‘an unforgettable portrait of the brain-death of a nation’ (Chang 2017). It has also been recommended by notable female leaders such as Hillary Clinton (Chang 2017) and Raffel (2017) (presumably on behalf of Oprah Winfrey on Oprah's website) as an inspiring book about the courage and resilience of women.

However, within academia, these books have received little scholarly examination, despite their social impact. The only exception is *Wild Swans*, which has attracted some academic interest, mostly criticism. Some praise this book for its ‘impeccable focus on detail

and unwavering integrity' (Thurston 1992, 1207-1208). Most others, however, tend to be critical of Chang's interpretation of Chinese history and the demonisation of Mao in the book (cf. Chun 1992; Gao 1993; Gao 2002; Goodman 2006; McDougall 2014). For example, McDougall (2014, 57) comments that the success of *Wild Swans* 'reinforces the impression that English-language readers welcome or at least don't object to books that are critical of contemporary China'.

1.4.2 The Chinese target texts

To date, little attention has been paid to the Chinese translations of *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, both of which are in an unusual situation with direct contributions from source text authors. This situation shares similarities with self-translation, another important yet under-studied issue in translation studies (Wilson 2011), in which the author-translators often feel 'justified in introducing changes into the text where an 'ordinary translator' might hesitate to do so' (Koller 1979/1992, 197), because of the formers' assumed authority over the subject matter.

The interest in this translation phenomenon and the issue of ideological shifts arise from a previous case study of the present author (Li 2012) on omissions and additions in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*. That study revealed an astonishing number of translation shifts, many of which may be considered as a form of rewriting. One interesting aspect that emerged was the shift in political ideologies. Cases identified, although small in number within the scope of that study, revealed what one may assume were deliberate manipulation of political ideology in building stronger reader sentiments against the Japanese and the Communist Party of China in the target text (TT).

These isolated cases set up an interesting question as to whether the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*, in general, presents stronger resentment against the Communist Party of China, and if so, whether such a trend applies to other translations of a similar kind, due to the intervention of the source text authors and the similar shift in the context of culture from the Anglophone sphere to the Sinophone Taiwanese sphere. Controversial topics explored in these books, such as communism, the Communist Party of China, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and Chairman Mao Zedong, may be highly contentious, as they are perceived in vastly different ways in different countries. For example, it is officially pronounced in Mainland Chinese textbooks that Mao's contributions greatly outweigh his errors (cf. People's Daily

2012). However, in *Wild Swans* and in *Mao: the Unknown Story* (Chang and Halliday 2007), the latter being a biography of Mao by Jung Chang, Mao and his ‘cult of personality’ (first used by Marx 1877, in Heller and Plamper 2004; Chang and Halliday 2007) are blamed for having single-handedly caused the destructive Cultural Revolution. The two views on Mao are so different that it is almost impossible for them to come to a consensus; hence, a Chinese translation of these two books has never been allowed for publication in Mainland China. Taiwan, on the other hand, is known for having ‘one of the freest media environments in Asia’ (FOP 2016). In addition, Taipei had considered Beijing a major threat since 1949 until the generally thawing Cross-Strait Relations in the last three decades. As one may assume that Taiwan generally shares the anti-Mao and anti-communist stance of the source context of the Anglophone sphere, a question arises as to why the Chinese translation of *Wild Swan* is such a liberal rendition of the English source text. Can it be attributed to the ideological differences between the source context – the United Kingdom – and the target context – Taiwan – despite the assumed similarity of an anti-communist stance?

Furthermore, it is hypothesised that the liberties taken in manipulating the text through translation is a potential characteristic of the Chinese translations of English works written by Chinese migrant writers. To examine the linguistic manifestation of the ideology of translation and, in particular the translation of ideology, it was considered appropriate and necessary to refer to descriptions from Systemic Functional Linguistics for a more systematic, in-depth and objective (Munday 1998) evaluation of translation, using a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

1.5 Objectives and Research Questions of the Thesis

Arising from the present author’s previous Master’s study, the central question proposed for the present research is:

Do Chinese translators of English works by Chinese migrant writers tend to produce liberal translations based on their assumed authority over the subject matter and, more importantly, based on the differences of political ideology, individually and contextually?

The following research questions will serve as a guide to meet this objective:

1. Can the political ideologies expressed through the source texts and target texts be analysed within a Systemic Functional Linguistics framework, and compared in a systematic manner, to confirm or dismiss the hypothesis of ideological shifts in translation?
2. If so, how can these ideological shifts be categorised linguistically, in terms of different metafunctions and modes within SFL? What is the ensemble of shifts in meaning and particularly in ideology?
3. Do different translations share similarities in terms of the ideological shifts and their linguistic manifestation?
4. What contextual factors may have contributed to the ideological shifts in the translation? Consequently, how do the TTs differ from the STs in their ideological stance and functional characteristics?

1.6 An SFL-CDA-Corpus-Multimodal Approach to Translation Studies

Broadly speaking, translation is the rendering of text from one language to another, and is commonly considered to consist of written translation and oral interpreting. Written translation typically renders a written source text (ST) from its source language (SL) into a written target text (TT) in the target language (TL) (Munday 2012b, 8). However, this only corresponds with the category of ‘interlingual translation’ proposed by Jakobson (1959/2004, 139), the other two categories being ‘intralingual translation’ – rewording/paraphrasing in the same language system – and ‘intersemiotic translation’ – translation between different semiotic systems.

Although written translation and oral interpretation are both ancient practices, the English term ‘translation studies’ came from Dutch-based US scholar James S. Holmes (1924–1986) (Munday 2012b, 10), and, as an academic discipline, it only began in the second half of the 20th century (*ibid.*), emerging out of fields such as modern language, comparative literature, and linguistics (Munday 2009, 12).

One fundamental issue that continues to plague translation studies is the subjective nature of translation evaluation, both in pure translation studies such as translator training, and in descriptive translation studies. Cherry-picking can be a common problem in the absence of quantitative approaches: many translation studies are found to make conclusions based on the discussion of a small number of isolated examples (*cf.* Määttä 2004; Holland 2006; Ayyad 2012; Zhu and Zhang 2015). Similarly, discussions are often found to be qualitative

descriptions of word choices, omissions and additions, but often without a specific theoretical framework for the analysis of the ST and TT (cf. Al-Mohannadi 2006; Kim 2017). Furthermore, inherent linguistic differences are often not sufficiently taken into consideration when analysing translation shifts. A consequence of the lack of a systematic analytical framework, quantitative approach, and the consideration of typological differences, is that many translation studies can neither be considered to have made an objective translation evaluation nor to have provided generalizable methodologies and findings.

Bell's (1991) claim remains valid, that it is difficult to see how translation theorists can move beyond the subjective and normative evaluation of texts without drawing heavily on linguistics. According to Munday (2012b, 15), the more systematic, linguistic-oriented approach to the study of translation began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s, characterized by Catford's (1965) book, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, which follows the Firthian linguistic model, and in which the term 'translation shift' (Catford 1965, 73) was first proposed, and Nida's (1964) book, *Toward a Science of Translating*, which incorporated elements of Chomsky's then fashionable generative grammar. Moving away from Nida's static, rule-based approach, more researchers in translation studies started to apply discourse analysis from 1990s, which is primarily influenced by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and views translation as a choice-making process of producing a text within its context (Kim and Matthiessen 2015, 337). Many notable contemporary scholars in translation studies have used SFL theories and methods on different metafunctions within SFL: on the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions (Hatim and Mason 1990/2014; 1997/2005; Pérez 2007; Zhang and Pan 2015), for evaluation in translation (Munday 2012a); on the textual metafunction (Baker 1992/2011; Kim and Matthiessen 2015), on stylistics (cf. Lin 2015), for translation assessment and education (House 1977/1997; Kim 2009). The application of SFL to translation studies has been encouraged by the theoretically oriented discussions of translation by functional grammarians, in particular, by Halliday (2001) and Matthiessen (2001).

Many of these translation scholars have called for SFL as an empowering tool for translation studies (Taylor 1993; Munday 1998; Kim and Matthiessen 2015). The present thesis echoes Munday's (1998, 184) reason for incorporating SFL in translation studies:

'One of the aims of my work has been to suggest a more objective apparatus for such descriptive studies by using a systemic-functional grammar approach to compare the realization of the metafunctions in the ST and TT, allied to tools from corpus linguistics,

which would enable accurate and rapid analysis of many surface features. In this way, shifts at the level of the metafunctions should be identifiable and hypotheses formed as to why these have occurred. Because of the systematic link in systemic functional linguistics between lexicogrammar, discourse semantics and genre, the shifts can also be related to the Context of Culture of the ST and TT and the different Contexts of Situations in which both the author and translator work.’

1.6.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics: Some basic concepts

Systemic Functional Linguistics is the overarching theoretical framework underpinning the present thesis. It has a strong social orientation stemming from its early development. SFL was developed by Halliday, and had its roots in the work of the British linguist Firth (1890-1960), with influences also from the Danish linguist Hjelmslev (1899-1965), the anthropologist Malinowski (1884-1942), and the Prague School (Halliday 1985, 15-17).

SFL starkly contrasts with the formalist theories of linguistics, represented by Chomskyan theories: functional grammar views language as functionally motivated, the primary function of which is communication; SFL attributes great importance to external (cognitive and sociocultural) factors in explaining linguistic phenomena, as it is considered futile to attempt to describe and explain language systems and their components except through reference to these factors (Butler 2006, 679).

In SFL, language is viewed as a huge system with a great number of choices available to its users, depending on the meanings they wish to make; SFL serves to trace the choices made from these systems (Butt et al. 2000). Basic concepts in SFL include structure, system, stratification and metafunction, as discussed in the following.

Structure is the syntagmatic ordering in language, and is governed by the ordering principle of ‘rank’. For example, in the lexicogrammar of English, the rank or the compositional hierarchy from highest to lowest is: clause ~ phrase/group ~ word ~ morpheme (Matthiessen 1995; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 21); in Chinese, clause ~ phrase/group ~ morpheme (Halliday and McDonald 2004, 311-312).

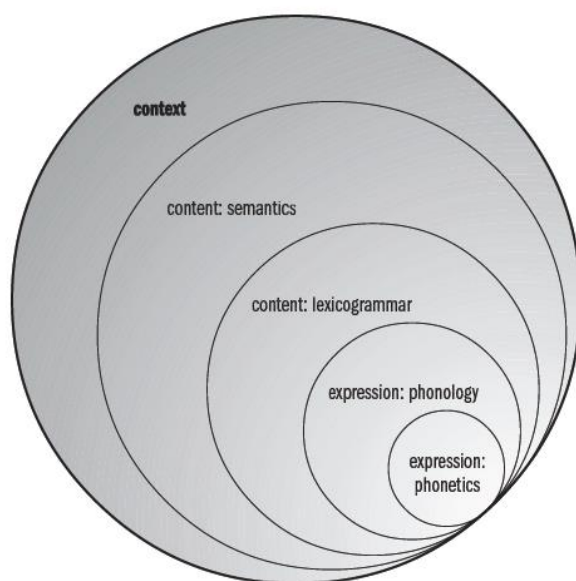
System is the paradigmatic ordering in language – patterns in what could be chosen instead of what. Its governing principle is ‘delicacy’. For example, the system of POLARITY includes two possibilities, positive and negative; with the former working out to be around ten times as frequent as the latter (Halliday and James 1993). Some negative clauses are more

generalised and less ‘delicate’, for example, ‘they did not leave’; while others are more specific and more delicate, for example, ‘they never left’.

As the title ‘systemic functional linguistics’ suggests, ‘system’ is prioritised over ‘structure’: the grammar is seen as a network of interrelated meaningful choices; or in other words, the dominant axis is the paradigmatic ordering (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 49). This has been further spelt out by Halliday (Halliday and Martin 1981, 14), ‘... language has been called ‘a system of systems’ ... To put the same thing in more systemic terms: a language is a very large network of interrelated sets of options, within which each set taken by itself is very small.’

Stratification is the organisation of language into ordered strata, or levels (Halliday 2001, 15). Its governing principle is ‘realisation’, with higher strata realised by lower strata. There are two fundamental strata in languages: ‘content’ and ‘expression’. Expression is the lower strata, and can be graphology and graphetics in the written mode, and phonology and phonetics in the sounding mode. Content is the higher strata, and expands into lexicogrammar and semantics (Halliday 1984b) in adult language. Both the expression and content strata are embedded within their situational and cultural context, as shown in Figure 1.1. The present thesis focuses on the analysis of the semantics of lexicogrammatical choices in English and Chinese.

Figure 1.1 Stratification (from Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 26)



Metafunction is the organisation of the content strata (lexicogrammar and semantics) into functional components: the ideational [experiential + logical], interpersonal and textual metafunctions (Halliday 2001, 16). They correspond to the basic functions of language in relation to our ecological and social environment: 1) to make sense of our experience, 2) to act out our social relationships, 3) to relate the first two and turn them into coherent discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 30-31). The notion of metafunction is fundamental to SFL, as systems at every stratum are located within their metafunctional context.

These key concepts form the linguistic basis for examining translation equivalence and shifts between the source texts and target texts in the present thesis.

1.6.2 Language Typology

All strata of language are embedded in context; the considerable differences in the sociocultural conditions under which languages are used result in diversity among languages (Butler 2006, 696-704). Hence, when applying SFL to translation studies, it is imperative to take typological differences into consideration to ensure commensurability when analysing seemingly parallel texts in two different languages. For example, in Chinese, there is no grammatical system commensurable to that of TENSE in English: temporality in Mandarin is expressed either lexically or through grammatical systems other than TENSE, such as ASPECT. This shows the incommensurability between English and Chinese when it comes to TENSE.

Matthiessen (2001, 42) noted a gap between contrastive/ typological linguistics and translation studies, which remains valid as of 2017: many translation studies do not refer to multilingual research within contrastive and comparative linguistics; likewise, typological studies do not refer to translation studies. It is not uncommon to find studies that apply SFL theories and concepts from the book of Halliday and Matthiessen (1985; 1994; 2014), *Introduction to Functional Grammar (IFG)*, which is essentially a description of English grammar, directly to other languages without considering typological differences, which inevitably creates concerns over the validity of the results.

Translation studies and typological linguistics could learn a good deal from each other. Sufficient typological considerations ensure that similar linguistic approaches can be confidently applied to the analysis of texts in different languages. However, challenges remain in applying contrastive linguistics to translation issues. English has been described in great delicacy in *IFG 2014*, yet Halliday admits that there is no such thing as a ‘complete’ account

of the grammar of a language, because language is inexhaustible in its system potential (Halliday 1994, xiii). For languages other than English (LOTE) that have been described from an SFL perspective, typological descriptions can be less delicate. Although more than a dozen languages have been described from an SFL perspective as of 2017, available descriptions often lack the delicacy needed to match those of English to sufficiently address questions asked by translation scholars. For instance, some sub-systems have been described of English from an SFL perspective, but not of LOTE: for example, DEGREE OF INTENSITY in Chinese. Even when descriptions are available, sub-systems are often elaborated with limited examples, insufficient for the analysis of large corpora. In addition, the typological descriptions of many languages have yet to be done. The lack of description and delicacy is a major challenge when applying SFL to translation studies (Kim 2009). However, this is, in turn, an area where translation studies can contribute, by identifying the gaps, providing richer typological descriptions, and by examining the accuracy and applicability of linguistic theories through contextualizing them within real-world interlingual encounters.

As of 2014 (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 54), fourteen languages other than English had been described from an SFL perspective: German, French, Telugu, Vietnamese, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, Pitjantjatjara, Danish, Spanish, Arabic, Òkó, Bajjika, and Cantonese; works on Korean and Mongolian languages are underway. Fortunately, amongst languages other than English, Chinese has the unique advantage of having been described first and by Halliday (Halliday 1984a; 1993; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999; Halliday and McDonald 2004), who in fact carried out his early, PhD linguistic studies on the Chinese language (Halliday 1956). However, as previously mentioned, translation researchers frequently require greater delicacy than what has been provided by the existing works of contrastive grammarians. One significance of the present thesis, therefore, lies in the contribution of richer descriptions of the two languages, particularly of Chinese.

1.6.3 The study of ideology in translation: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As the overall title suggests, the aim of the present thesis is not merely to identify and describe linguistic equivalence and shifts between the source texts and target texts, but also to reveal regularities in the shifts that may have ideological consequences. The latter serves to test the hypothesis from my previous study (Li 2012), that the Chinese translations published in Taiwan of *Wild Swans* may express a different political ideology by presenting a harsher, more negative evaluation of Mao and the Communist Party of China.

The definition of ideology can be either narrow or broad, critical or neutral. Whereas the present thesis stays away from the negative connotation of ideology being erroneous and misleading, it is primarily interested in ideology in its traditionally political sense, as the sustaining of the social relations of domination.

Language is an appropriate and important medium for the study of ideology, as language is an indicator of a social and political situation. It is intricately and closely related to ideologies, because language is the most common form of social behaviour, through which ideology circulates (Fairclough 1995/2013). Translation is also intricately linked to ideology, which has been discussed by a number of scholars (Hatim and Mason 1997/2005; Hatim 2001/2014; Calzada-Pérez 2003; Nord 2003; Munday 2007; Tymoczko 2014), and especially Lefevere (1992), who views translation as rewriting, the motivation for which is either *ideological* (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant ideology) or *poetological* (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant/preferred poetics). The present thesis deals with the ideological shifts in a very specific type of translation: the Chinese translations of politically volatile yet highly successful English works by Chinese migrant writers. As far as I know, this type of translation has not been previously investigated. In addition, whereas detailed SFL-based linguistic analysis is expected to reveal both ideological and poetological considerations, the focus will be on the former. The present study concerns the comparison of the representation and evaluation of the Chinese communist regime and its representative leader, MAO Zedong, within two broad contexts, the Anglophone/ “Western” countries versus Taiwan; both contexts, capitalism/ democracy prevails over communism.

Revealing ideological investment is a key objective in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), hereinafter referred to as CDA in the present thesis. CDA is known as a rather heterogeneous school, some of whose prominent scholars openly adopt a Hallidayan functional grammar for discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992/2013; van Leeuwen 2005). It is defined by Wodak and Meyer (2015, 4) as follows:

In general, CDS (CDA) as a school or paradigm is characterized by a number of principles: for example, all approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and electric. CDS approaches are characterized by the common interests in deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). CDS researchers also attempt to make their own positionings and interests explicit while

retaining their respective scientific methodologies and remaining self-reflective of their own research process.

The word ‘discourse’ is discussed in detail alongside ‘text’ in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3. Here, a brief explanation of the word ‘critical’ is necessary.

The term ‘critical’ was first used in language studies by the Critical Linguists (Fowler et al. 1979; Kress and Hodge 1979, in Wodak and Mayer 2015, 7) who maintained that systematic analysis of language could demystify social events, such as the concealing of agency. Essentially, critical theories aim to ‘produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection’ (ibid., 7). The word ‘critical’ does not imply superiority, but specific ethical standards: although CDA researchers are inevitably driven by their own social economic and political motives, they intend to ‘make their position, research interests and values explicit, and their criteria as transparent as possible, without feeling the need to apologize for the critical stance of their work’ (van Leeuwen 2006, 293).

Firmly based on the concepts of stratification and metafunction in SFL for in-depth linguistic analysis, the present thesis has borrowed perspectives from CDA to navigate its analysis, specifically the three stages: 1) analyse the signifier, the textual features of the discourses; 2) analyse the signified by bridging the text and context, which involves examining the process of text production, distribution and consumption; 3) analyse the wider social impact of the texts under investigation. The three stages guide investigation into both text and context, and highlight the role of text both as a product of the context and as an impactful agent in its context of reception.

1.6.4 The incorporation of corpus linguistics

A common ground between SFL and CDA is their priority given to authentic linguistic productions as data and probabilistic grammar. Naturally, many scholars who base their theories on at least one of these approaches have turned to corpus linguistics, which is essentially the quantitative study of language based on large corpora of authentic text (Aijmer and Altenberg 1991; Hunston 2013). Corpus linguistics goes back to the early 1960s, when the first generation of one-million-word, computer-readable corpora were created (Laviosa 2002), represented by the Brown Corpus of Written American English (Francis and Kucera 1979), and the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen) Corpus of British English (Leech and Johansson 1976);

the latter being designed as a parallel corpus to the Brown Corpus. Corpus linguistics has been rapidly expanding since the mid-1980s (Xiao and Hu 2015). In the last few decades, corpora have increased dramatically in size and diversified in modes and languages.

Like CDA, corpus linguistics is a heterogeneous field (McEnery and Hardie 2011), and shares many natural affinities with SFL, most significantly the priority given to naturally occurring language and the calculation of probabilistic frequencies. Unsurprisingly, the two approaches have been combined by many (Hunston 2013). When used together effectively, corpus linguistics and SFL serve to complement each other. As Halliday notes (2004; 2008, in Hunston 2013), corpus linguistics tends to prioritise lexis, and SFL tends to prioritise grammar. Because lexis and grammar are not two different phenomena, but are viewed as being along the same continuum, called lexicogrammar, with lexis being the more ‘delicate grammar’ (Hasan 1987; 2016), SFL and corpus linguistics can be effectively combined by obtaining quantitative information using corpus investigation and explaining them using SFL theory, to examine the probability of not just the more explicit lexical items but also the more implicit grammatical patterns.

Corpus linguistics has been shown to be highly useful in various fields including contrastive linguistics (Johansson 2007) and translation studies, where there has been a growing number of corpus-based studies (cf. Baker 1993; 1995; Laviosa 2002; Johansson 2007; Kruger 2012; Xiao and Hu 2015). One focus of corpus-based translation studies appears to be translation universals, which was proposed by Baker and refers to the ‘linguistic features that typically occur in translations rather than original texts and are independent of the influence of the specific language pairs involved’ (Baker 1993; in Laviosa 2002, 18). Features of translation universals include explicitation, simplification, normalisation/conservatism, and levelling out (Baker 1996, 181-184). However, the theory of translation universals is still controversial, and has been criticised and rejected by a number of scholars (cf. House 2008; Becher 2010; Sutter et al. 2012). For example, House (2008, 6-19) argues that the real universals lie only in the metafunctions of language, which are clearly not peculiar to translation. Patterns in translation that at first suggest a confirmation of translation universals may in fact not be ‘universal’, as they may be subject to language-pair specificity, directionality, genre specificity, and diachronic development. Although the present thesis does not set out to test the hypothesis of translation universals, it will compare the translated Chinese with corpora of non-translated Chinese to determine whether the regularities in the shifts can be said to be non-random, in the sense that may appear to be directed, whether unconsciously or deliberately. In other words,

both typological differences and the potential impact of ‘translation universals’ will be considered and subsequently filtered when highlighting those motivated selections in translation.

The importance of incorporating corpus linguistics in the present thesis research is threefold. Firstly, it serves to reduce the individual cognitive perception of language and thus enhance objectivity. Secondly, it complements in-depth linguistic analysis by revealing probabilistic grammar on a larger scale. Thirdly, texts within the scope of this study are compared with parallel corpora in English and Chinese to identify typological differences, which serve to convincingly highlight the ideologically motivated choices in the translation process.

1.6.5 Summary: translation model in the present research

The present research falls within Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) (Toury 1995, 10). It is not translation criticism, as it does not intend to be ‘prescriptive’ (ibid., 19). Instead, it aims to reveal and describe patterns of political ideologies and ideological shifts expressed through regularities in the linguistic choices in both the source and target texts.

The present research takes a critical perspective of the translation. However, to reveal motivated ideological manipulation in the translated texts, it needs to firstly understand the ideological investments within the source texts. In this sense, translation serves as a powerful comparison in highlighting the embedment of ideologies in the source texts. The present thesis does not merely describe linguistic features of the translated Chinese texts; instead, it aims also to reach a better understanding of ideological investments in the English source texts, through analysing the STs and making comparisons with the TTs.

There are two main reasons for this twofold approach. Firstly, although the source texts were published in English, the inner context, logogenetically, unfolds mostly in China, with Chinese as the original medium of communication amongst the represented participants. Hence, the Chinese translations, to which the source text authors personally contributed, may be helpful in examining the validity and proportionality of claims in the source text. A comparison with the Chinese translations may lead to a better understanding of any potential bias and factual distortion embedded in the source texts. Secondly, the present thesis acknowledges and discusses the significant social impacts of the English source texts, which are stronger than those of the Chinese target texts, and hence have more potential for disseminating ideologies.

For these two reasons, the present thesis seeks to reveal ideological investments within both the English source texts and the translated texts.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

The present thesis follows a ‘thesis by publication’ format. Except for Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 8, the bulk of each chapter has been prepared for or submitted to a specialised journal for publication. Each of the four analytical chapters explores the influence of political ideology in translation from a different perspective, focusing either on a different metafunction or different semiotic modes; yet all serve to address the same research objective and questions raised in Section 1.5 above.

Chapter 2 proposes a Systemic Functional Linguistic approach to the study of ideological shifts in translation, which is the overarching theoretical framework of the present dissertation, based on an extensive and critical review of relevant literature. It provides a description of the fundamental principles of SFL, and the relevance between SFL, Critical Discourse Analysis, Corpus Linguistics, Multimodal Studies, and Translation Studies. In addition, it seeks to bridge the gap between text and context in translation, discuss the specific systems and modes that are potentially indicative of ideological investment, and highlight those that are to be examined in the present thesis: the ideational metafunction, the interpersonal metafunction, and multimodality. Each of the four analytical chapters has an independent literature review section; however, repetition of literature review in Chapter 2 will be minimal: because only the immediately relevant review can be included in a journal article due to space constraint, Chapter 2 reviews the literature from a more comprehensive and theoretical perspective, which may not be directly applicable to the data analysis but is nevertheless significant to the theoretical basis of the present thesis.

Chapter 3 offers impressionistic, mostly qualitative comparisons of the overall book structuring, their key claims, and supporting evidence of the chosen texts. It seeks to consider not only the accuracy of the key claims and evidence, but also their proportionality, by drawing horizontal comparisons between China and the rest of the world, especially the three major Anglophone countries, in the represented historical periods in the books, mainly the 1950s-1970s.

Chapter 4 examines shifts in the representation in *Wild Swans* of the main agents in the Cultural Revolution. The focus is the ideational metafunction, specifically TRANSITIVITY in

the experiential metafunction, which is an obvious starting point for ideological inquiry, and CLAUSE STATUS in the logical metafunction. Through a combination of the transitive and ergative analyses of participant types, an elaborated model of Hasan's Cline of Dynamism (1985), and consideration of Butt's (2008) instantial weight, it reveals shifts in the representation of main agents, their dynamism, and whether such dynamism is likely to be seen as realis and actualised. Results reveal dramatic shifts in the representation of responsibilities in the Chinese translation, particularly in the agency of Mao.

Chapter 5, published in *Journal of World Languages*, analyses the interpersonal function, focusing on MODALITY in relation to MOOD, which is a device to express a speaker's stance. This study analyses the linch-pin chapters from *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, using the computational environment of *SysFan* to produce quantitative results for the analysis of shifts in MODALITY in the translation, and subsequently provides qualitative analysis to demonstrate the impacts of such shifts. The study shows how meaningful choices of MODALITY in translation can significantly alter the evaluation of represented characters, especially leaders of the Communist Party of China. In addition, it is meaningful to future studies on MODALITY between English and Chinese, with more comprehensive descriptions of MODALITY in Chinese from an SFL perspective.

Chapter 6 is closely related to Chapter 5, in investigating the shifts in the interpersonal meaning from a slightly different angle: DEGREE OF INTENSITY, and with a quantitative, corpus-based approach. This study is corpus-based, in two senses: firstly, the books have been converted into machine-readable format and serve as corpora in their own right; secondly, established external corpora of non-translated English and non-translated Chinese serve as a reference for findings within the focus corpora. This chapter shows translation shifts in the interpersonal assessment and evaluation that largely confirm findings from patterns identified in Chapter 5. In addition, the quantitative approach shows that ideologically motivated selections can be separated from those that result from typological differences. Furthermore, its use of the concordance programme, *SysConc* (Wu 2000), for revealing the probabilistic patterns of the DEGREE OF INTENSITY in large-scale English and Chinese corpora, is designed to be retroductable and generalisable.

Although Chapters 3, 5 and 6 make comparisons between the translation of *Wild Swans* and that of *Mao's Last Dancer* to explore any potential for a more generalisable conclusion on the Chinese translations of English works by Chinese migrant writers, the present thesis does

not set out to compare the two translations on every front. Instead, *Wild Swans* and its translation, as the clear focus within the present thesis, provides the only scope for study in Chapters 4 and 7, which respectively address the ideational metafunction and multimodality. Any conclusion from these two chapters will apply to only the translation of *Wild Swans*.

Chapter 7, published in *Social Semiotics*, examines the influence of ideology in the multimodal translation of the front covers of mainly *Wild Swans*. Covers are considered paratexts (Genette 1997), which in effect control the reading of the whole texts. The analytical tools employed include an adaptation of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) *Visual Grammar*, although this study takes extra consideration of rank, contextual analysis, and typological differences. Besides analysing the cover design and the visual elements embedded, this study also takes a quantitative approach in locating certain verbal elements on the cover within the full texts of the focus and reference corpora. This paper not only shows patterns of multimodal shifts that converge with the linguistic shifts identified in Chapters 3-6, but also identifies new patterns that have not been detected in the linguistic analysis.

Chapter 8 concludes the present thesis by summarising the results of the five analytical chapters in answering the research questions presented in Section 1.5 above, discusses the significance and limitations of the present thesis, and makes suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF IDEOLOGY IN TRANSLATION

2.1 General Introduction and Overview of the Chapter

This chapter proposes a Systemic Functional Linguistic approach to the study of ideological shifts in translation, based on critical reviews of relevant literature. As previously mentioned, each of the chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 has its own independent literature review section of the specific linguistic and visual sub-systems under investigation. This chapter sets out to complement the literature reviews in the analytical papers with a more general and theoretical perspective; careful attention has been paid to minimise any repetition in the literature review.

Section 2.2 describes and explains Systemic Functional Linguistics and its key concepts, including stratification, rank, instantiation, metafunction, text and context. Section 2.3 gives a historical overview of ideology and a working definition of ideology in the present thesis, and explores how ideology can be studied from the analysis of text, highlighting specific areas in semantics and lexicogrammar that are potentially indicative of ideological investment. Section 2.4 discusses prior studies of ideology in translation from an SFL approach, and some grammarians' views on translation studies, and subsequently proposes a new SFL-CDA-CL approach to the study of ideology in English-Chinese translation taken in the present thesis. Section 2.5 summarises this chapter by explaining the overall theoretical framework and its relevance to the subsequent analytical chapters.

2.2 A theoretical framework: Systemic Functional Linguistics

2.2.1 Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) forms the overarching theoretical basis for the linguistic analysis in the present thesis. Grammarians of SFL view language from a social-semiotic perspective (Halliday 1985). What is meant in SFL by 'social-semiotic'? Firstly, semiotics goes back to the ancient Greek terms, 'semainon' and 'semainomenon', or 'signifier' and 'signified', respectively, as developed in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure; it is the study of sign systems (ibid.). Amongst all sign systems, language is the most important, comprehensive and all-embracing way of meaning, amongst other symbolic forms such as painting and music. Language also serves as an encoding system for many of the other semiotic systems (Halliday 1978, 2). Secondly, this perspective is social, because SFL is particularly concerned with

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understanding language in its relationship to a particular aspect of human experience, that of social structure, which is an aspect of the social system.

Halliday (1985, 5) points out that text and context are aspects of the same process, with context being the bridge between the text and the material situation in which texts actually occur. His conception of context within SFL developed from the terms ‘context of situation’ and ‘context of culture’ proposed by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1923, in Halliday 1985, 5-8). Malinowski conducted research in the Trobriand Islands, which is a part of Papua New Guinea. Although he was fluent in the local language, Kiriwinian, he found it difficult to interpret and expound his ideas on the culture to English-speaking readers, to whom a literal translation from Kiriwinian would be unintelligible, due to their lack of understanding of the situation in which the text was uttered. Therefore, he proposed the term of context of situation, and provided an account of what was happening at the time to help his readers understand the text. He also found it necessary to give more than the context of situation – the immediate environment by describing the context of culture. He considered both necessary for an adequate understanding of the text (ibid., 5-8).

Malinowski’s conception of the context of situation was further developed by John Rupert Firth (1935, in Halliday 1985, 6-7), who set up a framework for the description of the context of situation that could be used for the study of texts as part of a general linguistic theory. The description by Firth includes the participants, the action of the participants, other relevant features of the situation, and the effects of the verbal action.

Professor Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday further developed the two notions, of context of situation, and of context of culture, in his Systemic Functional Linguistics, which is a model for ‘language in context’ that is also built on the work of Saussure, the Prague school, and American anthropological linguists Sapir and Whorf (Webster 2015, 3-16). Language is seen as inherently functional: language is functionally organised, and language is the way it is because of the social functions it serves (Thibault 1987, 606). The grammar is also systemic, because language is seen as being organised in systems of networks; SFL attaches greater importance to the paradigmatic ordering of language – *what could go instead of what* – than the syntagmatic ordering – *what goes together with what*. This focus on the notion of ‘possible actions’ – that is, what speakers and hearers can do (Bateman 2017, 15) – ensures that SFL, a powerful model of language, is highly relevant to the investigation of ideological shifts, within the present dissertation: ideology is considered to guide choice-making, and ideology is

primarily actualised in the forms of linguistic choices; hence, SFL may serve to trace the ideologically-meaningful choices made within a given context of situation and culture.

In the following sub-sections, key dimensions of SFL will be explained, comprising stratification, rank, instantiation, metafunction, text, and context.

2.2.2 Stratification and rank

SFL relies on two key notions of hierarchy in viewing language, stratification and rank, of which the former is more distinctive to SFL (Bartlett and O'Grady 2017, 3).

As Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1, Section 1.6.1 has shown, language is seen in SFL as being stratified into multiple strata: context, semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology or graphology (for writing; also, orthography), and phonetics or graphetics (for writing). The governing principle between strata is that of realisation, which is conceptualised as a dialectic relationship (Hasan 1995; 1999a, in Lukin 2002, 38). For example, the stratum of context is realised by the stratum of semantics, which means that the selections in the context activate choices in semantics, which activate lexicogrammatical choices, which activate phonological/graphological choices; linguistic choices in turn construe context. Such a process is a simultaneous one.

The stratum of context provides cultural and situational settings in which language is uttered and understood. In other words, all strata of language are embedded within the context.

Semantics and lexicogrammar constitute the content plane of language. The stratum of semantics is the systems of meaning. As the highest stratum within language, it functions as an interface between language and the environment outside of language (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 42): on the one hand, it interfaces with context; on the other hand, it is considered to drive the lexicogrammar.

The concept of lexicogrammar is distinctive to SFL, as it views lexis and grammar as being on the same cline, with lexis being the most delicate grammar (Hasan 1987; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014); the studies of lexis and of grammar provide different perspectives on the same phenomenon (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 5-6). This concept is particularly useful in contrastive linguistics, as some systems, such as TENSE, may be more grammaticalised in some languages, such as in English, but more lexicalised in others, such as in Chinese. The analysis of lexicogrammar is central to the understanding of meaning in SFL, as Halliday states

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(1994, xvii), ‘A text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realized through wordings; and without a theory of wordings – that is, a grammar – there is no way of making explicit one’s interpretation of the meaning of a text’.

This explains why lexicogrammatical analysis plays the central role of linguistic analysis within the present study. Having said that, the line between semantics and lexicogrammar is not always clear: as Halliday explains, ‘a functional grammar is one that has been pushed in the direction of the semantics’ (1994: xix). For example, lexicogrammatical metaphors obscure the line between semantics and lexicogrammar (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 27). Therefore, whereas lexicogrammatical analysis remains central to the present thesis, it will explicitly take semantics into consideration when necessary.

Lexicogrammar is realised by the expression plane: phonology/ graphology, and phonology being further realised by phonetics/graphetics. In protolanguage, which is used in the second half of a child’s first year of life (cf. Halliday 1973; 2003), there is no plane of lexicogrammar; instead, semantics is directly realised by phonology; in other words, content is directly mapped onto expression, without any intervening lexicogrammar.

The stratified view of language and the embedment of all linguistic strata within the stratum of context are paramount to the study of text in the present thesis, which does not analyse semantics and especially lexicogrammar in isolation, but in relation to their context. For example, when analysing the translation shifts in the semantic/grammatical system of MODALITY, it is important to take the context of situation and the broader context of culture into consideration to interpret the linguistic data.

Another key notion of hierarchy in SFL is rank, which is the syntagmatic ordering principle organised by the relationship of ‘A being a part of B’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 21). Such compositional hierarchies can be found within each stratum. The ranks within the English lexicogrammar from the highest to the lowest are:

Rank in lexicogrammar: clause > phrase/ group > word > morpheme.

As previously mentioned, the analysis of lexicogrammar is central to the analysis of meaning in SFL; within lexicogrammar, the central processing unit is the clause. This is because ‘it is in the clause that meanings of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 10). Below the clause, there are the ranks of phrase/group, word, and morpheme. Above the clause, when at least two clauses are

linked together grammatically (through the selection in the systems of LOGICAL-SEMANTIC RELATIONS), they form a clause complex (ibid., 8). It needs to be pointed out that units of every rank may form complexes, such as group complexes, word complexes, and morpheme complexes (ibid., 9). Furthermore, there is the potential of rank shift (ibid., 9), where a unit of one rank may be ‘down-ranked to function in the structure of a unit of its own rank or of a rank below’: for example, a clause can be down-ranked to the rank of group, or ‘upgraded’ (ibid., 700) as in metaphoric strategies such as ‘I think that...’, ‘I guess that...’, which serve to upgrade the interpersonal assessment from group rank to clause rank.

2.2.3 Instantiation, text and system

Stratification and rank are both hierarchical perspectives on the organisation of language. Another perspective of the organisation of language is instantiation: the movement from the system as potential to the texts as specific instances of the system (Bartlett and O'Grady 2017, 6). Halliday (in Thibault 1987) developed the relationship between text and system from Saussure's discussion of *langue* (language system) versus *parole* (language in use), Hjelmslev's *system* versus *process*, and Firth's *system* versus *text*. The system is the underlying potential of a language as a meaning-making resource for its speaker/user (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 27). A text is ‘any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation’ (Halliday 1985, 10). It needs to be noted that the language system and text are not two separate phenomena; rather, they are the same phenomenon observed from the two ends of the cline of instantiation. To illustrate this, Halliday gives a well-known example of climate and weather, with climate being weather observed over a greater depth of time, and weather being an instance of climate (Halliday 1992, 26, in Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 27). A text derives from the potentiality of the system, but also in turn redefines the system (Halliday 1991).

The cline of instantiation from the language system to text, from the context of culture to the context of situation, is shown in Figure 2.1, which also shows the realisation of the context of culture by language, and context of situation by text. On the left side of Figure 2.1, at the potential end, context of culture is realised by the language system. On the right side, at the instance end, context of situation is realised by text. A context of situation is an instance of the context of culture, and a text is an instance of the language system. In between the two poles of language system and texts, there are subpotentials of language systems, including code and register (Bartlett and O'Grady 2017, 6).

Figure 2.1 Cline of Instantiation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 28)

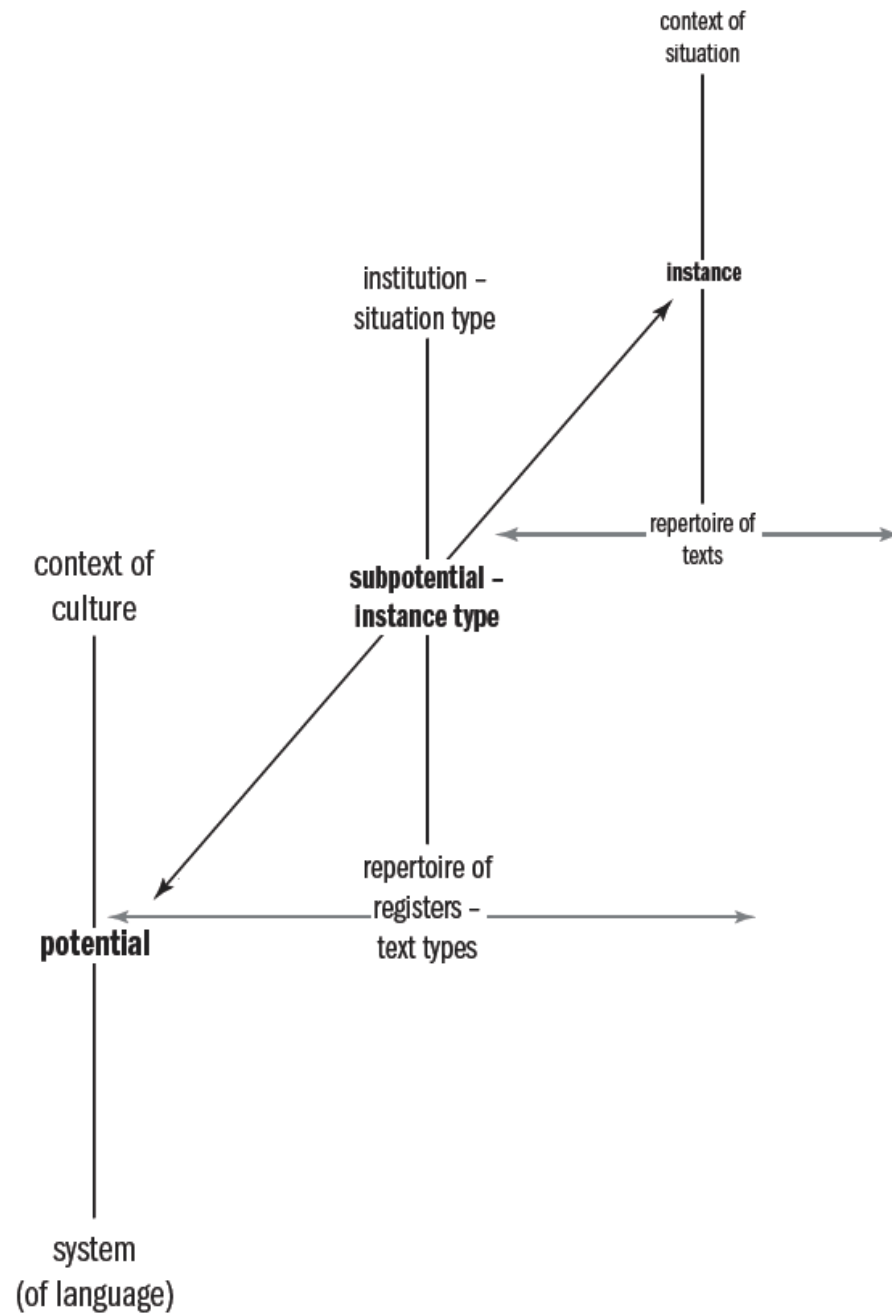
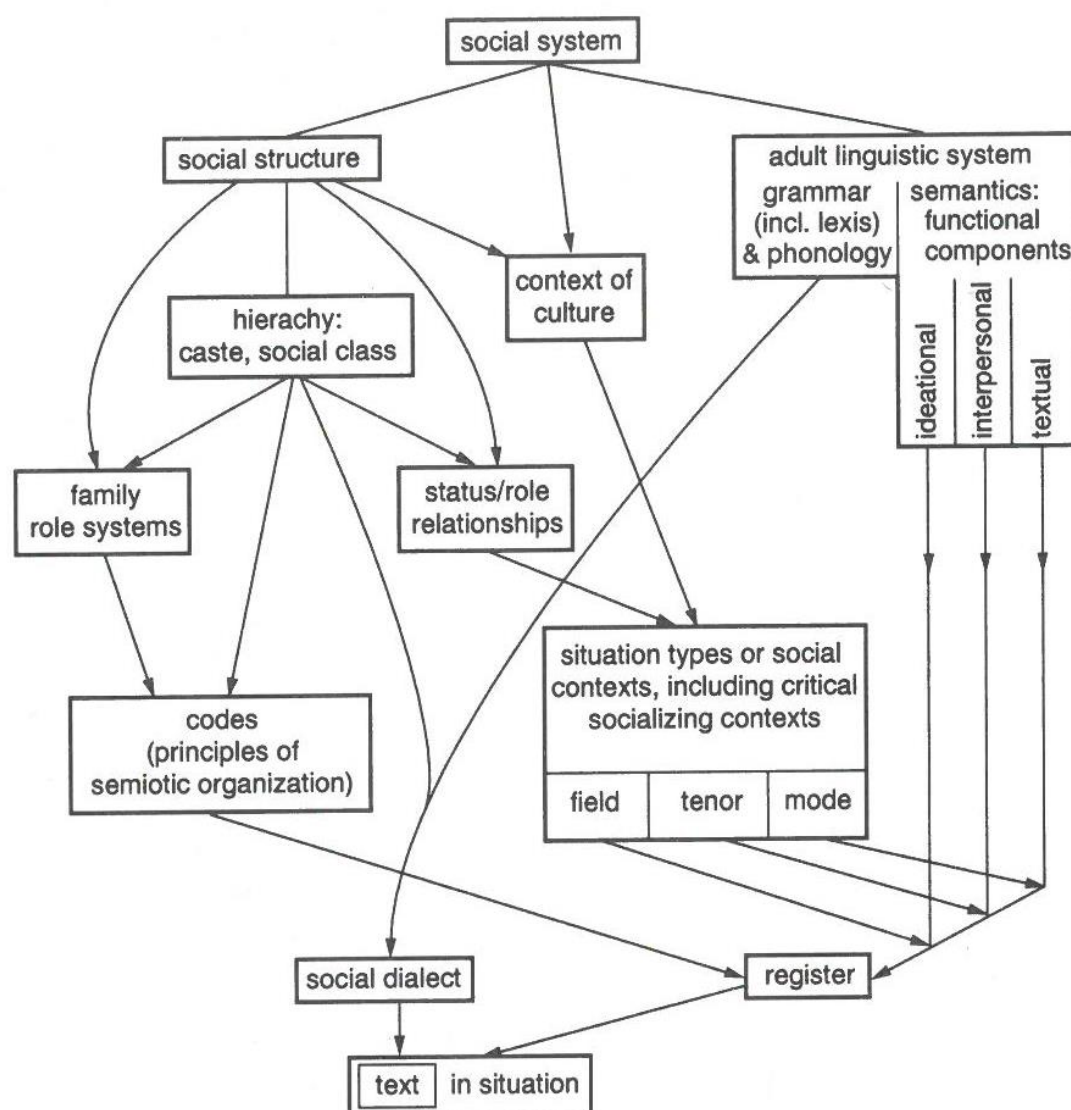


Figure 2.2 Society, culture, language, text and situation (Halliday 1974, from Hasan 1996, 40)



As Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 show, language is a major semiotic system that, together with other semiotic systems such as image, gesture, architecture, constitutes the human culture. Language is defined as a ‘large, open, dynamic system network, evolving and adapting in response to environmental demands (the uses speakers make of it) and also shaping the environments with which it interacts’ (Asp 2017, 29). Language is a system of systems; SFL is called systemic because the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014; Hasan 1996c), with systems and system networks representing choices available to speakers. System networks represent the paradigmatic

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ordering of language: what could go instead of what (cf. Halliday 1966a; Fawcett 1988; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 22).

A system network in SFL contains some basic components: *environment*, *choice*, and *or* (Hasan 1996c, 106). The environment is what is under description. For example, as shown in Figure 2.3 in English, clause is the environment for the system of POLARITY, contrasting positive and negative, as all clauses must make a choice in the system of POLARITY in English. The two choices, positive and negative, represent the potential; in this system, grammarians have calculated the probabilities of the two choices in the English language, with positive being selected nine times as frequently as negative. Of course, Figure 2.3 is a broad-brush representation, and does not take into consideration how the positive and negative manifest themselves. In a text, negative, for instance, can manifest in various ways, in different sub-systems, with some sub-systems being more generalised, or less delicate than others. For example, the choice of ‘negative’ in ‘father was not recovered’ is less delicate than the negative selected in circumstance in ‘father was in no way recovered’; the latter is shown as the specialised negative type in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.3 The System Network of POLARITY (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 22)

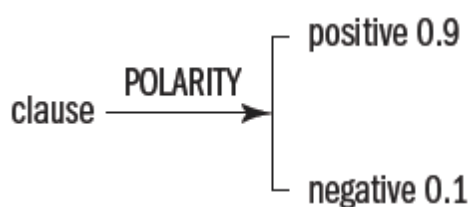
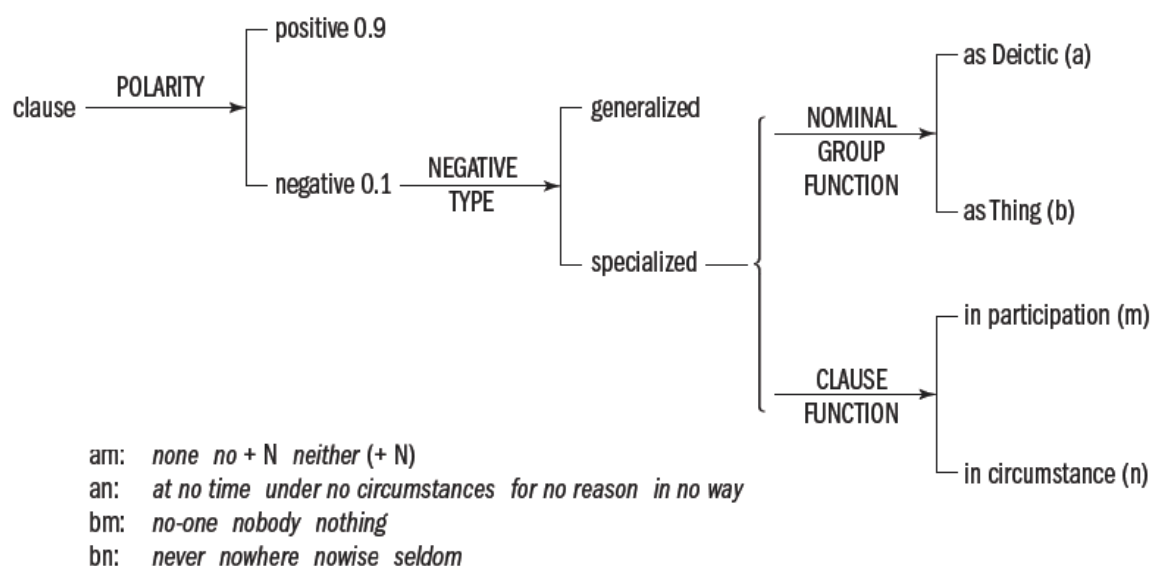


Figure 2.4 The System Network of POLARITY in English, next step in delicacy (ibid., 23)



In SFL, systems are seen as functionally localised: it is more likely that systems that serve the same function are interdependent on one another, whereas systems serving different functions tend to be independent (Asp 2017, 35). As a result, Halliday theorises language system as being organised into metafunctions (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), which are discussed below. For this reason, each of the analytical chapters from Chapter 4 to 6 focuses on specific sub-systems within a given metafunction.

2.2.4 Metafunction

In SFL, language is considered to have two basic functions in relation to the physical and social environment: to construe human experience, and to enact personal and social relationships with those around us. These two functions are called, respectively, the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. In addition, there is a third metafunction – the textual metafunction, which is an enabling and facilitating function that serves to turn the first two metafunctions into coherent and cohesive discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 30-31).

SFL is not the only functional view of language. Prior to Halliday, a number of notable linguists and anthropologists proposed various classifications of linguistic functions, some of which are listed in Table 2.1.

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Table 2.1 Some pre-Hallidayan classifications of the functions of language (Halliday 1985, 15-17)

Scholar	Proposed classifications of the functions of language
Malinowski (1923)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pragmatic</i> (active or narrative) • <i>magical</i> (ritual or magical uses of language that were associated with ceremonial or religious activities in the culture) • <i>phatic</i> (serving to oil the social process and to avoid friction, such as ‘lovely weather, isn’t it?’)
Karl Bühler (1934)	<p>Bühler inherited his framework from Plato’s distinction of first person, second person and third person:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>expressive</i> (language that is oriented towards the speaker) • <i>conative</i> (language that is oriented towards the addressee) • <i>representational</i> (language that is oriented towards the rest of reality – that is, anything other than speaker or addressee)
Roman Jakobson (1960)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>expressive</i> • <i>conative</i> • <i>representational</i> • <i>poetic</i>: oriented towards the message • <i>transactional</i>: oriented towards the channel • <i>metalinguistic</i>: oriented towards the code

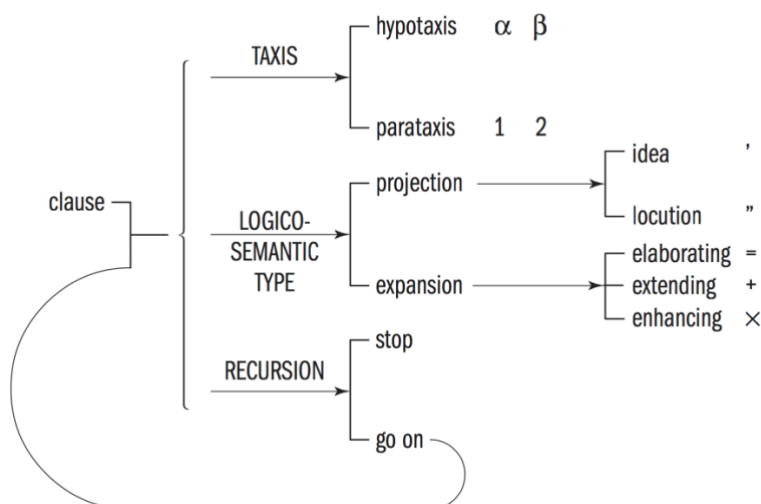
Halliday developed his trifunctional view on language from these scholars, but he took a step further: he proposed that the functionality does not merely lie in the use of language, as claimed by these scholars, but ‘is a fundamental property of language itself’ (ibid., 17); language has evolved to become what it is because of what it has to do. Hence, it is not just that language can be used functionally but that each stratum of language itself serves three functions simultaneously (ibid.). In addition, it is precisely the functional approach that serves as a link between language and the environment outside language, as Halliday explains, “they’re (*metafunctions* are) in both (*semantics and lexicogrammar*). The metafunctions are the theoretical concept that enable us to understand the interface between language and what is outside language – and it is this interfacing that has shaped the form of the grammar” (Halliday, in Thibault 1987, 608).

2.2.4.1 The ideational metafunction

The ideational metafunction consists of the experiential metafunction and the logical metafunction, both serving to construe human experiences. The experiential metafunction derives from the word ‘experience’. On the clause level, it serves to ‘construe a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure [figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999)], or configuration of a process, participants involved in it and any attendant circumstances’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 212). The main system here is TRANSITIVITY, which includes participant, process type and circumstance, with the first two as the experiential centre of the clause, and the third one serving as augmentation of the centre in some manners, such as temporally or spatially (ibid., 221). There are two complementary ways to model the TRANSITIVITY system: a transitive model, which is more particularised, and an ergative model, which generalises across all process types. Various sub-systems of the transitive model and ergative model will be explained in detail in Chapter 4 and Appendix 4; hence, a more in-depth explanation of the experiential metafunction will not be included in this section.

The logical metafunction has been explained by Butt and Webster (2017, 104) as ‘...a theoretical term representing the ensemble of resources by which we make sense through order, combination and the forms of complex sequence in our syntagmatic expectations’. Although such combinatory power of logical organisation applies to every rank of linguistic composition, the logical metafunction is most explicitly reflected in the inter-clausal logico-semantic relationship. There are three main systems in the logical metafunction: TAXIS, LOGICAL-SEMANTIC TYPE, and RECURSION. Figure 2.5 lists the sub-systems of these three systems in clause complexes.

Figure 2.5 System of clause complexing (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 438)



In the system of TAXIS, parataxis refers to clauses that are linked of equal status and are potentially independent of each other, and hypotaxis refer to those of unequal status, with some being dependent on other(s). Another possible set of terms would be COORDINATION and SUBORDINATION (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 440); COORDINATION includes both hypotaxis and embedded clauses without distinguishing the two; in clauses linked by COORDINATION, there is at least one main clause and one subordinate clause; in comparison, SUBORDINATION does not include apposition as does in parataxis; in clauses linked by SUBORDINATION, all clauses are main clauses. Chapter 4 deliberately focuses on CLAUSE STATUS through the logical relation of COORDINATION and SUBORDINATION instead of TAXIS because the former carries a common sense that is easy to be communicated to non-specialist readers of the intended journal. More detail of CLAUSE STATUS will be provided in the literature review section of Chapter 4.

The other two systems besides TAXIS are not the focus in Chapter 4, especially that of RECURSION. The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE is highly complicated, and covers a wide range of logical-semantic relations; however, two fundamental inter-clausal principles can be generalised: 1) expansion, 2) projection. These are explained by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, 443) as follows:

(1) Expansion:

the secondary clause expands the primary clause, by (a) elaborating it, (b) extending it, or (c) enhancing it.

(2) Projection:

the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause, which instates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea.

The logical metafunction, in combination with the experiential metafunction, provides resources for modelling a world (Butt and Webster 2017), mainly because the logical ordering carries significant semantic consequences: for example, a complex of clauses ‘gives us a strong sense of an experiential model of the world that is accumulating in a text’ (ibid., 104). The wide-scale combinatorial engineering between clauses may be the linguistic realisation of the deepest and consequently least conscious form of how things are in our world (Butt 1988a; b, in Butt and Webster 2017, 104-105), and hence, may be of potential significance in the present linguistic study of ideology.

2.2.4.2 The interpersonal metafunction

If the ideational function of the grammar is ‘language as reflection’, then the interpersonal function is ‘language as action’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 30). The latter represents the idea that ‘language can be used as a means of communicating information’, to enact our personal and social relationships with the other people around us (Halliday 1975, 21).

The main lexicogrammatical system in the interpersonal metafunction is MOOD. The MOOD block in English contains the Subject and the Finite, and is used to congruently realise three of the four primary speech functions: *command*, *statement* and *question*, with the fourth speech function, offer, being realised non-metaphorically through interrogative mood as the least marked form of realisation. Another major interpersonal system is MODALITY, which is closely linked to MOOD, and is used to express the region of uncertainty between ‘yes’ and ‘no’, ‘do’ and ‘don’t’. Other systems include those under MODAL ASSESSMENT, including the DEGREE OF INTENSITY, COUNTEREXPECTANCY, and TEMPORALITY.

Both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are dedicated to the interpersonal metafunction; a more detailed literature review is included in those two chapters.

2.2.4.3 The textual metafunction

As previously mentioned, the textual metafunction is the enabling and facilitating metafunction, which combines the ideational and interpersonal into coherent and cohesive text. Its main system is THEME.

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The textual metafunction has not been discussed in detail in the four analytical chapters, except for the analysis of the textual metafunction in Visual Grammar in Chapter 7. Hence, it is necessary to give a brief introduction here to the two textual systems: THEME and INFORMATION VALUE, so that a comprehensive overview of the three metafunctions can be provided, and that comparisons between the linguistic textual metafunction and the visual textual metafunction can be later made in Chapter 7.

2.2.4.3.1 THEME: Theme and Rheme

Theme was a terminology used by the Prague School of linguists; it is the element that the speaker chooses as his or her point of departure of a message to guide the addressee in developing an interpretation of the message (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 89). The remainder of the message is called the ‘Rheme’ by the Prague school linguists. The speaker gives thematic prominence to the Theme by placing it before the Rheme. The typicality of the choice of Theme depends on the choice of MOOD. Table 2.3 lists the marked and unmarked choices of Theme in three different moods.

The Theme so far refers to the topical Theme, which must end with the first constituent that is either Participant, Circumstance or Process in the TRANSITIVITY structure within the experiential metafunction. However, it is possible that this topical Theme is preceded by other elements, including ‘textual Theme’ and ‘interpersonal Theme’. Table 2.2 lists the possible variants of Themes other than the topical Theme.

Table 2.2 Textual and interpersonal themes (ibid., 107)

Theme type	Syntagmatic function	Some examples
Textual Theme	Continuative	yes, no, well, oh, now
	Conjunction	paratactic: and, or, nor, either, neither... hypotactic: when, while, before, after...
	Conjunctive Adjunct	in other words
Interpersonal Theme	Vocative	mum, sweetie
	Modal/comment Adjunct	possibly, interestingly
	Finite verbal operator	primary tense: am, is, are, have, had... modality: can, could, may, might...

Table 2.3 MOOD type and corresponding selections of some marked and unmarked Theme in English, adapted from (ibid., 104)

MOOD of clause	Typical ('unmarked') Theme	Atypical ('marked') Theme	Most marked Theme
declarative	Subject (a nominal group)	adjunct: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> adverbial group, 'slowly he sat up' prepositional phrase, 'in the garden I saw a children's choir' 	complement: a nominal group that could have been a Subject but is not, e.g., 'you' in ' you I blame for this'
Yes/no interrogative	Finite operator (the element that embodies the expression of polarity), and the following Subject (because the Finite operator is not an element in the experiential structure of the clause)		
WH-interrogative	the element that functions as Theme is the element that requests this information, namely the WH-element. It is characteristic of an interrogative clause in English that one particular element comes first.		
imperative: 'you'	the Predicator/Verb, 'Sit down'.	'you' made explicit, ' you sit down'	
imperative: 'you' – negative	don't plus the Predicator 'don't talk to me'	don't plus Subject 'don't you talk to me'	
imperative: 'you and me'	'let's' plus the Predicator		
exclamative	nominal group or adverbial group functioning as exclamative (WH-) element		

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Table 2.4 provides an example to illustrate the possibility of displaying multiple Themes in a clause.

Table 2.4 Multiple Themes in a clause (ibid., 107)

well	but	then	surely	Jean	wouldn't	the best idea	be to join in
cont.	stru.	conj.	modal	voc.	finite	topical	
Theme							Rheme

2.2.4.3.2 INFORMATION: Given and New

THEME is the major Textual system of the clause. Another related system that manages the discourse flow by structural means is that of INFORMATION, which is a system of the information unit (Halliday 1967a; 1967/8, in Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 120). It is made up of a structure of the Given and the New, with the latter as the obligatory element.

Because the information unit is parallel to the clause, there is a close semantic relationship between the system of INFORMATION and that of THEME, and in an unmarked situation, Theme and Rheme overlap with Given and New. However, they are not the same thing. Firstly, although both systems are speaker-selected, Theme+Rheme is speaker-oriented, as the speaker chooses something as his/her point of departure, whereas Given+New is listener-oriented, as it is an assumption of what the listener already knows. Secondly, whereas Theme always precedes Rheme, it is possible for the New to precede the Given, despite that the New usually follows the Given. Hence, it is important to distinguish between Theme+Rheme and Given+New. As Halliday and Matthiessen point out (ibid., 120), the difference between these systems can be exploited as a powerful tool, for example for a speaker to 'put the other down, making him feel guilty and the like'.

2.2.5 Bridging Text and Context

This section relates the four previous sub-sections by bridging text with context. To bridge this gap is one of the key objectives in both Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis; the latter has borrowed some of its key linguistic concepts from the former. The relationship between text and context is highly complex, which primarily involves realisation but also involves all other major principles including instantiation and metafunction, rank and delicacy.

2.2.5.1 Differentiation between text and discourse

Halliday (1985, 10) has provided definitions of ‘text’, ‘context of situation’ and ‘context of culture’. A text is ‘language that is functional – doing some job in some context’; it is ‘any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation’; it is an instance of both the process and product of social meaning within a given context. These definitions have highlighted the significance of the context of situation to text: a text is created by its context (Halliday 1994).

Text, in a strict sense, traditionally refers to written text, as evidenced by the dictionary denotation that it is ‘the very words, phrases, and sentences as written’ (OED 2017d). In SFL, however, it refers to both spoken and written modes of the language system (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 146). Furthermore, Halliday acknowledges that the sense of ‘text’ has been extended to other semiotic systems, such as ‘visual text’ and ‘multimodal text’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 46).

An attempt will also be made here to distinguish ‘text’ and ‘discourse’, which are often used interchangeably. Discourse is explained in *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED 2017b) as ‘the action or process of communicating thought by means of the spoken word; in later use also: the written representation of this; communication in written form’, which seems to focus on the communicative aspect of this word. Indeed, a few scholars have pointed out the emphasis on language as a social process when using the word ‘discourse’, instead of ‘text’ (Fairclough 1993, McAndrew 2003). However, any text and language use is communicative in nature, and is a social process. Therefore, in denotation, the difference between text and discourse appears indeterminate.

However, a scan through the usage of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ in *IFG* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014) shows clear differences, despite certain similarities. There are certainly aspects where the two overlap. For example, both can refer to the spoken or written modes of language; the textual metafunction refers to both the ‘flow of text’ (ibid., 623) and ‘flow of discourse’ (ibid., 88). Furthermore, the study of discourse is referred to as ‘text linguistics’ (ibid., 731), whereas discourse analysis requires the analysis of ‘text’. However, there are other usages that appear to be distinctive to one term or another, as shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 shows that, whereas there is no absolute difference between ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ at least in *IFG* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), it appears that ‘text’ refers to a specific process or product of social meaning in a given context of situation, whereas ‘discourse’

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is considered more abstract and appears to be more commonly associated with text type (note that, albeit less commonly, ‘text’ may also refer to text type, especially in its plural form, e.g. ‘literary texts’, ‘political texts’ etc.). Despite the minor differences, text analysis and discourse analysis are not different types of analysis. The present thesis is in agreement with Trosborg (1997) and McAndrew (2003) that text and discourse may be used interchangeably: in the present thesis, instances of language are generally referred to as ‘texts’, and ‘discourse’ is generally only used in quotes.

‘Text’ is also a fundamental concept in translation studies. The process of interlingual translation involves changing an originally construed text, the source text (ST) in the source language (SL) into a target text (TT) in the target language (TL) (Munday 2012b). Traditionally, translation is conceptualised as the rendering of written text into written text (O’Sullivan 2013). However, in the present thesis, although ‘source text’ and ‘target text’ primarily refer to written text, they should be taken to potentially encompass spoken text and other semiotic texts such as visual and multimodal texts.

Table 2.5 Some ‘distinctive’ characteristics of the usage of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ (summarised and tabulated from Halliday and Matthiessen 2014)

unique ¹ to ‘text’	unique to ‘discourse’
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Text can be numbered, e.g. Text 1.2.2; • Text can be counted (modified by numeratives): for example, a single text, three texts; • Text, as an instance of language, is said to be the basic unit of semantics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discourse is much more commonly modified by classifiers and qualifiers, relating it to different ‘kinds’/ ‘types’, such as scientific, narrative, biographical, classroom, specialized, prestige, non-technical <i>discourse</i>, and <i>discourse</i> of poetry, bureaucracy, power, authority etc.; • Discourse can refer to both a whole text, or parts of a text (as in ‘the immediately preceding discourse’).

In addition, ‘text’ is a semantic unit in SFL; however, in consistency with the established usage in Translation Studies, ‘source text’ in the present thesis may refer to any stratum and any rank from the English source books, in comparison to the parallel ‘target text’.

¹ unique is not used in an absolute sense here. It merely describes features that are more commonly associated with one term

2.2.5.2 Text and the Context of Situation

Text is created by its context of situation, operates within it, and is interpreted within a context of situation. Context of situation is the immediate context in which the text unfolds (Halliday 1985), in the Malinowski-Firth-Halliday tradition. Context of situation needs to be distinguished from the actual physical setting in which a text might unfold (Hasan 1996, 39). The latter, which is known as the ‘material situational setting’ (MSS), may be largely irrelevant to the text: for example: sitting on a Qatar Airways A380 instead of being in a Macquarie University office may not necessarily affect what I am writing now. Struttally, the context of situation operates between the wider material/social environment and the trifunctional organisation of language. The context of situation activates the language use, and is in turn realised by language. Hence, any context of situation can be categorised into three domains, which align with, and are respectively realised by the three metafunctions of language, as outlined in Table 2.6. As the table shows, a text is structured according to the situation it operates in: the contextual structure is projected onto the text, and the contextual elements are realized by semantic patterns of meaning in the text.

Context is a main factor that determines the defining characteristics of text (type) (Hasan 1973; 1978; 1979; 1980): given the nature of the context of situation, we can predict the crucial semantic elements of the embedded text as well as the permitted range for the overall message form. For example, if the context of situation is advertising, we can predict that the overall message must contain ‘Capture’: elements serving the function of attracting attention (Hasan 1996d, 41). This suggests that language is typically used in certain ways in certain situations. There are social processes in which only some members of the societies participate, e.g. coronation. There are instances of language that we only say to people with whom we have a certain relationship, e.g., to wish someone good night. There are instances of language that are stereotypically expressed in one mode, e.g., a ‘right to silence’ warning given by police.

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Table 2.6 The three variables of a context of situation and corresponding linguistic metafunction

Variables of a context of situation	Definitions (Halliday 1985, 11-12)	Realised in language as:
Field	What is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?	The ideational metafunction
Tenor	Who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?	The interpersonal metafunction
Mode	What part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (spoken or written) and the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic and the like.	The textual metafunction

However, it needs to be noted that such predictability is only probabilistic. It does not deny individual human thinking or autonomy, nor does it eliminate variations. There is a possibility that more marked, or atypical linguistic choices can be made within a given situational context, however, we are more likely to talk about certain social processes with

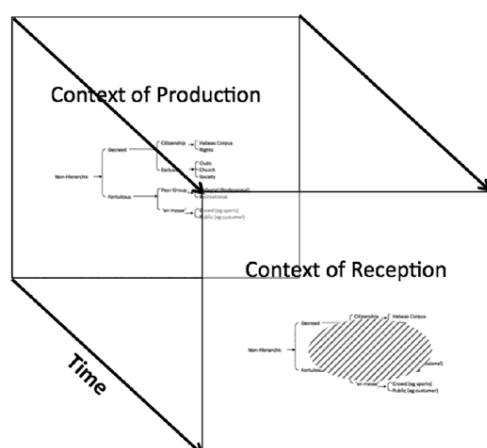
certain people in certain mode, because ‘none of us is ever totally free’ (Douglas 1966, in Hasan 1996d, 44), and that individual autonomy will never mean ‘total lack of social constraint’ (Hasan 1996d, 44).

Hasan (Hasan 1996a, 52) recognises three distinctive orders of context:

1. **‘Context of creation’**, which reflects the artistic conventions of the author’s community;
2. **‘Context of reception’**, in which the audience are in contact with the text;
3. **‘The inner context’**: the reconstituted context which is specific to that one text – what it is about; in what relations the characters and events are placed vis-a-vis each other; how these hang together.

The creation of a text precedes its reception; hence, there is always temporal distance, as shown in Figure 2.6, between the two contexts, no matter how close the gap is.

Figure 2.6 Semiotic distance between temporally distant context of creation and the context of reception (Urbach 2013, 316)



Whether the temporal distance is considered as being wide or narrow between the context of production and that of reception is subject to relativity. For instance, when watching the 2018 World Cup final live on TV on 15 July 2018, Australian audiences will expect to receive the image and sound within less of a second, when the actual match is taking place at the Luzhniki Stadium in Moscow; any larger gap would inevitably dampen the experience of watching important live shows. Likewise, an autobiography often needs to be published in a

timely manner, but it need not be published within seconds after its creation, and reception to the book may not change dramatically over several years. In the case of the books chosen for the present thesis, all books were published not long after they had been written, and all were published within the last 30 years, which make them contemporary works as of 2017. However, the temporal distance between the inner context and the initial context of creation and reception is wider and deserves some consideration in the present thesis.

As the chosen books are autobiographies/ family chronicles, they are reflective writing of the lives of the author and the author's family members prior to the context of source text creation and reception. Taking *Wild Swans* as an example, its inner context covers historical periods in China from the beginning of the 20th century until the late 1970s, the bulk of which was temporally distant from readers when the book was initially published in 1991, especially younger readers who did not live through that part of the history. However, in writing this book, especially in describing the life of her grandmother and the early life of her mother, Chang has generally avoided making horizontal comparisons between China and the rest of the world, especially the three Anglophone countries. Considering the drastic changes that the world went through in the 20th century, the lack of horizontal comparison may potentially mislead readers of the 1990s and of the 2000s, to believe that certain cultural practices, such as assigning a lower social status to women, were peculiar to China at the time. Hence, a purpose of Chapter 3 is to make relevant horizontal comparisons between China and the "West", with a focus on the Anglo-American-Australian sphere of the latter, in the historical periods that are covered temporally in the inner contexts of the chosen books.

2.2.6 Context through time: the three lines of narrativity

History, social processes and the development of an individual person all unfold through time. The three previously mentioned contexts by Hasan are also interrelated through time. Hence, time should be considered the most significant dimension in context, which serves to concretise context within each of the three variables: field, tenor and mode, as one sets out to understand the context in which a text unfolds.

Halliday and Matthiessen (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 17-18; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 68; Matthiessen 1995, 48) recognise three distinctive dimensions of time: phylogenesis, ontogenesis and logogenesis; 'genesis' means the creation or the formation of something (OED 2017c). These three dimensions of time refer to:

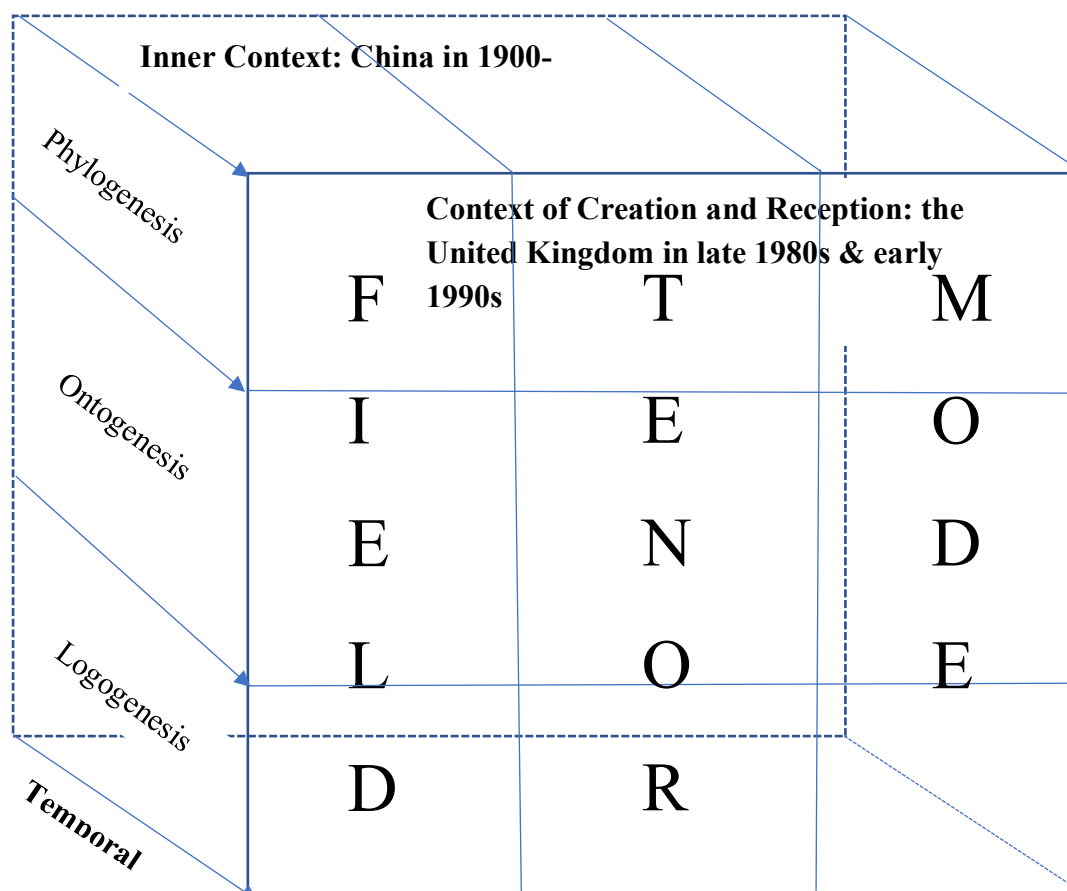
1. **Phylogenetic time:** the evolution of human language, which corresponds to the evolution of human history. Here the time scale is multi-generational; the mode of genesis is evolution.
2. **Ontogenetic time:** the development of an individual speaker. The time scale is a lifetime; the mode of genesis is growth.
3. **Logogenetic time:** the unfolding of the act of meaning itself; the instantial construction of meaning in the form of a text. The time scale is that of the text as an instance; the mode of genesis is that of instantiation.

As all social processes unfold through time, it is hereby proposed in the present thesis that the three contexts – the inner context, context of creation and context of reception – including their three variables – field, tenor and mode – can be temporally located in terms of phylogenesis, ontogenesis, and logogenesis. I shall consider the context of creation and of reception as the same temporal location for convenience and clarity. The framework of contextual analysis based on these three dimensions of time is shown in Figure 2.7

Because both *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer* are autobiographies, the inner contexts that are construed are not meant to be imaginary, but rather, as reconstructions of reality, which follow a temporal order. Hence, the context of situation of these books, seen from the dimension of logogenesis, overlaps with the inner contexts that are constructed within the books. Therefore, in the framework of contextual analysis to be proposed in Section 2.4.2, logogenesis and inner context will be treated as one.

Although an autobiography is considered as a single, personal view, Jung Chang offers her interpretation of Chinese history in the book. Furthermore, with the enormous success that her book has achieved, her book is likely to have significant social impact: her interpretation is likely to be treated by many as an objective and truthful account of Chinese history, rather than merely an 'inner context' of a verbal art. However, her memory has human limitations; much of the stories that take place within the inner context of *Wild Swans* happened prior to Chang's birth; many represented incidents had happened 13 to 37 years before she was writing this book in the U.K. from 1989. In addition, writing this book about China around 1989 in the U.K., she may not have been ideologically neutral in her interpretation of Chinese history. Therefore, the inner context that is reconstructed by the book and the ideological stance expressed through the book deserve examination.

Figure 2.7 Contextual Analysis for *Wild Swans* (ST)



2.3 Ideology and Language

2.3.1 Ideology: an overview

2.3.1.1 The origin of the concept of 'ideology'

The term 'ideology' was first proposed by French philosopher, Destutt de Tracy, in 1796, in referring to a 'science of ideas' that was 'positive, useful, and susceptible of rigorous exactitude' (in Thompson 1990, 30): with a careful analysis of ideas and sensations, ideology could contribute to the re-arrangement of social and political order based on human needs and aspirations, and remove error and prejudice within moral and political sciences, which is an Enlightenment faith. De Tracy and his associates contributed to the revision of the French constitution for Napoleon after the latter's successful *coup d'état*. However, Napoleon came to distrust them, and subsequently began to attack the ideologies proposed by de Tracy as the cause of Napoleon's weakening position. Eventually, nearly all religious and philosophical thoughts were condemned as ideology (ibid., 31); the term 'ideology' gradually became an

emperor's labelling weapon to silence opponents and to sustain a crumbling regime: it no longer meant the positive and useful 'science of ideas', but the ideas themselves, 'a body of ideas which are alleged to be erroneous and divorced from the practical realities of political life' (ibid., 32)

Marx is quoted as the most important figure in history for the concept of ideology (ibid., 29), and he was familiar with the work of de Tracy and Napoleon's subsequent attack on it. Marx and Engels followed Napoleon's use of the term 'ideology', pouring negative connotation onto it, as a criticism of the views of the Young Hegelians as being ideological (ibid.). In other words, Marx's use of the term is also with a negative sense, 'ideology, on this account, is a theoretical doctrine and activity which *erroneously* regards ideas as autonomous and efficacious and which *fails to grasp the real conditions and characteristics of social-historical life* (ibid., 35, with my emphasis).

Later, Marx and Engels began to link the production and diffusion of ideas to the relation between classes. The ideology here is an epiphenomenal conception, which 'is a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class, articulates the ambitions, concerns and wishful deliberations of the dominant social groups as they struggle to secure and maintain their position of domination' (ibid., 37-38). It was after Marx that 'ideology' adopted a major role within both Marxism and the social sciences. His legacy for the concept is the negative connotation of 'ideology' in social sciences: that *we* do not have an ideology, only *they* have an ideology.

2.3.1.2 Thompson's concept of 'ideology' and its relevance to the present thesis

Thompson (ibid.) usefully distinguishes ideology into two types: a critical (negative) concept and a neutral concept. On one hand, a few scholars (Mannheim 1978/2013; Wodak 1989; van Dijk 1998) have made conscious efforts to distance themselves from the traditionally negative connotation of 'ideology' by calling for a broadening notion of ideology away from a purely political sense, to encompass the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of the individual and the society in which he or she operates. Hasan's concept of ideology also appears neutral, which she defines as 'a socially constructed system of ideas which appears as if inevitable, as it leads us to the essential principles governing the social structure in which the ideology is embedded and for which it provides support' (Hasan 1996b, 133); she disagrees with the characteristic of ideology being 'misleading' in Marx's conception. Hasan's neutral concept of ideology does not mean that ideology cannot be negative and misleading. For instance, Hasan's (1996b)

analysis of mother-child conversation reveals women's self-construal of an ideology of women's work: a female parent, in contrast to a male parent, engages in less important work and carries less desirable attributes. Whereas the present thesis recognises the usefulness of a broadened and neutral conception of ideology, its primary investigation of ideology focuses on its political sense: relations between nation-states and blocs of nation-states. Therefore, it becomes useful to adopt the critical notion of ideology by Thompson (1990), which differs from Marx's notion in three important ways and makes Thompson's concept of ideology highly relevant to the present thesis:

1. Thompson only retains one criterion of negativity as a defining feature of ideology: that of sustaining relations of domination. Domination is created when established relations of power are 'systematically asymmetrical' (ibid., 59). According to him, ideas do not need to be erroneous or illusory to be ideological, although they certainly can be. Whether erroneous/ illusory or not, ideological ideas serve to reflect and sustain relations of domination and subordination. A way of sustaining domination relevant to the present thesis is putting the other countries/social systems/leaders down with negative evaluation (ibid.).
2. Thompson (ibid., 57) distances himself from the focus of Marx's concept of ideology on sustaining domination in terms of class relations. He criticizes Marx for neglecting or downplaying other forms of domination and subordination, such as between the sexes, between ethnic groups, between individuals and the state, between nation-states, and between blocs of nation-states. Thompson (ibid.) argues that, despite the continuous relevance of class domination, other forms of domination and subordination are potentially more significant in the world we live in today. In the present thesis, class domination and subordination is not a focal point, although it is not completely irrelevant: as pointed out by some scholars (Chun 1992), Jung Chang showed contempt in *Wild Swans* of the Chinese peasants by depicting them as submissive subjects with little dignity; the focus of the ideological investment is the structured social relations between the democratic "West" and Communist China, specifically the stance on communism and Mao, and, to a lesser extent, social relations between men and women, as this book is written by a Chinese female writer about the stories of three generations of Chinese women.

3. Thompson argues that the symbolic forms that convey ideologies do not merely represent the social relations that exist prior to the expression of the symbolic forms, but also actively constitute social reality (ibid., 58). This corresponds to the SFL view, in that a text is instantiated from the system, but at the same time constitutes the system; likewise, in CDA, it is important to consider the wider social significance of texts. Considering the enormous success of the chosen books in the “West”, they are likely to have made significant impact in either maintaining or challenging existing stereotypes about contemporary China, Mao and the Communist Party of China.

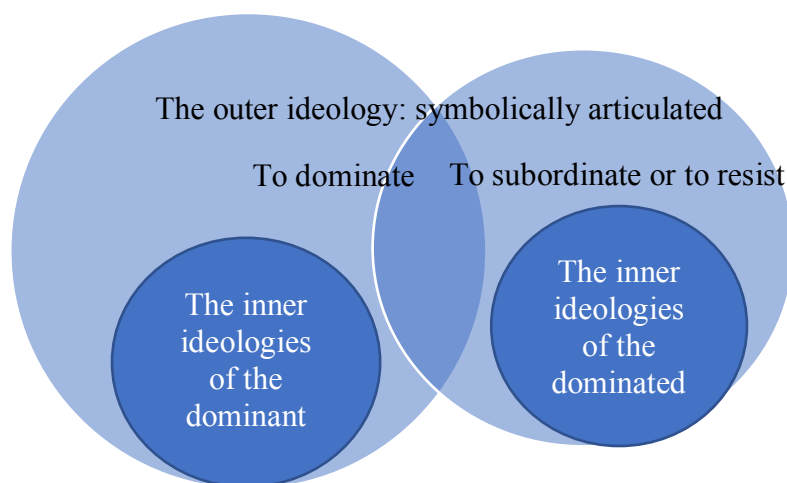
Another closely related concept to domination is power, which is defined by Weber (1980, 28) in Wodak and Meyer (2015, 10) as ‘the chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his or her own will *even against the resistance of others*’ (my emphasis). In fact, Weber (1980, 28) termed power as ‘domination’. Indeed, these two concepts are near-synonyms: the sustaining domination requires asymmetrical relations of power; power is social relation that, whenever exercised, seeks to sustain or resist relations of domination and subordination. The present thesis does not attempt to differentiate domination and power, and simply only refers to domination.

According to Thompson, since ideology is the ideas that serve to sustain the social relations of domination and subordination, they need to be expressed through ‘symbolic forms’, which include language and non-linguistic forms such as action and visual semiotics, and which create meaning. The significance of language to the study of ideology will be explicated further in Section 2.3.1.3. Thompson distinguishes five modes through which ideology can operate, as shown in Table 2.7.

2.3.1.3 The concept of ideology in the present thesis

Thompson’s concept of ideology, and his proposed modes within which ideology operates, especially fragmentation, are highly relevant to the study of ideology in the present thesis. It is hereby argued that ideology can be viewed as having two layers: the inner layer is an inherently neutral concept of ideology, which is a socially constructed system of knowledge, beliefs and values. However, it remains inactive until it is expressed through symbolic articulation onto the outer layer; the outer layer is the focus in the present thesis. It is a critical concept of ideology as ideas that serve to sustain relations of domination and subordination. However, the subordinated groups may also have an ideology which either compromises with or resists the dominant ideology, as shown in Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.8 The inner and outer layers of ideology



In a much-cited article published not long after the end of the Cold War, Huntington (1993) made the claim that the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had defined their identities in terms of their ideologies, and that the fundamental source of conflicts in the world during the Cold War had been this ideological clash. It is clear that Huntington uses the notion of ideology in a rather narrow sense: ideas firmly based on the specific political and social structures of communism versus capitalism. He went on to predict that the main source of conflict in the post-Cold-War era would be a clash of civilisations instead of ideological or economic conflicts.

Huntington (*ibid.*, 25) divides the world into eight major civilizations: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and African civilization; China is seen as the core of the Confucian civilisation, and can even be considered as a civilisation itself. In addition, Huntington claims that Confucian societies, alongside Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist societies, would face the most obstacles should they make attempts to join the “West”.

Table 2.7 Thompson's modes of operation of ideology (tabulated and summarised from Thompson 1990, 60)

General modes	Some strategies of symbolic forms	Descriptions
Legitimation: a claim to legitimacy based on rational, traditional and charismatic grounds	Rationalisation	a chain of reasoning to defend or justify social relations or institutions: e.g., 'let's take a rational decision, not an emotional one'.
	Universalisation	institutional arrangements which serve individual interests are represented as serving the interests of all: e.g. 'make <i>America</i> great again'
	Narrativisation	recounting or even re-inventing traditions to create a sense of community: e.g. stories of the <i>good old days</i>
Dissimulation & reification ² to conceal, deny or obscure, or represent in a way that deflects attention	Displacement	referring to an object of individual as another, e.g. Marx's observation of Louis Bonaparte presenting himself as the legitimate heir of the great Napoleon Bonaparte
	Euphemization	actions, institutions and social relations are re-described in terms with less negative evaluation: e.g. 'invasion' > 'arrival'
	Trope	<i>synecdoche</i> : using parts to refer to the whole, or vice versa, e.g., use 'the Australians' to refer to only a particular government or groups in Australia; <i>metonymy</i> : using an attribute to refer to something: e.g., referring to the humans as mortals; <i>metaphor</i> : e.g., describing Margaret Thatcher as 'the Iron Lady'
	Nominalisation/ Passivization	Turning an event into a nominal group or passive voice to conceal agency: e.g. 'the shooting took place', 'the man was shot dead'
Unification: constructs a form of a collective identity, irrespective of individual differences	Standardisation	a standard framework is promoted as the shared and acceptable basis of symbolic exchange: e.g., standardised professional code of ethics
	Symbolization of unity	E.g. flags, emblems, national anthems
Fragmentation: fragmenting those that might pose an effective	differentiation	emphasizing the distinctions, differences and divisions between individuals and groups: e.g., some nations are named 'shithole countries'.

² reification and dissimulation have been grouped for similarities in serving the purpose of concealing, denying or obscuring the relations of domination and subordination

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challenge to dominant groups	expurgation of the other	construction of an enemy – closely linked to unification: e.g., the creation of maintenance of an enemy in the Cold War discourse.
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Huntington's classification has reflected the popular perception about fragmentation in the political world. However, his taxonomy of civilisations is vague and overly simplified, and does not explain why China, North Korea and South Korea, all of which are considered part of the Confucian civilisation, have distinctively different relations with the "West"; nor could it explain the contemporary conflicts between Russia and Ukraine, both of which are categorised as Slavic-Orthodox. Whereas it was right to highlight ideological differences as the primary source of conflicts during the Cold War, it is clear that Huntington has downplayed the significance of ideological conflicts in the contemporary period. It is not clear why civilisations should clash unless we explain it with ideology, defined in the present thesis as the systems of ideas serving to sustain social relations of domination and subordination. As Huntington himself observes (1993, 29), 'The efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military pre-dominance and to advance its economic interests engender countering responses from other civilizations'.

Such efforts are clearly ideological in nature, as they serve to maintain social relations of the domination of the "West" over other civilizations. The four civilisations that Huntington claims to face the greatest difficulty in siding with the "West" – Confucian, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist – all fall into the general Western conceptualisation of the "East/Orient". It should be noted hereby that many of these identified "Eastern" civilisations had existed and thrived even before the Greco-Roman civilisation. In addition, although most have fallen under full or partial colonisation and domination by the "West" in recent centuries, their cultures have largely resisted "Western" homogenisation, by maintaining strong collective cultural identities, unlike the overall situation of Sub-Saharan Africa, America and Oceania, where many indigenous cultures have been long lost in process of colonisation and "Westernisation". Japan is an exception, being "Eastern" and "Western" at the same time: it underwent rapid industrialisation and "Westernisation" in the late 19th century, and later became a strategic ally with the U.S. after WWII, partly due to its geographic location to block the ports of the communist China and the Far East of Soviet Union. However, the clash of civilisations that Huntington claimed is ideological in nature. Fundamental sources of conflicts in the post-Cold War world should continue to be considered as ideological in nature, despite the lesser tension

between communism and the “Western” democracy, as different civilisations seek domination and subordination.

This present thesis is not concerned with a moral judgement on either “Western” capitalism/democracy or Chinese communism. It is chiefly interested in a contrast of the symbolic articulation of ideologies in the chosen books, which, although written by Chinese writers about contemporary China, have been written for Anglophone and “Western” readers and have achieved enormous success in doing so. It examines the extent to which the source texts seek to shape beliefs and promote the domination of “Western” values and beliefs through the mode of fragmentation: by making differentiation between the “West” and Mao’s China (more to be explored in Chapter 3), and by a particular way to represent contemporary China and its communist regime. In so doing, the Chinese authors may either have, consciously or unconsciously, embraced “Western” values voluntarily, or have done so with external influences and even pressure in the context of creation. Equally importantly, the present thesis investigates whether the Chinese translations, published in Taiwan, which is a region presumably with a free media environment (FOP 2016) and an anti-communist stance, display ideological shifts from the source texts that serve to subordinate to or resist the ideological stance expressed through the source texts.

2.3.2 The study of ideology through the study of language/ text

As Thompson points out, for ideology to sustain the social relations of domination and subordination, it needs to be communicated and understood by ways of meaning, the systems of which require content – the meanings, and their symbolic expression (Saussure 1959; Halliday 1978; Hasan 1996b). A major component of symbolic expressions is that of language; however, symbolic expressions do not equate to linguistic expressions. As Foucault (1970) and Volosinov (1973, in Hasan 1996b) point out, none of the fundamental, specific ideological signs are replaceable wholly by words. Similarly, Hasan (1996b, 145) notes that, within the same culture, an examination of ideology cannot be boiled down to an examination of language, and that the semiotic potential of a culture is not equal to the semantic potential of the languages of a culture (Halliday 1973). Hasan (1996b) cautions that linguists who are interested in the construction and maintenance of ideology must be prepared to place the verbal semiotic side by side with other semiotic systems. This caution has inspired Chapter 7, which is a multimodal analysis of the book covers of *Wild Swans* and *Mao’s Last Dancer*, the analysis of which has

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highlighted the embedding of an Orientalism ideology in the cover design of the source texts, a finding that had not been explicitly identified from the previous linguistic analysis.

Although a thorough examination of ideology cannot be achieved with examination of language alone, language is nevertheless the most important vehicle through which ideologies circulate, because language is the most common form of social behaviour through which ideology circulates (Fairclough 1995/2013). Hence, the analysis of ideology requires the analysis of discourse. To study ideology is, in some way, to study language in the social world, as ideas circulate in the social world as spoken or written words and utterances (Thompson, 1984). Since ideology is essentially the system of ideas that serve to sustain the relations of domination (power) and subordination, the following ways in which language is interwoven with power are highly relevant to the relation between language and ideology (Wodak and Meyer 2015, 12):

- Language indexes and expresses power/ ideology;
- Language is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power/ ideology;
- Power/ ideology does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power/ ideology, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power/ ideology in the short and the long term;
- Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for the expression of differences in power in hierarchical social structures.

It should be noted here that the conveyance of ideology is a potential of the language system; however, language is not inherently ideological. As Hasan argues (1996b), language is a system of paradigmatic choices, which permit many combinations. Thus, language is highly flexible, and can meet the needs of most, if not each and every demand of the speaker. That is why the same language can be used by different speakers within a given society to express vastly different ideologies: for example, debates between two presidential candidates in the United States. Such flexibility of language in expressing different ideologies is only clearer between societies of different political systems where the same language is spoken: for example between Beijing and Taipei, and between the “East” and the “West” Germany during the Cold War era. In other words, a language system as the potential is ideologically neutral, independent of any specific purpose (Hjelmslev 1961). It is text – an instantiation of the

language system, or the use of language – that is ideological, because both the production and reception of text/discourse are performed by socially positioned subjects (Bernstein, 1990, in Hasan 1996b). Here, it needs to be noted that Hasan claims that the use of language is always ideological, because she proposes a neutral concept of ideology that refers to the ‘habitual forms of communication’ (ibid., 145), which has been referred to in Figure 2.8 in Section 2.3.1.3 as the inner ideology. In the present thesis, however, the concept of ‘ideology’ takes a critical sense, specifically referring to ideas that maintain social relations of domination and subordination. Whereas such relations are prevalent in linguistic forms, it is argued here that not all texts are ideological in this sense, because not all texts involve the relations of domination and subordination, even though they frequently do.

So how is ideology conveyed through text? How to study ideology in text using the model of SFL? As previously mentioned, for ideology to sustain relations of domination and subordination, it must be expressed as meanings by symbolic forms, most significantly linguistic forms, in a specific context. The meanings construe the context, and are also construed by the context. Hence, the examination of ideology requires semiotic analysis, especially linguistic analysis, the centre of which, in SFL, is the analysis of lexicogrammar. McAndrew (2003, 124) usefully puts it, ‘Ideological patterning in a text is an implicit consistency in the meaning-making which constructs both an experiential picture of the world (what is happening, what the participants are engaged in) and an interpersonal picture of the world (what the social relations are between the speaker, the topics and participants spoken about, and the hearer/reader).’

2.3.2.1 Linguistic systems that are potentially indicative of ideology

The trifunctional and stratified view of language, which sees semantics – systems of meanings – as an interface between the demand of the context and the deployment of lexicogrammar, provides a useful model in which sub-systems in each of the three metafunctions are potential tools consciously or unconsciously deployed by a speaker to express his/her ideologies in sustaining the relations of domination and subordination, or conversely, to resist and challenge such relations. For example, the concealing of an Agent is a well-known example that is often ideologically invested in obscuring a social event, by representing it as naturally occurring without explicit human intervention from the dominant groups (cf. Butt, Lukin, and Matthiessen 2004; Lukin 2006). Lexicogrammatically, it is frequently construed with nominalisation and passivisation in English, with an absence of Agent in the ergative model of

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TRANSITIVITY within the ideational metafunction. It should be re-emphasised here that the metafunctions are not three separate phenomena; rather, they are three views on the same phenomenon and come into being simultaneously; clause is the lowest rank, in which the three metafunctions are interwoven. Hence, within a clause, the concealing of agency also involves the choices of the MOOD block within the interpersonal metafunction, and the Thematic structure within the textual metafunction with frequent deployment of nominalisation of a process as the subject. Another area of lexicogrammar that is frequently considered more ideological is MODALITY. For example, in exploring the self-construal of the ideology of women's work in mother-child conversation, Hasan (1996b) paid particular attention to the foregrounded patterning of MODALITY, in particular, the use of medium to high probability by the mothers, which served to represent their husbands as 'probably' more capable than themselves, and the choices of obligation, which represented women's work as uninteresting, something that the mothers 'have to' do. Again, any selections of MODALITY impact on the other two metafunctions simultaneously.

A number of semantic and lexicogrammatical systems within the three metafunctions are considered to be potentially more closely related to the expression of ideology. Below are some of the sub-systems:

Within the ideational metafunction:

Experiential:

- Lexical choice (Hasan 2003);
- TRANSITIVITY (Calzada-Peréz 2007, Hubbard 1999, Hatim and Mason 1997/2005, García-Marrugo 2013);

Logical metafunction:

- tight text (hypotaxis) versus loose text (parataxis) (Butt 2008);

Within the interpersonal metafunction:

- MOOD block (definite stance);
- Congruent and non-congruent mood choices;
- MODALITY (Fowler et al. 1979, Hasan 1996b);

- The APPRAISAL system (Martin and White 2003);

Within the textual metafunction:

- Markedness of THEME;
- Syntactic selections: cohesion (Hatim & Mason 1997);
- coherence (Fairclough, 1995), repetition (linked to cohesion), nominalization (linked to transitivity).

2.3.2.2 Latent patterning of the foregrounding of ideologies

Delicate and in-depth SFL analysis can be time-consuming, and it would thus be impractical to analyse all the above-mentioned linguistic systems in the chosen books. However, it is necessary to investigate into more than one sub-system to reveal the foregrounded use of lexicogrammatical resources of a speaker in construing ideologies. Hasan (1996b, 146) makes the caution, by quoting Whorf (1956), that the characterisation of the ideology cannot be achieved by the examination of isolated lexicogrammatical patterns, and she suggests, again by borrowing from Whorf, the term ‘configurative rapport’: the bringing together of those patterns of language which, in *toto*, construct a consistent semantic frame, leading to the ‘deep persuasion of a principle behind phenomena’ (ibid., 146). Such ‘configurative rapport’ (Whorf 1956) or ‘consistency of foregrounding’ (Hasan 1985; 1996b) is echoed in Butt’s concept of ‘latent patterning’ (Butt 1988b; Coulthard and Sinclair 1975).

The concept of latent patterning originated from Jakobson’s *Subliminal Verbal Patterning in Poetry* (Jakobson 1985). Jakobson (ibid.) raises a valid question as to whether conclusions disclosed by linguists through text analysis are deliberately planned by the speaker or writer. He cites the example of Russian poet Velimir Xlebnikov (Велимир Хлебников), where the poet discovered, seven years after composing the poem, *Grasshopper* (Кузнечик), that each of the sounds *k*, *r*, *l*, and *u* happens to occur exactly five times in the tristich, without the conscious knowledge of the poet when composing the poem; this is only part of the chain of quintets in the phonological structure that the poet accidentally unearthed from analysing his own poem. Even though the poet created these patterns without conscious effort, such phonological patterns of quintets are clearly deeply meaningful to a reader’s reception of the poem, especially on the subliminal level (ibid.).

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Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, 125) expanded the concept of such patterning, by referring to them as ‘latent’: unrecognised stylistic patterns that cannot be described with established and recognised patterns, with their effect being ‘heavily dependent on their context’. The readers must work out such patterns themselves, consciously or unconsciously, because the patterns are not clearly communicated to them.

Butt (1988b, 74-79) further developed the concept of ‘latent patterning’. He borrowed for linguistics the distinction between implicate and explicate orders by the physicist David Bohm (1980, in Butt 1988b, 78). Explicate orders are unfolded patterns: the order of separate, localized elements in their own region of space and time (ibid.). Implicit orders are enfolded orders: all the latent, formative organization that might be enfolded in a seed, in an organism, or in the general inter-relatedness of processes (ibid.). Implicit orders can be turned into explicit orders once they are explicated (ibid.). For example, Hallidayan SFL has integrated numerous patterns of order in the clause, many of which were previously unseen (for example, Token/Value) or had been blurred by other theories (Theme-Rheme and Given-New). However, the difficulty remains of extracting latent patterns at the level of semantics (meaning), because they, unlike phonological consistencies which have overt consequences, are difficult to explicate (ibid.). Butt points out that such latent patterns of consistencies have hardly been discussed by linguists; instead, they are dismissed as being merely random (ibid.). Such patterns may well be beneath the threshold of consciousness; nevertheless, together they can create a powerful ensemble effect on a perceptive reader (ibid.). Their consistency in the regularities beyond the predicted probability means that cannot simply be dismissed as being random (ibid.)

The significance of the notion of latent patterning to the present thesis is twofold. Firstly, it encourages efforts to look for consistent foregrounding of certain ideologies that may be beneath the threshold of readers’ consciousness, and can only be explicated through in-depth linguistic analysis combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. Secondly, it serves as a reminder of the importance of identifying the ensemble effect of lexicogrammatical choices on the ideological stance expressed through a text, rather than leaving them as separated and isolated.

2.4 The Application of SFL to the Study of Ideology in Translation

The previous sections have provided descriptions and explanations of key concepts in SFL, the notion of ideology and text in the present thesis, and the application of SFL theories in examining consistent foregrounding of ideology in a text. This section explores issues that are relevant to the examination of ideology in translation studies, and shows how SFL is to be applied to the study of the influence of ideology under the present framework.

2.4.1 *The translation of ideology versus the ideology of translation*

As Hasan (1996b) points out, whilst the language system as a potential is ideologically neutral, text – the use and instance of language – can be ideologically invested. To sustain the relations of domination and subordination, it becomes necessary to put the others down. Throughout history, cross-cultural encounters are often marked by ideological pressures, as cultures, societies and states seek power and domination over each other. It has been long recognised that translation, as a means of both the transference of linguistic symbols and cultural mediation, is not a neutral activity (Hatim and Mason 1997/2005). Any source text is potentially ideologically invested, and any target text can hardly be considered ideologically neutral. With regards to ideology in relation to translation, Hatim and Mason (*ibid.*, 119) have identified two closely related but distinctive issues: ‘the ideology of translating’, and ‘the translation of ideology’.

Hatim and Mason have not provided very clear definitions of these two issues. However, from the examples they give, one may assume that ‘the ideology of translating’ refers to a translator’s basic orientation in a translation. As Fawcett (1998, 107) illustrates, ‘throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation.’

The ideology of translation is closely linked to the historical debates over the two polarities of translating: *word-for-word* (literal translation) versus *sense-for-sense* (free translation) (Cicero and St Jerome, in Munday 2012), *formal equivalence* versus *dynamic equivalence* (Nida 1964) and *semantic translation* versus *communicative translation* (Newmark 1988). However, it was Venuti (1995/2008, 34) who openly criticised the ideology of a ‘domesticating’ orientation of translation, for ‘creating an illusion of transparency in which linguistic and cultural differences are domesticated’, when translating into dominant languages such as English. The activity of translating is ideologically invested because it is performed by

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the translator and other stakeholders who act in a specific social context and who are part of that context.

Here, it needs to be noted that the ideology of translating can never be boiled down to individual values and beliefs of the translator because the translation can be subject to editing and intervention from various other stakeholders including the publisher and even ST author. Instead, the decision-making of the translator is influenced by a wide range of factors within the translation context. For example, Lefevere (1992) notes the dominant target language poetics as another determiner of the translated text. Hence, the ideology of translating is not merely the ideology of the translator. Instead, it is a complex relation that arises out of the complex and sometimes competing ideologies of different stake-holders in the context of translation creation.

The other issue is the translation of ideology, which is the focus of Hatim and Mason (1997/2005). This focus seeks to examine ideologies when they are translated, whether by a domesticating or a foreignising method. It investigates a translator's mediation: the extent, from minimal through partial, and to maximal, 'to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text' (ibid., 122). Hatim and Mason examined the translation of ideology with an SFL-based text analysis of the source and target text, with special attention paid to the ideological shifts manifested in a number of sub-systems including TRANSTIVITY, lexical choice, and cohesion.

Whereas Hatim and Mason's notions of the ideology of translating and the translation of ideology are important, it is considered in the present thesis that they are not two separate phenomena; rather, they are the same phenomenon viewed from different perspectives. The ideology of translating drives and determines the translation of ideology, and the translation of ideology manifests the ideology of translation. The translation of ideology can be examined and demonstrated with systematic analysis and comparison of the source and target texts; but how does one examine the ideology of translating? A most direct method is an ethnographic approach: to interview the translator with regards to his/her general orientation in the translating process. However, this approach is not necessarily reliable; more importantly, is often not feasible, especially in the case of a deceased or otherwise unknown translator, or reluctance of the translator to accept an interview. A more practical approach is a combination of the analysis of paratext (Genette 1997) with the inference from the linguistic analysis of the translation of ideology. Paratext includes peritext and epitext; peritext refers to textual elements

that are not part of the text proper, but are located within the same volume, such as the cover, footnotes and translator's notes; epitext refers to textual elements outside the volume, such as existing interviews with the translator, or other works by the same translator etc. An analysis of these paratextual elements constitutes parts of the contextual analysis, especially of Tenor – who the translator is, and how his/her 'affiliation and orientation' (Tymoczko 2003, 184-185) may impact on his/her ideology of translating. In addition, the ideology of translating can be inferred from the consistently foregrounded patterns of ideological shifts that occur in the translation of ideology. In all, the present thesis seeks to examine the translation of ideology through an SFL-based analysis of the source texts and target texts, but it also aims to draw some conclusions on the ideology of translating with a combination of contextual analysis and the analysis of verbal and visual texts.

2.4.2 The study of ideology: a new SFL-based approach

The examination of the translation of ideologies requires the analysis of source and target texts. As previously mentioned, the examination of ideology is the central goal in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), also known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Despite that CDA is a heterogeneous school with various approaches (Wodak and Meyer 2015, 18), some of its key linguistic elements under investigation are drawn predominantly from SFL (Munday 2007). Such investigations serve as a link between the surface lexicogrammatical features of a text and the semantic functions:

1. patterns of transitivity <> the experiential representation of reality;
2. modality markers <> interpersonal function
3. thematic and information structures, cohesion <> textual coherence

A few prominent translation scholars have made attempts to explore the manifestation of ideological shifts within the three metafunctions: for example, within the ideational metafunction, Hatim and Mason (1997/2005) and Calzada-Peréz (2007) on TRANSITIVITY; within the interpersonal metafunction, Munday (2012a) on EVALUATION, Zhang and Pan (2015) on MOOD and MODALITY; within the textual metafunction, Hatim and Mason (1997/2005) and Mason (2010) on the THEMATIC STRUCTURE and COHESION. Thanks to the natural affinity amongst TS, SFL, CDA/CDS and Corpus Linguistics, these scholars have also drawn methods and theories from CDA/ CDS; Calzada-Peréz has explicitly incorporated corpus linguistics in her CDA-SFL approach.

The present SFL-based theoretical framework for the examination of the translation of ideology draws inspiration from and shares overwhelming similarities with the above-mentioned studies. However, it also makes new contributions in four important ways. Firstly, the research objective of this research arises out of a specific and unique translation problem: some of the most successful and yet politically volatile English works by Chinese migrant writers were translated into the authors' native language, with direct contribution from the source authors, and the hypothesis is that the Chinese translations convey stronger resentment towards the Chinese communist regime. This unique translation phenomenon is completely differently from the research focus of the above-mentioned scholars, and there have been no similar studies.

Secondly, with the exception of Zhang and Pan (2015), all these scholars are, or were once, based in the United Kingdom, and carry out their SFL-based linguistic analysis on translation between Spanish and English, which is perhaps not coincidental, considering the rising popularity of the Spanish language in England amid the overall decline in the interests towards foreign languages there (Long and Boulton 2016). The language pair under investigation hereby, on the other hand, is Chinese-English. The contrastive examination of political ideology in the English-Chinese language pair from an SFL perspective remains under-developed (cf. Zhang and Pan 2015). Different language pairs involve completely different resources for building an analytical framework, especially in addressing typological differences. Naturally, the present thesis contributes to typological descriptions of English and especially Chinese from an SFL perspective.

Thirdly, the present thesis is unique in the identification of the ensemble effect of the foregrounded patterns of ideological shifts in the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, and in Multimodality. In each area, the present thesis contributes to greater delicacy of the analytical framework. Within the ideational metafunction, Chapter 4 proposes an elaborated Cline of Dynamism, which visually and quantitatively demonstrates the change in the representation, agency, dynamism and actuality of the represented participants. Within the interpersonal metafunction, Chapters 5 and 6 propose systematic frameworks to compare MODALITY and DEGREE OF INTENSITY between English and Chinese. Chapter 6, in particular, offers a highly generalisable corpus-based approach to examine DEGREE OF INTENSITY, which is applicable to English-Chinese translations and may be extended to other language pairs. This approach can be said to be explicating patterns in text that are previously latent. Furthermore, Chapter 8 shows the efficacy of applying the SFL-inspired Visual Grammar (Kress and van

Leeuwen 2006) to the study of ideological shifts in multimodal translation, an area that has not drawn much attention from a social-semiotic approach. Examinations from these four perspectives demonstrate how seemingly unrelated patterns in different metafunctions and modes are inherently interwoven and can create powerful ensemble effects in causing the translated text to deviate from the source text in the ideological stance.

Lastly, whereas all the above-mentioned scholars note the importance of an attention to the context in which the translation is created and received, the present thesis proposes a clear framework for both the linguistic analysis and the contextual analysis, presented in Section 2.4.2.3.

To build rigorous SFL-based analytical frameworks for translation studies, it is important to take the advice and cautions, discussed next, from Halliday (2001) and Matthiessen (2001) on translation studies.

2.4.2.1 Halliday (2001): Towards a theory of good translation

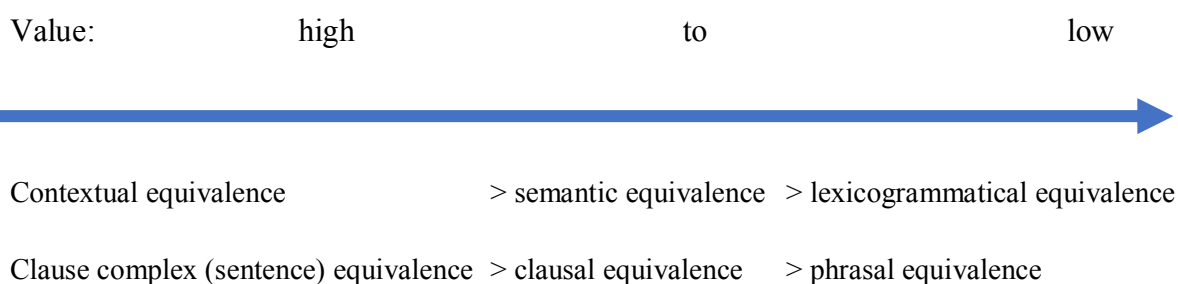
Halliday (ibid., 13) recognises two overarching translation theories: an indicative approach and an imperative approach. For a linguist, a translation theory is indicative: it mainly serves to describe why a text means what it does, and the relations between texts in translation (ibid., 13). For a translator and translator trainer, a translation theory is imperative: it mainly studies why a translation is valued as it is, and how a translation is ought to be (ibid., 13). The imperative theory is clearly reflected in translator accreditation and evaluation, and in translation criticism.

Halliday recognises the difficulty in translation studies, in that it often needs to answer the question, ‘why a text is valued as it is’, which is a harder question than ‘why does the text means what it does?’; the latter is the only goal of many linguistic quests (ibid., 13). Here, Halliday captures a difficulty in translation studies in comparison to linguistic analysis. A linguist may analyse one text only. However, a translation scholar generally has to deal with both a source text and a target text. To analyse the ST and TT linguistically, one often needs extra resources that are not always available to ensure commensurability. One also needs to provide some evaluation of the translation, by labelling some translation phenomena as equivalence and others as translation shifts. A shift is not necessarily good or bad, right or wrong; however, the notions of equivalence and shift are inherently evaluative, at which one needs rigorous linguistic analysis and systematic comparisons to arrive.

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Halliday (ibid., 16-17) points out three concepts from SFL that are most relevant to translation studies: stratification, metafunction and rank. Equivalence and shifts can be studied on each stratum, within any metafunction and rank. However, equivalence on each stratum and rank carry different values. In general, the higher the stratum and rank, the higher values the equivalence carry, as shown in Figure 2.9 below:

Figure 2.9 Value of equivalence on different strata and ranks (summarised and visualised from ibid., 17)



On the other hand, although the three metafunctions do not come in any particular order, Halliday (ibid., 16-17) considers that, typically, equivalence in the ideational metafunction is assigned the highest value; if a TT does not match with the ST ideationally, then it is not a translation, and so the question of whether it is a good translation does not arise. This is a reason Chapter 4 sets out to examine the ideational metafunction.


Halliday's (ibid., 17) idea of a 'good' translation is a text 'which is a translation (i.e. is equivalent) in respect of those linguistic features which are most valued in the given translation context'. His theoretical guidelines for translation studies are inspirational to the present thesis. Through in-depth and mixed methods of SFL-based linguistic analysis of both the STs and TTs, the present thesis aims to identify translation equivalence and shifts on the highest stratum – that of the inner context, specifically: field – who are represented, how are they represented and what kind of process are they involved in; tenor – the relations between author/ translator and readers, and how the represented participants are evaluated. To identify equivalence and shifts in the inner context, one needs to analyse its realisation forms: semantics and especially lexicogrammar, the patterns of consistent foregrounding of which construe the context. This means that conclusions of the overall ideological stance of the STs and TTs are drawn at the stratum of the inner context, but are based on the analysis of semantics and lexicogrammar.

Whereas the present thesis seeks to categorise equivalence and shifts in a rigorous and systematic linguistic manner, it does not criticize or judge them as good or bad. Instead, it describes and attempts to explain translation shifts, especially those that reveal an ideological deviation, and attempts to draw a link between such shifts and their context.

2.4.2.2 Matthiessen (2001): *The environments of translation*

Matthiessen (ibid., 43) elaborates on Halliday's notion of a good translation by contextualising translation. To make a translation maximally effective, it needs to be maximally contextualised (ibid., 74). The manifestation of the cline between 'narrower environment' and 'wider environment' (ibid., 74) can be observed in several dimensions. The most global manifestation of the cline is governed by the hierarchical principle of stratification, with context as the widest stratal environment of translation, followed by semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology (ibid., 74-75). Other manifestations of the cline are governed by the principles of rank, axis, and delicacy, as shown in Figure 2.10.

Figure 2.10 Cline of 'narrower environments' to 'wider environments' of translation (summarised and visualised from ibid., 77)

Dimensions	Narrower environments			Wider environments
				
STRATIFICATION	phonology	lexicogrammar	semantics	context
RANK	morpheme	word	group/phrase	clause
AXIS	structure (syntagmatic axis)		system (paradigmatic axis)	
DELICACY	high delicacy		low delicacy	

Matthiessen (ibid., 79-80) also uses these clines to elaborate on the notion of 'free' and 'literal' translations: the narrower the environment, the more 'literal' the translation'. Lastly, Matthiessen (ibid., 111) elaborates on the context of translation, which is the most all-encompassing environment, and refers to the socio-cultural context of the process of translating; he refers to this as the 'meta-context', as differentiated from inner context mentioned in Section 2.2.5. He explains the field, tenor and mode of the meta-context of translation as follows (ibid., 111):

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- Field:** the social process of translation in which the translator plays a part, the preparation of translation, the processes of editing and evaluating the output of the translation process
- Tenor:** the role-relationship associated with translation, involving the original writer, the translator, the editor, the reader and other roles entering into the total process of translation;
- the translator's degree of expertise and authority (in relation to both the text and the reader) and the status of the translation
- Mode:** the channel of translation (written, spoken)

2.4.2.3 Analytical Framework in the present thesis

This section gives an overview of the semantic and lexicogrammatical areas that are under investigation in both the English source texts and the Chinese target texts in the present thesis. These linguistic and visual semiotic systems are chosen because an analysis of them are considered to have greater potential than other systems to reveal ideological investment in the text. However, as previously mentioned, any single system should not be viewed in isolation to draw conclusions on the ideological shifts. Hence, patterns of consistently foregrounded ideological shifts in translation will be examined in the end to identify cruxes, where different patterns converge, which may create an ensemble effect. Subsequently, a conclusion will be drawn in terms of the ideological differences in the inner context expressed through the translations: how the field, tenor and mode of the translations may differ from those in the source text, and how such shifts may reveal ideological differences.

Table 2.8 outlines the framework for the semantic and lexicogrammatical analysis in the present thesis. In addition, based on previous literature, the present thesis also proposes an explicit framework for the analysis of the socio-cultural context within which the source text and the translation are created and received, as shown in Table 2.9.

A combination of linguistic analysis and contextual analysis will serve to bridge the text and context, both of which can be functionally aligned. In addition, the target texts and contexts will be systematically compared with the source texts and contexts. As ideology is located in both text and context, the bridging of the two will demonstrate foregrounded patterns

of ideological shifts in translation, where ideology in context may have driven and determined the ideology in text, and subsequently how ideology construed in the text may actively feed back into the context.

Table 2.8 Semantic and lexicogrammatical analysis in the present thesis

THE INNER CONTEXT			
Field		Tenor	Mode
LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS			
Ideational metafunction		Interpersonal metafunction	Textual Metafunction
Experiential	Logical		
<i>In Chapter 4:</i> TRANSITIVITY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transitive • Ergative Cline of Dynamism	<i>in Chapter 4:</i> Instantial weight: CLAUSE STATUS	<i>in Chapter 5:</i> MOOD; MODALITY; <i>in Chapter 6:</i> DEGREE OF INTENSITY	
MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS (<i>in Chapter 7</i>)			
participant; process type		MODALITY & INTENSITY; INVOLVMENT; SHOT OF FRAME	INFORMATION VALUE; SALIENCE

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Table 2.9 Contextual analysis in the present thesis of the source text and the target text

	Three lines of Narrativity	Field	Tenor	Mode
Source Context of Culture	Phylogenesis	What is happening in history at the time of the book publication?	relations between the publisher and the readers	standards of the publishing industry
	Ontogenesis	What is happening in the development of the author when the book was written and published	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> relations between the author and the represented participants; relations between the author and other interactive participants (publisher, designer, readers, translator etc.) 	author's background and expertise in the given mode, e.g. in writing in English
	Logogenesis (The Inner Context)	locations of selected texts within the unfolding of events in the text itself: who are represented? As what roles? In what processes and circumstances?	relations between the represented participants and readers	mode of the text
Target Context of Culture	Phylogenesis	What is happening in history at the time of the book publication?	relations between the publisher and the readers	standards of the publishing industry
	Ontogenesis	What is happening in the development of the translator and the author when the book was written and published	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> relations between the author and the represented participants; relations between the translator and the represented participants relations between the translator/ author and other interactive participants (publisher, designer, readers etc.) 	author's and translator's background and expertise in the given mode, e.g. in writing in Chinese
	Logogenesis (The Inner Context)	locations of selected texts within the unfolding of events in the text itself	relations between the represented participants and readers	mode of the text, writing,

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter proposes the analytical framework for the influence of ideology in translation in the present thesis. It starts with a description and explanation of key concepts in SFL, which is the overarching theoretical framework underpinning the linguistic analysis: these key concepts include stratification, rank, instantiation, metafunction, text and context. These concepts serve to align the text with the context according to the ultimate functions of language in relation to the context. The explanation of the relevance of SFL to the present thesis is followed by an overview of the history of ideology and its definition in the present thesis, a discussion of the importance of studying ideology through analysing linguistic and multimodal text, and linguistic areas that are potentially indicative of ideological investment in a text. Lastly, previous studies with an SFL-CDA-CL based approach to ideology are reviewed, based on which a new Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to the study of ideology in translation is proposed for the present thesis, with an explicit framework of linguistic and contextual analysis to demonstrate how ideology in the context drives linguistic choices in text, and how ideology expressed through a text may, in turn, affects the context.

The next chapter is the first analytical chapter. It provides a broad overview of the overall structuring and key claims in the chosen books, especially of the source texts, without in-depth linguistic analysis. A key objective of this shorter chapter is to complement the in-depth linguistic and visual semiotic analyses in Chapter 4-7, and to bridge the inner context and the context of creation/reception by proposing some horizontal comparisons of the historical periods in China represented in the books with those of the rest of the world, especially in “Western” Anglo-American-Australian countries at the same temporal locations.

CHAPTER 3: IMPRESSIONISTIC OVERVIEW OF *WILD SWANS* AND *MAO'S LAST DANCER*

3.1 General Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter serves to complement the in-depth and quantitative-qualitative linguistic analysis of the two books under study in Chapters 4 to 7. It qualitatively describes and analyses the overall structure of the two books, their key claims, ways of elaboration, and the representation of key characters in the book. Such key characters include the protagonists, the Maos (Chairman Mao + Madame Mao), and the communist regime of China as an organisation. Once a description is given, this chapter sets out to consider the accuracy, finiteness and proportionality of claims and facts that are taken to be historically truthful in the two family chronicles.

Finiteness refers to the actuality and plausibility of the events depicted. In English grammar, a clause becomes finite when a process is temporally pinned down with primary tense: for example, 'was reading' in 'he was reading a book' indicates a concrete and continuous past event; in comparison, 'to become' in 'I want to become a singer' does not have primary tense, and therefore cannot be pinned down temporally, which is thus referred to as non-finite. In the present thesis, finiteness is used in a rhetorical sense. Finiteness refers to whether a process has enough convincing representational detail to be verified as having occurred or existed historically, and whether the temporal and physical location of the process can be pinned down. A finite event can be seen as more 'realis' (Butt 2008, 76-77), whereas a non-finite event is considered to be more 'irrealis'. Finiteness is an important issue to consider in the present thesis, as both books belong to the genre of autobiography/ family chronicle. The two books are closely related to events located in space and time, and a high degree of non-finiteness could be seen as removing the capacity for testing the truthfulness of autobiographical statements. Therefore, for this type of factual writing, low finiteness reduces the plausibility in factual writing, and may even be considered as a sign of speculation and deception.

Finiteness should be considered as a cline. A process depicted in the book should be considered as more finite, or realis, if it comes from a first-person source, and includes representational detail such as specific physical and temporal locations, names and other details of the represented participants and processes. Supporting evidence such as photographs also often contributes to higher finiteness. By contrast, a process can be seen as more non-finite if it comes from third-person sources, if its physical and temporal locations and other essential

details cannot be verified, or if it is inconsistent with other peritextual (elsewhere in the same book) and epitextual (outside the book) facts.

Whereas finiteness investigates the reliability of the book (mainly concerning the ‘ethos’), proportionality is concerned with normality and fairness of representation and evaluation (mainly concerning the ‘logos’). Proportionality is another crucial factor to investigate in the present thesis, as both books are interpretations of history, in particular Chinese history, for readers who may potentially be unfamiliar with either Chinese history or how China would historically compare with the rest of the world at the same temporal locations. For instance, to depict China as being backwards in comparison to the “West”, the authors claimed from their personal experiences that explicit discrimination of black people (Chang 1991) and of homosexuality (C. Li 2003) were tolerated in Mao’s China. Although such explicit discrimination may appear highly marked in 2017 in the Anglophone context (cf. Australia’s federal anti-discrimination laws and the legalisation of same-sex marriage in late 2017), in the 1960s, discrimination based on race, gender and sexuality was still institutionalised in these countries. In such a case, without making necessary horizontal comparisons, highlighting the harbouring of homophobia and racism in Mao’s China may create a false impression that such discrimination was more blatant in China, if not peculiar to China. Hence, it is important to consider the proportionality of claims made in the chosen books by placing them within a broader global context.

The two terms China and the “West” will be conceptualised as a debated dichotomy in this chapter; this mainly serves the purpose of a continuation of the same argument from the chosen English books, as mentioned in Section 1.1. Although there is no evidence that either Chang or Li have lived extensively in each and every “Western” country to be able to generalise their comparisons between China and the “West”, they nevertheless have opted for the umbrella term the “West” when making comparisons with their versions of China, instead of merely focusing on the Anglophone countries where they have lived: the U.K. for Chang, and the U.S. and Australia for Li. To contest their arguments, the same usage of China versus the “West” will be applied in this chapter, even though, not unlike the case of the two books, counter-examples in this chapter mainly focus on the three Anglophone countries of the U.K., the U.S., and Australia. This is not to exclude differences amongst the “Western” world or even amongst major Anglophone countries, but rather, to effectively weaken and refute the China-West dichotomy proposed by the two authors by similarly focusing on the Anglophone countries. Such dichotomy will be problematized as more similarities between China and the three Anglophone countries are revealed.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 will explain and analyse key claims, represented participants, and the finiteness and proportionality, in *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, respectively, 3.2 for *Wild Swans*, and 3.3 for *Mao's Last Dancer*. Section 3.4 draws attention to similarities and differences between the two source texts. There will be a brief explanation of the Chinese translations; however, comparison between the source text and the target text is not the focus of this chapter, as both translations overwhelmingly match the source texts on these broad fronts, including the overall structuring and key claims. In this sense, this chapter does not directly contribute to the understanding of ideological shifts in translation, the investigation of which commences in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, this chapter is important for a better understanding of ideological investment in the two source texts, and of the overall structuring of both STs and TTs.

3.2 An Impressionistic Overview of *Wild Swans*

3.2.1 Overall structure and key claims in *Wild Swans*

3.2.1.1. Overall structure

Wild Swans – Three Daughters of China (1991/2003) contains 220,331 words. It has 671 pages, and the text proper is divided into 28 chapters.

The book title and each of the 28 chapter titles contain a main title and a sub-title. The main titles appear to be a literal English translation of a Chinese character, idiom or sentence. For example, *Wild Swans* is said to be the English translation of the Chinese character, 鴻 *Hóng*, which forms part of the Chinese given names of Chang (二鴻 *Èr-Hóng*) and her mother (德鴻 *Dé-Hóng*). This is in fact an incorrect translation, as to be explained in Chapter 7. The sub-titles appear to have been directly construed in English, and are more indicative of the genre or the main topic. For example, *Three Daughters of China* hints that this book is a family chronicle focusing on three Chinese women.

The inner context of the book starts with the birth of Chang's great-grandfather, and covers the entire 20th century of China. However, differentiated weights are assigned to different historical periods and generations. As shown in Table 3.1, the temporal focus of the book is 1966-1976, shown in bold type, which is the period of the Cultural Revolution.

The fact that only six out of 28 chapters are dedicated to the pre-1949 period shows that the focus of the word 'China' in '*Three Daughters of China*' is on the People's Republic of China (PRC), which was founded in 1949 under the leadership of Mao. The focus is not on the Qing Dynasty, which collapsed in 1911, or the Republic of China (ROC), which was founded

in 1911 by Sun Yat-Sen and is now a synonym for Taiwan. In addition, the Cultural Revolution clearly provides the most important historical backdrop for the logogenetic unfolding of events in the book.

Wild Swans is essentially a family saga of tragedy. Its overarching theme is the suffering of hundreds of millions of Chinese people throughout the 20th century, epitomised by members of the author's family, especially the key female members, brought about predominantly by the Communist regime of China and the cult of Chairman Mao Zedong. The book represents China, especially contemporary China, as a harsh reality, and the “West” as the ideal. As the title, *Wild Swans*, suggests, the author analogises herself as a bird, who eventually flew to the “West”, where freedom and happiness were found.

Table 3.1 The overall structure of *Wild Swans*

Historical periods under coverage	Main events unfolding	Total pages	Chapters	Number of chapters
Pre-1949: before the People's Republic of China was founded	<p>The grandmother grew up with bound feet and married twice;</p> <p>The mother was born in 1931 and grew up in Manchukuo (滿洲國 <i>Mǎnzhōu Guó</i>);</p> <p>The mother married the father, a communist official, in 1949;</p> <p>The parents moved to Sichuan</p>	162	1-6	6
1949-1965: pre-Cultural Revolution	<p>Chang was born in 1952;</p> <p>Chang grew up in a privileged cocoon;</p> <p>Various campaigns & disasters in the new China: Three-anti and Five-anti Campaigns (三反五反 <i>sān fǎn wǔ fǎn</i>), the Great Leap Forward (大躍進 <i>dà yuèjìn</i>), and the Great Famine (三年大饑荒 <i>sān nián dà jīhuāng</i>)</p>	181	7-15	8

1966-1976: the Cultural Revolution	The Cultural Revolution started in 1966; The parents were persecuted; The grandmother died in 1969; The father died in 1975; Mao and Zhou died in 1976; The Cultural Revolution ended in 1976	305 (46%)	16-27	11 (39%)
1976-1978: post-Cultural Revolution	Chang left China for the UK	15	28	1
Total		663		28

3.2.1.2 Key claims

To represent China as a backward and harsh reality in comparison to the idealised “West”, the author has proposed several potentially controversial key claims. These key claims are clearly evidenced throughout the book, and are elaborated extensively with examples, numbers and figures, despite intermittent exceptions and concessions. When making these claims about China, there is always an implicit assumption of China’s contrast with the “West”; often such Sino-Western contrasts are explicated. These key claims are listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Key Claims in *Wild Swans*

Numbers of Claim	Key claims about China: explicated and elaborated	Key claims about the “West”: explicated or hinted
1.	China was/is an oppressed society without democracy, freedom or equality	People in the “West” enjoy democracy, freedom and equality
2.	Cruelty was/is common in Chinese society; Mao and his communist regime have criminally misruled the Chinese people and carried out disastrous policies	The “West” is compassionate and humane; “Western” democracy leaves no room for the misruling of dictatorship

3.	China is backward; life is harsh	The “West” is advanced and well developed; life is immensely better
4.	China is an irrational society where most people are incapable of rational and critical thinking	The “West” is rational
5.	Communism and the Cultural Revolution turned China ugly: beautiful traits of Chinese culture were destroyed by the communists, and ugly traits about the Chinese culture have been preserved by the Communists	The “West” represents beauty

A few examples from the book are provided to demonstrate the elaboration of these claims in the book: they are either a direct quote or summarised by the present author. The plausibility of these examples, however, is not considered at this stage.

Claim 1: China was/is an oppressed society; Chinese people are oppressed politically and sexually, information is strictly censored:

- ‘The country had always had a dictatorship which operated by keeping the public ignorant and thus obedient’ (p. 260);
- Schools and universities are under tight control; political indoctrination infiltrates every school day’ (Chapter 14);
- In 1972, there was virtually no foreigner in Sichuan or English-language newspaper; ‘we could be jailed for listening to BBC & VOA’; ‘Our textbooks were ridiculous propaganda’ (p. 612, in Chapter 26);
- ‘Many Chinese girls of my generation were too dominated by the crushing political upheavals to develop adolescent sexual feelings; ‘China was suffering from extreme sexual repression’ (p. 408, in Chapter 18).

Chinese people do not enjoy quality; people are judged based on their class:

- When Chang’s family moved from Yibin to Chengdu in 1953, they could not travel in the same train compartment, because everybody was entitled to a different class of ticket (Chapter 9);
- From 1964, the class line criterion was applied to the whole society (Chapter 14);

- In 1966, students were divided into three categories: red, black and grey. Chang's friend committed suicide after being labelled as black (Chapter 16).

The "West" has brought positive influence to China:

- President Nixon's visit in 1972 helped generate a new and relaxed climate, because China did not want to lose face to America (Chapter 25);
- The restaurant *Gunpowder* was renamed *The Fragrance of Sweet Wind* because of Nixon's visit, even though Nixon never visited Chengdu (Chapter 25).

Claim 2: cruelty is/was common in Chinese society; Mao and his communist regime have criminally misruled the Chinese people and carried out disastrous policies:

- 'There had never been a proper legal system. Justice was arbitrary and cruelty was both institutionalised and capricious' (p. 2);
- "I heard that '26 August' had attacked a factory, and captured the workers and tortured them, using 'singing fountains' (splitting their skulls open so the blood burst out) and 'landscape paintings' (slashing their faces into patterns)" (p. 421);
- The political campaign launched in 1955 to uncover hidden counterrevolutionaries' ruined the lives of 160,000 people (Chapter 10);
- "When the Anti-Rightist Campaign ended after a year, at least 550,000 people had been labelled as 'rightists'" (p. 268);
- During the Great Leap Forward in 1958, woks were burnt down to make steel, which resulted in a great famine spread across the whole of China (Chapter 12);
- In stark contrast, people in the United Kingdom are extraordinarily equal; everybody has dignity (Introduction).

Claim 3: China is backward, with harsh life:

- Because Chinese characters are exceedingly difficult, 'hundreds of millions of people were completely illiterate' (p. 260);

- As of 1969, ‘farming methods in rural areas of Sichuan were essentially the same as 2,000 years ago’ (p. 543);
- ‘Chinese penicillin was not pure and could cause serious reactions, even death’ (p. 559);
- In stark contrast, sailors from third world countries were immeasurably better off than the vast majority of Chinese (p. 640).

Claim 4: China is an irrational society:

- ‘Telling fantasies to oneself as well as others, and believing them, was practiced to an incredible degree during the Great Leap Forward’ (p. 276);
- ‘Like many Chinese, I was incapable of rational thinking in those days’ (in 1966) (p. 389);
- ‘When I was reading Marx, I was attracted by something I had rarely come across in China – the logic that ran through an argument’. Reading Marx helped me think rationally and analytically (p. 553).

Claim 5: Communism and the Cultural Revolution turned China ugly: beautiful traits of Chinese culture were destroyed by the communists, and ugly traits about the Chinese culture have been preserved by the Communists:

- ‘1965, Mao instructed that grass, flowers and pets were bourgeois habits and were to be eliminated’(p. 340-341);
- ‘Lin Biao made a speech in Tiananmen Square calling on the red guards to charge out of their school and ‘smash up the four olds’ – old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits’ (p. 360-361);
- “The Red Guards had levelled the cemetery of Dr. Xia and smashed the tombstones, as they considered burial an 'old' practice. I can never forget the intense flame in my grandmother's eyes” (p. 532);
- “Everything that I love: pretty clothes, flowers, books, entertainment, politeness, gentleness, spontaneity, mercy, kindness, liberty, aversion to cruelty and violence, love instead of ‘class hatred’, respect for human lives, the desire to be left alone, professional competence” (p. 619-620);

- ‘Wherever we went as we travelled down the Yangtze we saw the aftermath of the CR. Not only had China destroyed most of its beautiful things, it had lost its appreciation of them, and was unable to make new ones. Except for the much-scarred but still stunning landscape, China had become an ugly country’ (p. 635);
- In stark contrast, my first impression with London was that everything was ‘exhilarating’, and I was exploring the city with ‘indescribable pleasure’ (p. xiv).

3.2.2 Representation of key characters

This section gives an impressionistic overview of the representation of key participants in the book: Mao, the father, the mother, and ‘I’. It has excluded an overview of the grandmother, as her representation is not considered centrally relevant to the ideological investment.

Although the book title and the front cover photos suggest that this book is about three Chinese women – the grandmother, the mother, and the author herself – an impressionistic reading of the whole book suggests that two male characters, Mao Zedong and the father, are more important participants than the grandmother in the book. This impression is confirmed with a concordance search within the full text of *Wild Swans*, as shown in Table 3.3. Results were generated using SysConc³. This search has effectively excluded all irrelevant instances: for example, someone else’s ‘father’, or ‘I’ in direct speech by someone other than Chang; however, it does not consider ellipses or personal pronouns; in addition, it does not consider variants of the same word, which has hardly been used in this book: for example, Chang’s mother is consistently referred to as ‘mother’, and never as ‘mum’, ‘mom’ or ‘mummy’.

Table 3.3 The most lexically represented participants in *Wild Swans*

Word	Occurrences	Special notes
I	1,973	referring to Jung Chang
mother	856	Chang’s mother
father	594	Chang’s father
Mao	489	Mao Zedong
grandmother	352	Chang’s grandmother

³ SysConc is a concordance programme developed by Dr Canzhong Wu (2000) at Macquarie University.

3.2.2.1 Mao

Mao Zedong is represented as an almost exclusively negative character: a monstrous, violent dictator whose disastrous policies have caused the death of tens of millions. He is someone who:

- was more of an emperor exercising absolute authority than a chairman;
- could not take the slightest criticism;
- found the idea of peaceful progress suffocating, needed violent action, and regarded permanent human struggle as necessary for social development;
- was a restless ‘fight promoter’ (p. 652);
- encouraged violence;
- was a master of creating terror;
- mobilized ugly human instincts such as envy and resentment;
- established a reign of ignorance;
- turned China back to isolation from the world.

These are clearly negative evaluations of Mao. In fact, the representation of Mao in *Wild Swans* is almost completely negative. In addition, when describing negative consequences of policies and campaigns related to Mao, his agency is usually made explicit: for example, ‘**Mao let this happen** in order to...’. To hold Mao more accountable, Mao’s mental activities are also explored in great detail; the mental activities are then represented as having turned into his action/speech, which subsequently led to drastic and disastrous changes sweeping across China, which in turn created direct impact on the Chang household. A narrative pattern has been frequently found to draw a link between tragedies in the author’s family and Mao’s mind: Mao sensed...therefore he did...Then a new political campaign swept across China...And my parents fell victims to it...’.

Occasionally, some concessions are made about positive progress in Mao’s China. As the absolute leader in China from 1949 to 1976, it is likely that Mao contributed to this progress. However, Mao’s positive agency is almost completely effaced in *Wild Swans*, as if these positive events unfolded naturally, for example:

- **the country had made** a stunning recovery from the famine (p. 342);

- In October 1964 **China exploded** its first atomic bomb (ibid.);
- **France recognized** China at full ambassadorial level, the first leading Western nation to do so (ibid.);
- **School resumed. Factories began to recruit** new workers (p. 584).

Furthermore, although there are a few instances where Chang acknowledges some good policies of Mao, she explicates in these cases that Mao had introduced these good policies either with an evil intention (for example, to entice snakes out of the cave [引蛇出洞 *yǐnshé chūdòng*] – to entice dissidents to speak up), or due to a lack of choice, for example:

- Mao had sanctioned the mass rehabilitation **not because he had come to his senses, but because** he lost Lin, and therefore **had no one else** who could command the loyalty of the army. **He had to** bring back most of the denounced officials (ibid.).

Carrying this monstrous representation of Mao in *Wild Swans* further, Jung Chang and her husband went on to write a biography of Mao in 2005, *Mao: the Unknown Story*, which has attracted some harsh criticism from academics (cf. Goodman 2006; Benton and Chun 2013) for its monstrous representation of Mao.

3.2.2.2 *The father*

Chang's father, CHANG Shou-yu, epitomises victims of the Cultural Revolution in this book. Coming from a humble background, he rose up to become a high-ranking communist official. According to the civil service grades, the father was Grade 10, and there were 'fewer than twenty people of Grade 10 and above in the whole province, which had a population of about seventy-two million' as of 1956 (Chang 1991/2003, 259). Initially, he was the second most important leader in the Yibin region of Sichuan province, below only the first secretary of the Party as of 1953. Later, he transferred to Chengdu to become head of the Arts and Education Office of Sichuan province (Chang 1991/2003). He had clearly been a powerful man, having been in charge of the Cultural Revolution in Sichuan, before he became a target of the revolution himself.

It comes as little surprise that Chang assigns overwhelmingly positive attributes to her father, who is said to be:

- Loyal to the communist party;
- Extremely hard-working;

- Morally incorruptible:
 - He had offended his family members for refusing to show favouritism;
- Was an innocent communist, despite having overseen various campaigns, such as the ‘three antis’ – anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucracy’ – campaign in the early and mid-1950s:
 - ‘my father’s department was in charge of the press in Sichuan, but **my father had no say** during the Great Leap Forward’ (p. 280);
 - The father thought the Cultural Revolution was wrong by Marxist principles, and that he had a duty to make suggestions to Mao (p. 280);

Because the father stood by the true principles of Marxism rather than blindly following Mao, he refused to side with some powerful officials to purge innocent people. Consequently, he offended some powerful people. Afterwards, he was repeatedly persecuted and tortured, which eventually drove him insane. At the end of his life, he was said to have lost faith in communism, although he had already developed schizophrenia by then and was probably no longer capable of making informed decisions. He died a year before the Cultural Revolution ended. Great detail is provided in the book regarding the persecution of the father during the Cultural Revolution, for example:

- The father was deliberately exposed to angry students as a target, and then put under virtual house arrest (p. 383, in Chapter 17);
- When the father’s collection of books was set on fire by the Red Guards, he wept for the first time. The father had spent every spare penny on his books. They were his life. After the bonfire, he started to develop insanity (p. 425, in Chapter 19);
- He was beaten up repeatedly (Chapter 20);
- He was brutally treated, hair half-shaven, two ribs broken (Chapter 20).

According to the book, the father’s insanity started to develop in 1968, seven years before his death. In reality, he died of a heart attack. However, Chang rhetorically puts the cause of his death as the betrayal by communism, to which he had given his whole life (p. 630).

3.2.2.3 *The mother*

The mother is the soul of the entire book, as ‘much of the book is the story of my mother’ (p. viii). Although the mother, also a communist, is represented as having suffered greatly as the father had, she is portrayed as less morally fastidious; in fact, her devotion to communism was as deeply-rooted as that of the father: she would bend some rules to help her family, such as going through secret lobbying and bribing, or *the back door* (走後門 *zǒu hòumén*), to get her daughter into university and later to receive a Chinese government scholarship to study in the U.K. It appears that the mother has never been fully dedicated to the cause of communism, as she:

- Found it difficult to fit in when she first met the communists in Jinzhou in the late 1940s;
- Was constantly criticized for ‘putting family first’ in the early 1950s;
- Started to harbour doubts with the anti-rightist campaign in 1957, even though she was still devoted to Communism;
- Did nothing in 1964, when Mao had the list circulated down to her level to hunt the rightists.

These nevertheless should contribute to a positive evaluation of the mother, as qualities such as putting family first, rationally challenging the government, and refusing to purge innocent people, are unlikely to draw condemnation from readers. In addition, although, as a Grade 17 government official, the mother may not have been completely innocent during the various campaigns, her potential culpability has been toned down by Chang:

- She had **tried her best** in previous campaigns **not to victimize** anyone, and had in fact managed to protect **many** (p. 418).

Instead, emphasis is placed on the suffering and persecution to which she was subject:

- The mother was in detention for six months regarding her connection to the Kuomintang (Chapter 10);
- The mother was paraded: she had to kneel on broken glass, wear a dunce cap and a heavy placard hanging from her neck, kowtow to the crowds, and children would be jeering at her (p. 422-423, in Chapter 19);
- The mother developed a haemorrhage from her womb for six years (p. 424, in Chapter 19).

3.2.2.4 'I'

A unique feature in autobiographies is that the narrator 'I' is taken to conflate with the author, which is the case in *Wild Swans*: 'I' = Jung Chang. Chang was being modest in saying that much of the book is the story of her mother: as Table 3.3 shows, Chang is the obvious protagonist in the book. Chang admits to having enjoyed great privilege growing up as one of the children of high-ranking officials (高幹子弟 *gāogàn zǐdì*). However, she tried to rebel against traditional Chinese culture and the prevailing political ideologies; instead, she started to look up to the "West" from an early age. There is an underlying narrative that she has never fitted in within China:

- 'Ever since I was a child, I have always wanted to be left alone' (p. 319) [hinting "Western" individualism];
- 'High officials children became almost a stratum of their own, but I was not one of them' (p. 335);
- Chang would always keep a distance between me and others (cf. p. 319, 555);
- Chang was constantly criticized by other students for being aloof, white and bourgeois';
- 'I learned that the best way to get by was to be regarded as an unobtrusively aloof outsider. Once you became 'one of the masses', you immediately let yourself in for intrusion and control' (p. 555).

There is also a theme that she rebelled against the dominant political ideologies:

- 'I tried to protest the violence, but I was criticized, and asked to show no mercy to the enemy' (p. 393);
- 'I subconsciously avoided Mao' in 1967 (p. 474);
- Although 'I' supported the 'reform through labour' wholeheartedly, 'I' refused Mao's instruction to stay in the rural area, and I returned to Chengdu after spending only 26 days there (Chapter 22);
- Chang lamented the loss of beautiful things such as flowers, long hair and pretty clothes (Chapter 26).

Another narrative is that she had had a natural affinity with the "West", and hence was keen to leave China for the "West":

- 'I was born in a hospital set up by foreign missionaries, where I was looked after by Chinese Catholics; there was still one European priest there, and a few European nuns wearing religious habits' (p. 211-212);
- Chang majored in English at Sichuan University and spoke better English than all her classmates (Chapter 26);
- 'I was dying to ask the professors about the West' (p. 618);
- 'I was terribly curious about foreigners' (p. 640);
- 'My friends and I often talked about the West. By then I had come to the conclusion that it was a wonderful place' (p. 619);
- 'My hairpin dropped to the river, which, according to a Chinese legend, means that I was destined to marry far with a foreigner' (p. 635-636);
- 'I' was criticized for being too friendly to the foreign sailors, because it was expected of me to maintain the dignity of Chinese people by being 'aloof' (p. 641).

A further narrative is that "Western" influence taught her to think and analyse rationally and critically:

- 'At the age of eighteen, no matter how much I hated the Cultural Revolution, to doubt Mao still did not enter my mind' (Chapter 23);
- 'I found pleasure in reading books in English: I was enormously impressed by the Greek tradition of democracy, Renaissance humanism, and the Enlightenment's questioning of everything' (p. 622);
- "My heart swelled at the words 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal', and those about men's 'unalienable Rights', among them 'Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness'. These concepts were unheard of in China, and opened up a marvellous new world for me" (p. 622-623).
- '*Newsweek* allowed me to experience the thrill of challenging Mao openly in my mind for the first time' (p. 623)

Chang presents herself, as an important eye-witness to Mao's atrocities, as:

- Mao's policies usually had direct and tremendous impact on her daily life;
- Many of her teachers, classmates and friends were victimised;
- Chang felt frightened all the time by the atrocities that the Red Guards committed.

Lastly, as ‘I’, Chang reveals a clear dislike for uneducated working-class people, especially the peasants:

- ‘Manure was not considered untouchable by peasants’. ‘When they trudged out, their shoes left highly odorous stains along the corridor and in the rooms’ (p. 403);
- ‘Indeed, we were like foreigners to the peasants – and they to us’ (p. 499);
- ‘I refused to get to know the peasants. I didn’t want to be like them’ (p. 554);
- ‘In Deyang, few peasants could read; without education, the peasants’ world was painfully narrow. I knew their restricted horizon was not their fault, but nonetheless I found their conversations unbearable’ (p. 549);
- ‘I concentrated on the negative qualities of the peasants. I did not try to get to know them, or to get on with them’ (p. 554);
- ‘I’ would usually only interact the rich and the educated, such as landlords, doctors, and professors (Chapter 23).

3.2.3 The consideration of finiteness and horizontal perspective

Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 have provided an impressionistic overview of key claims and representations of key participants in the book, without having considered their plausibility and the fairness of such claims and representations. This section sets out to examine whether these representations are finite and realistic, and whether they are proportionately represented from a horizontal perspective.

3.2.3.1 Finiteness

3.2.3.1.1 First-person versus third-person sources

Ideally, the source of information in an autobiography should come from first-person sources. In the case of *Wild Swans*, the book is expected to be based on the personal lives of Chang and her mother, who is said to have left sixty hours of recordings at Chang’s London home in 1988 (Chang 1991/2003, xxii). However, the author discloses (Chang 2003, xi-xii) that a few other people have contributed to the copyediting of this book:

- Jon Halliday, the author’s husband, not only polished her English, but also ‘*forced me into greater clarification of both the stories and my thoughts*’, and offered his ‘historian’s knowledgeable and meticulous scrutiny, and sound *judgment*’ (ibid., vii, my emphasis). As the book is written in first person, it is not clear which *knowledge and judgment*, of Mao for example, comes from Chang’s personal account, and which comes from Jon Halliday;

- Alice Mayhew, Chang's editor at Simon & Shuster, who has a distinguished list of writers in history, biography, politics, and popular culture, offered 'insightful comments and invaluable dynamism' (ibid., vii);
- Robert Lacey, who is a British historian and has written a biography of Queen Elizabeth II, edited the manuscript (ibid., vii).

At the time of writing the present chapter, neither the source text (ST) author nor the translator has responded to a request to be interviewed. With the absence of an ethnographic approach, the detailed contributions of these three Anglo-American writers/editors remain unknown. This certainly raises an interesting question as to how much information represented in the book comes from the first-person source, and how much may have been added by these "Western" professionals, which have then been presented in the form of a first-person account of a female survivor of the Cultural Revolution. This deserves further investigation.

3.2.3.1.2 Verifiability of sources

Many elaborations of the key claims come from sources that cannot be verified. For example, in representing Mao as a monstrous dictator, the author has provided great details of Mao's mental activities: his worries, jealousy, indifference to people's lives, and evil intentions. It is highly problematic how Chang could have access to these mental activities, especially considering that she had never met Mao in person, for example:

- 'But then **he was confident** that much of the population would not be able to make rational deductions with the fragmentary information available to them' (ibid., 549).

Besides Mao's mental activities, there are many other unverifiable examples:

- 'In 1989, an official who had been working in famine relief told me that he believed that the total number of people who had died in Sichuan was seven million, 10% of the entire population of a rich province' (ibid., 290). [Presenting itself as a form of protection for the whistle-blower, this anonymity also makes it impossible to verify the source of statistics];
- 'a schoolfriend of my mother's was hounded to suicide' (p. 428) [unverifiable anonymity];
- 'In Sichuan, Mao's delegates turned out to be the Tings. They engaged in endless persecutions and personal vendettas' (p. 432), for example, a bodyguard that Mrs Ting

had tried to seduce...another doctor... ‘there were scores of cases like there’...[all could be rumours];

Some other elaborations cannot be verified because they appear highly rhetorical and sensationalist:

- ‘When I tried to swim, I always had a mental picture of being pursued by invading Americans to the bank of a surging river’ (p. 340);
- [Regarding the grandmother’s death]: ‘she was a strong woman, but in the end the disasters which hit my parents, the worries about her grandchildren, *the tide of ugly human hostility all conspired to crush her*’ (p. 534, my emphasis).
- The author claims that she had to be involved in steel production in 1958 (Chang 1991/2003, 271) at the age of six. The vague hyponym, ‘steel production’, is somewhat misleading: readers may feel appalled that a six-year-old Chinese schoolgirl had to engage in a risky industrial process involving extreme temperature and sparks. However, readers are to find out in the next chapter that she was enrolled in a prestigious school reserved for children of high-ranking officials; the actual duty of students like her was to collect coal and nails on the street, during break time; in addition, her teachers were acutely aware of the high status of her parents. Therefore, it would have been impossible that she was engaged in any arduous and risky process, as provoked by ‘steel production’.

Whereas Chang is excellent at elaborating her claims about the suffering of her family and the atrocities of Mao and the Red Guards with a plethora of examples, many elaborations cannot be easily verified, because they are the mental activities of someone else, from anonymous sources, or from rumours, or from personal experience that does not have a witness. In addition, some claims appear too sensationalist and rhetorical to be taken as plausible. All these factors weaken the plausibility and truthfulness of this family chronicle.

3.2.3.2 *Horizontal perspective*

Another equally important consideration is the comparison of historical China with the rest of the world at the same temporal locations, for an evaluation of the fairness of the representation of contemporary China.

3.2.3.2.1 The representation of the “West” in this book

As mentioned in Section 3.2.1.2, the Sino-Western contrast is an underlying theme in this book. To represent China as the harsh reality and the “West” as the ideal, negative aspects of the “West” in shaping Chinese history have been toned down or concealed in this book. For example, Chapter 1 portrays China around 1900 as an impoverished and chaotic country; it attributes China’s harsh reality and backwardness to China’s own history, inherent problems and internal conflicts; in addition, it blames the Japanese invasion and the Soviet occupation; the latter two invaders are not part of the core “West”. However, it does not mention the role of “Western” imperialism, which had significantly impacted on China for six decades prior to 1900. For example, whereas it mentions the putting down of the Boxer Rebellion (義和團運動 *Yihétuán Yùndòng*) in 1900 by eight foreign armies, there is no specification of the eight armies; readers may not be aware that the Eight-Nation Alliance comprised major “Western” powers of the time, including the British Empire and the United States. These eight armies invaded and defeated the Qing dynasty in 1900, forcing the Qing Dynasty to sign the unequal *Xinchou Protocol* (辛醜條約 *Xīnchǒu Tiáoyuē*), and to pay an astronomical fine as indemnity. On the other hand, in the limited cases that UK and USA are mentioned as an external agent to events unfolding in China, they are usually assigned positive attributes, notably the relaxed environment during the Cultural Revolution in 1972 brought about by Nixon’s visit. These are clear efforts for a positive representation of the “West” in the book.

3.2.3.2.2 Anti-intellectual repression under Mao versus McCarthyism

Chang (1991/2003) claims that Mao’s reign is one of ignorance: Mao caused millions of intellectuals to be labelled as ‘bourgeois intellectuals’ because it would be easy for him to manipulate a population that cannot think rationally and critically, while people suspected of having affiliation with the Kuomintang Party in Taiwan, the U.S., and the Soviets were branded with names such as counter-revolutionaries (反革命分子 *fǎn gé mìng fēn zǐ*), class enemies (階級敵人 *jiē jí dí rén*), and capitalist roaders (走資派 *zǒu zī pài*); the last label refers to people and organisations who have a tendency towards the capitalist ways during the revolutions. She claims that communists had to repeatedly prove their loyalty to the cause of communism to avoid persecution.

Without referring to any other countries, this book presents Mao’s China as the only known oppressive regime, as if anti-intellectual purges did not exist in the democratic “West”. Chang, under no circumstances, draws any comparison between the political oppression and

anti-intellectual campaigns in Mao's China and McCarthyism and anti-Communist in the "West", with which younger readers in the 1990s and 2000s may not be familiar.

McCarthyism commenced in the US with President Truman's *Executive Order 9835* of March 21, 1947, which required that all federal civil service employees be screened for loyalty (cf. Goldstein 2006). After that, it was quickly adopted by various public and private organisations to deny employment or otherwise discriminate against listed organizations or persons alleged to be affiliated with a totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive regime (ibid.). Similar to the list of bourgeois intellectuals drawn up by Mao for public denunciation, the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations (AGLOSO) also publicised lists of people under suspicion (ibid.). Victims of McCarthyism would lose their jobs, and many became imprisoned or were driven into exile (ibid.). For example, David Bohm, one of the greatest physicists in the 20th century, who had been involved with the Manhattan project to produce the world's first atomic bomb, was first isolated physically and intellectually from the American physics community, and subsequently forced into exile from the US due to his suspected affiliation with communism (Olwell 1999, 738).

Although the tightening of control and the repression of those suspected of sympathy for the other side are most evident in the United States, it affected other "Western" nations to which it was allied (Kirby 2007, 187). Cate (1979, in Kirby 2007, 187) argues that there was a British version of McCarthyism, which started with a British version of the Truman's order in 1948, which was subsequently extended in 1952 (Kirby 2007, 187). As was McCarthyism in the U.S., the British version was able to 'impose conformity, destroy objectivity, polarise opinions and damage the lives of dissenters from the Cold War consensus' (ibid., 187). For instance, the linguist M.A.K. Halliday was denied admission into the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London because he had refused to pledge never to join the communists (Webster 2015).

As both the communist sides and the Western bloc were intensely wary of each other during the height of the Cold War after WWII, both carried out policies to purge and persecute people who were suspected to be affiliated with or sympathetic of the opposite side. Despite some differences in the extent, scale, and physicality of such anti-intellectual repression between China and the Anglo-American sphere (for instance, intellectuals in America were not known to have been public paraded and beaten by youth mob), it is clear that many innocent people were victimised in both the capitalist and the communist camps during the Cold War. Chang, however, has avoided providing such a horizontal perspective, the lack of which may

mislead younger “Western” readers who are unfamiliar with the history of McCarthyism into thinking that only Mao’s China, but not the contemporary “West”, had discriminated against and purged dissidents and intellectuals.

3.2.3.2.3 Inequality and class differentiation in Mao’s China.

Another contrast between Mao’s China and the “West” that permeates the whole book is the heightened class differentiated and inequality in Mao’s China, which is in stark contrast to Chang’s exciting discovery of equality in the United Kingdom, ‘Everyone seemed to be extraordinarily equal, and could not care less about one’s background... In spite of its tradition of class differences, people in Britain have dignity, and the underprivileged are not abused or downtrodden as they were under Mao’ (Chang 2003, p. xviii).

Dignity means ‘the quality of being worthy of something’ (OED 2017a). This emphasis on ‘worth’ sets up an interesting question as to whether people of different races, ethnicities, gender and social classes are/were assigned similar worth and value in key aspects of life in the UK, and whether the underprivileged are/were indeed not abused. Some of these key aspects include employment and income, representation in leadership, personal well-being and security, and dating and marriage.

In referring to ‘everyone’ in the UK, Chang is making a claim that transcends social class, race and gender. However, race, gender and social class continue to divide affluent “Western” countries, and this can be briefly exemplified with the issue of race. In putting this ideal, somewhat homogenous image of a “West”, it appears that Chang has not taken into consideration the racial tension and race-based discrimination in the “West”. Although living standards of the working class and the status of women have both improved in the Anglophone countries in the last few decades, race and ethnicity continue to attract discrimination and even abuse. This can be exemplified with the contemporary forms of race-based discrimination in the UK, US and Australia in the following.

3.2.3.2.3.1 Income & Employment

UK:

Black, Asian and ethnic minority workers with degrees are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than white workers with degrees. Black workers with degrees are paid 23.1% less on average than white workers with degrees (EHRC 2016).

Australia:

In terms of employment, both Chinese and Middle Easterners have to submit at least 50% more applications in order to receive the same number of interviews (Booth, Leigh, and Varganova 2012).

3.2.3.2.3.2 Representation in top leadership

Australia:

All the 40 university vice-chancellors either have an Anglo-Celtic background (85 per cent) or an European background (15 per cent). There is none with a non-European or Indigenous background. A similar situation in top leadership can be found in corporates and governments (Soutphommasane 2016).

3.2.3.2.3.3 Personal Well-being and Security

UK:

Race remains the most commonly recorded motivation of hate crime in England and Wales. Black people are much more likely to be victims of crime and be treated more harshly in the criminal justice system, more than twice as likely to be murdered in England and Wales, and three times more likely to be prosecuted and sentenced (EHRC 2016).

USA:

African Americans are incarcerated in state prisons across the country at more than five times the rate of whites, and at least ten times the rate in five states. In twelve states, more than half of the prison population is black. In Maryland, the prison population is 72% African American (Nellis 2016). Incarceration in America is not an equal opportunity punishment (Wagner 2012).

Australia:

At 30 June, 2016, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait imprisonment rate (prisoners per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population) is 2,346, which is 14 times higher than the non-Indigenous imprisonment rate of 154 prisoners per 100,000 non-Indigenous population (ABS 2016).

3.2.3.2.3.4 Dating

It is well-known that dating is not a context for equal opportunity either. *OkCupid*, one of the largest US-based online dating sites, found that when it comes to racial preference in dating, there is widespread and systemic discrimination against Asians and blacks in America: whereas white men and white women are viewed most favourably by all races, Asian men and black women are considered the least attractive and popular (OkCupid 2014).

Whereas significant progress has been made in the last few decades and is still continuously being made in combating racial discrimination and promoting equality, many

people of non-Western-European background continue to experience various forms of discrimination in affluent Anglophone countries, in various key aspects of life such as income, employment, leadership, personal well-being, dating and romance. Hence, concepts such as equality and dignity are highly problematic. When the readers are informed of Chang's discovery of the 'extraordinary equality' at the age of 26 in 1978, it is also important for readers to be reminded that that African Americans had not had a right to vote until 1965; that until 1967, interracial marriage had been illegal in America. Whereas Chang's conception of 'extraordinary equality' may be a great vision for the world, she has perhaps taken a step too far and been too idealistic in claiming that the "West" offers the ideal conditions that were absent in Mao's China: equality and dignity.

3.2.3.2.4 Women's status in 1900

A final horizontal perspective that needs to be provided is the role of women in society, which is clearly important to a discussion of this book, written by a woman about Chinese women. As this book deals with the overarching theme of the endurance and emancipation of women, it may be assumed that Chang has taken a feminist stance to highlight the empowerment of women. However, Chang's views on women seem contradictory in several ways. Firstly, whereas she resents the oppression and domination of women by men throughout Chinese history, she is attached to traditional femininity. Although she resents the expectation of women to be demure and agreeable, which, according to her, was carried into Mao's China, she laments the loss of beautiful clothes, long hair, high heels and makeup during the revolutionary era: these aesthetic items serve largely to reproduce a traditional conception of the femininity of women as being beautiful and physically inactive. Admittedly, one may reasonably argue that feminism is about choice, rather than a total abandonment of traditional femininity. However, Chang's disapproval of women who are not traditionally feminine (physically or mentally) is apparent: for example, she condemns the Cultural Revolution for having produced militant young women, and laments the fact that these women talk and act like men. Secondly, she expresses ambiguous views about the sexual liberation of women. On one hand, she blames the communist regime for continuing the medieval Chinese conception of shame for women who enjoy sex. On the other hand, she expresses negative evaluation of women whom she thought were 'promiscuous', such as Mrs Ting and Madame Mao.

There is another inconsistency regarding sexual repression in Mao's China. Although she claims that China experienced severe sexual repression during the Cultural Revolution, and has elaborated on this claim with numerous anecdotes of affairs and scandals of public sexual harassment, she does not explain the reasons behind this widespread conservative attitude

towards sex, which could be largely based on tradition or religion instead of politics. Chang (p. 404) noted sexual freedom for the millions of young people who went on a pilgrimage to meet Mao in 1966, however, she termed this freedom negatively as ‘promiscuity’. In a different chapter (p. 496), she mentions that fifteen million young people were sent to the countryside in 1969, and that these urban boys and girls were enjoying ‘rather freer lives’ (p. 560), meaning freer romantic and sexual pursuits in that context. However, she does not take the relative freedom of these young people into consideration in claiming that “Chinese people” as a whole were sexually repressed under the Maos.

In addition, she has made no attempt to make horizontal comparisons with the “West” with regards to the status of women throughout the 20th century. Chang represents China as a markedly patriarchal society, which assigns low status to its women, and dominates its women by expecting them to be submissive and docile. However, patriarchy – institutionalised male supremacy – can be found across histories and societies. Even though “Western” countries may have seen marked improvements in gender equality over the last century, women’s improved status in the “West” has not come easy or much earlier. The “West” was also highly patriarchal at the time when Chang’s grandmother married a warlord as a concubine at the age of 15 in early 20th century. This is a similarity that Chang has failed to provide. Whereas women in affluent Anglophone countries such as the UK and America may overall have enjoyed a higher living standard in 1900 than did their peers in the Qing Dynasty, they nevertheless had few rights and certainly had no political rights. Most girls were expected to grow up to find a husband and get married; once married, they stayed at home to look after the children while their husband worked. For those small percentage of women who were employed, most were engaged in menial jobs such as maids. In interpreting Chinese history and the lifestyle of Chinese women to “Western” readers, Chang has not made such horizontal comparisons, which undermines her contrast of contemporary China versus the “West” in terms of women’s status.

Furthermore, Chang claims that, through reading in China, she was enormously impressed by the Greek tradition of democracy. Indeed, historians say that Athens was the first state to establish a system allowing all citizens to vote; however, only about six percent of the population were citizens: women and slaves were not considered as citizens (French 1993). Democratic rule in the “West” had completely excluded women until the last century: for example, women did not get the vote in the U.S. until 1920 (History 2017), and women over 21 in the U.K. did not get the vote until 1928 (BBC 2017). When Chang’s heart “swelled at the words”, ‘we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal’” (Chang 1991/2003, 622-623), the question arises whether she was aware that American women were

not allowed to vote until 144 years after this famous declaration. It was literally referring to the equality of men.

Wild Swans begins its first chapter with eye-catching descriptions of how her grandmother's feet were bound when she was little, which left her crippled for life. Foot-binding should be considered as an epitome of the oppression of Chinese women and domination over women's bodies: it links women's attractiveness to their physical vulnerability. Whereas this practice, which ceased in the early 20th century, might be peculiar to China, regulations of women's dress have been found around the world through history. For example, women who felt the need to follow fashion trends in nineteenth-century Europe and America had to wear clothes that were so tight on their waists that they could not breathe, so that girls grew up with deformed rib cages, and some even died (French 1993, 99). In addition, high-heeled shoes are often referred to as a form of contemporary foot-binding, which can cause severe foot injury and deformation, and are said to be a hangover from the days when women were expected to be vulnerable, and not expected to walk without hanging onto the arm of a gentleman (Orr 2016). However, Chang embraces high heels with enthusiasm, as a way to express femininity, and laments that the heels were condemned and banned during the Cultural Revolution.

The above discussion suggests that Chang is in fact not interested in taking a feminist stance. Through her writing, she expresses her favour for traditional femininity and her admiration for chivalry. The women represented in her book, other than herself, the grandmother and the mother, tend to be either passive and agentless bearers of history, or vile and promiscuous power women. Furthermore, her claim of extreme patriarchy in China appears disproportionate without a horizontal comparison to the rest of the world.

3.2.4 The Chinese translation

The 2006 Taiwanese translation appears to closely match the source text on the broad front. As with the source text, the translation consists of 28 chapters, the titles and sub-titles of which match with those of the source texts. An impressionistic reading of the target text suggests no major deviance from the source text. Some minor shifts that are palpable to intuition include a different cover design, which is discussed in Chapter 7, and three additional photos: one of Chang and her mother in London in 1988; one of Chang, the mother and Jon Halliday; one of Chang receiving the NCR Book Award in London. In addition, the pages with photos are physically located before the Table of Contents, instead of being in the middle of the book as

in the 2003 source text. The 2006 Chinese version is hence broadly considered to match the source text in its key claims and overall structuring.

3.3 An Impressionistic Overview of *Mao's Last Dancer*

3.3.1 Overall structure, key claims & represented participants

The title of the English source text is sensational: because MAO Zedong is the most famous Mao in the world, the title may (mis)lead readers to think that LI Cunxin has danced for Mao Zedong. However, Li has never met Mao Zedong: he calls himself *Mao's Dancer* because he was a star student at Beijing Dance Academy (北京舞蹈學院 *Běijīng Wǔdǎo Xuéyuàn*), which was under the direct leadership of Madame Mao (毛夫人 *Máo Fūrén*) – Mao's wife – whose name was Jiang Qing (江青 *Jiāng Qīng*). In addition, the phrase *last dancer* turns out to mean *one of the last dancers*: Li was amongst the last generation of such student dancers under Madame Mao before she and the Gang of Four were arrested in 1976; again, the deliberate choice of an ambiguous but potentially highly sensationalist phrase suggests efforts to increase marketability.

The 2009 version of *Mao's Last Dancer*, which is included in this study, contains about 160,000 words, in 33 chapters. It is divided into four main parts, as shown in Table 3.4. The temporal focus of the book is 1972-1978, shown in bold type, which covers the last five years of the Cultural Revolution and the two following years. Similar to Chang, Li looks up to the “West” as the ideal, which became a haven of his escape from the harsh reality in China. However, Li takes a less philosophical/ ideological but more realistic approach in the contrast between Mao's China and the “West”, by focusing on the materialistic affluence in America and the sheer poverty of Chinese peasants in the 1970s. There are three periods that are heightened with drastic Sino-American contrasts: his first impression of America in 1979, his reverse cultural shock in Beijing after merely three months in America, and his second visit to America.

3.3.1.1 Li's first impressions of the U.S. in 1979

- Landscape is green and neatly divided by straight roads and streets, in comparison with the bareness of China (C. Li 2003/2009, 267);
- The Americans show happy smiles (p. 268);
- First time being in a car: air-conditioned, comfortable, smooth and luxurious (ibid.);

- ‘No signs of a decaying and depressing picture of capitalist America’. Instead ‘I saw only high-rise buildings, wide clean streets, a green and orderly environment’ (ibid.);
- ‘My jaw dropped’ when ‘we arrived at a fenced complex with a security gate and guards: through a big sliding glass door’ (p. 269);
- ‘I was constantly shocked’ to see that the room was huge and beautiful beyond belief: giant mirrors, soft and bouncy carpet, a giant fridge... (ibid.);
- Li tried Chinese delicacies such as Tsingtao beers and Peking duck for the first time in a Chinese restaurant in America; they probably had been unavailable or too expensive for him to try in China (p. 270);
- ‘I had to pinch myself’ when waking up in the morning (p. 271);
- ‘First time we’d ever tasted bacon, toast, butter and jam. It was as though we hadn’t eaten for eighteen years’ (ibid.);
- Li did not know how to operate a dish-washer and consequently created a mess by using laundry powder (p. 275);
- ‘I was constantly surprised’ by the freedom the American people had, including criticizing their President (p. 277);
- ‘I was surprised’ how relaxed the security was at the White House (p. 279);
- ‘I was blown away’ by ATM, which was ‘beyond my wildest imaginings’ (ibid.).

Table 3.4 Overall structure of Mao's Last Dancer

Parts	Historical periods under coverage & main events unfolding	Total pages	Chapters	Number of chapters
One	1946-1971 Li's parents got married in 1946; Li was born in 1962 in Qingdao, and grew up in a poor commune during the Cultural Revolution; Li was chosen to go to the Beijing Dance Academy (BDA)	122	1-7	7
Two	1972-1978 Li spent six to seven years receiving training at BDA; Li was chosen to attend the summer school at the Houston Ballet Academy for three months in 1979; Li returned to China, but was forbidden to exit the country despite a second invitation from Houston; After some lobbying, Li left for Houston again	159 (24%)	8-19	12 (33%)
Three	1979-1988 Li stayed in America by marrying an American against the will of the Chinese government; Li grew into a star dancer	128	20-30	11
Four	1988-2003	27	31-33	3
Total		663	33	28

3.3.1.2 Reverse Cultural Shock when returning to Beijing after three months

- 'The freedom I'd experienced in America occupied my mind constantly' (p. 282);
- 'I disliked the fact that I had to lie about America, that I had to tone down how much I liked America and emphasized on the negative aspect of the American society' (p. 284);

- Li had to return the money that he had saved in America. His passport was taken away (ibid.);
- ‘America was real: the plane trips, the cars, the cowboy hats, the ‘bloody’ steaks, the raw salad, the ballet classes and the Gershwin music’ (p. 288);
- ‘How foolish to believe everyone was equal in China’ (p. 295);
- “There was no equality in China, like any other nation on earth. But I had given my unwavering support to Mao. The media was totally controlled by the government. One couldn’t escape their brainwashing. ‘Cunxin, you’ve been manipulated all these years. It’s time to wake up’” (ibid.);
- ‘Even up to the last seconds before the plane took off, I feared that the Chinese government might still change its mind and I would be dragged off the plane and back to Beijing forever’ (p. 303);
- ‘I also desperately wanted a freedom of expression and thought which I couldn’t have in China’ (ibid.).

3.3.1.3 *Re-entering the U.S.*

- ‘Perfect autumn weather’ in Houston instead of ‘the filthy, dusty Beijing air’. ‘I opened the car window to let the fresh, clean Houston air gust against my face, my long permed hair flying wildly in the wind. For a second I thought this was not real’ (p. 304);
- ‘Now I knew, with absolute certainty, that I had been manipulated by Chairman Mao’s communist propaganda for many years’ (ibid.);
- ‘Most incredible of all was the money. Ben spent nearly five thousand dollars on presents in only a couple of hours’ (p. 306);
- ‘I received presents. But secretly, I wished I could exchange even just a few of those presents for cash and give the money to my family instead’ (ibid.);
- ‘When enjoying the Christmas feast, all I could think of was dried yams and my family’s survival’ (ibid.).

Although Li expresses his resentment against the lack of freedom in Mao’s China, it is clear in his writing that it was wealth and affluence that drew him to America and the “West”. For instance, he expresses higher degrees of surprise and shock at the wealth of America in comparison to his reaction to the freedom of speech:

Toward physical materials

My jaw dropped

I was constantly shocked

I had to pinch myself to make sure that everything was real

I was blown away

For a second I thought this was not real

Most incredible of all was the money

Toward freedom

I was constantly surprised by how...

I was surprised how...

In the book, Li did not appear to be struggling with a lack of freedom in China until he came back to China from his first trip to America. Contrary to Chang, who claims to have acted aloof amongst her peers, Li presents his youthful self in China as being sociable and popular; evidence of these include the fact that he was chosen as one of the first students at the Academy to become a member of the Communist Youth League of China (共青團員 *gòngqīng tuányuán*), and that he voluntarily took up leadership positions within the Youth League. Except for the time when he was denied the second passport application by Director Wang, he did not appear to have been adversely affected by a lack of political freedom in China. Therefore, it becomes unconvincing that a lack of freedom would have been a major motivation for his defection to the U.S.

Li has, however, suffered a great deal from poverty. Coming from a peasant background, he is acutely familiar with poverty, and has given a more detailed and convincing description of signs of poverty in the rural area of China than what is mentioned in Chang's *Wild Swans*. In fact, a contrast between poverty in China and material affluence in the "West" is a key claim in this book, and must be considered the primary motivation for his decision for defection. Li has provided vivid descriptions of China's poverty and his marvelling at new experiences that younger readers in 2000s may take for granted, for example:

- Children were competing with rats for food: looking for peanuts in a rat hole (p. 13-14, in Chapter 1);
- Li took a proper shower for the first time at the age of 11 at the Beijing Dance Academy (Chapter 10);

- Li was shocked that a coffee at the Tokyo airport would cost US\$3, which was half of his father's monthly salary (Chapter 17).

3.3.1.4 *The representation of the Maos and the Communist regime*

Similar to *Wild Swans*, *Mao's Last Dancer* takes a negative stance on Chairman Mao, Madame Mao and the Communist regime, by blaming them as the cause of poverty of peasants and the oppressive political environment. However, *Mao's Last Dancer* is more personal and much less interpretative of history than is *Wild Swans*. When Li was a student at the Dance Academy, he tried not to let the political upheavals distract him from his artistic training (Chapter 15). As a result, the Maos are only minor characters in the book, which is a completely different situation from that in *Wild Swans*. In *Mao's Last Dancer*, the Maos are rarely represented as being directly involved in a process, and are usually presented linguistically as embedded or circumstantial elements, in the form of 'Mao's xxx', 'xxx of Mao', and 'xxx to Mao'.

3.3.2 *Finiteness and horizontal perspective*

3.3.2.1 *Finiteness*

Although Li excels at depicting China's poverty and contrasting it with the affluent lifestyle of elite wealthy Americans, his recounts of violence committed by the Red Guards tend to be lacking in representational detail. For example, Li claims:

'I witnessed many rallies and parades during the Cultural Revolution... But there was one particular rally that still, to this day, makes my heart bleed. It was a huge rally. My friends and I went along as usual... Guns fired... The sound ripped through my heart.... I saw blood splatter everywhere... The bodies fell down... I screamed, and ran home as fast as I could.... It haunted me in many of many dreams' (p. 69)

However, no information is given regarding the physical and temporal location of this incident. The phrase, 'during the Cultural Revolution', makes it difficult to assume whether this particular tragedy occurred in Qingdao, in 1966, or in Beijing in the 1970s. This is a typical example of an account with low finiteness and plausibility.

3.3.2.1.1 Reliability of personal memories

Similar to Chang in writing *Wild Swans*, Li was recounting events that took place in his lifetime twenty to forty years prior to writing *Mao's Last Dancer*, and in many cases, it appears unlikely that he could recount distant events with such fine detail as to quote somebody else's long monologues directly without considerable artistic re-creation.

For example, there were long monologues by a Director Wang on the first day at the Beijing Dance Academy (Chapter 8). Li was only 11 years, and claimed that he did not even fully understand what Director Wang had said; yet he was able to render his long monologue word for word. Clearly the representational details in these cases are at least partially from artistic creation, rather than entirely truthful recounts of actual events.

3.3.2.1.2 Unreliable scenarios

There are also scenarios that are either too sensationalist or too awkward to be considered as having actually existed or taken place: one must consider these scenarios as containing elements of manipulation/exaggeration.

3.3.2.1.2.1 Scenario One

When Li and Zhang first arrived in America, they stayed with Ben, who made them breakfast. This was the first time they'd ever tasted bacon, toast, butter and jam. Li and Zhang ate so much that Ben couldn't believe where the food had gone, 'It was as though we hadn't eaten for eighteen years' (p. 271). As exchange students sent by the Chinese government and as newcomers in Ben's household, they were expected to be extra polite: in Chinese culture, polite guests generally show restraint by not finishing the food provided by the hosts or not voluntarily asking for seconds. Therefore, their whetted appetite for the American breakfast seems greatly exaggerated, especially considering the feast that they had had the night before at a Chinese restaurant. The exaggerated hunger here is beyond comprehension: although it be well be that Li truly enjoyed the home-cooked American breakfast, the fact that 18 years was the entire lifetime of Li's and there is the overarching theme of China's poverty against the prosperity of the U.S. throughout the book suggests that this exaggerated cannot merely be dismissed as a joke; rather, at least partially Li was rhetorically hinting the hunger that he had suffered for 18 years in China, which, however, did not apply to these somewhat privileged boys. Here Li continues the dichotomy of an impoverished China and an affluent West with this exaggerated scenario of devouring his first American breakfast.

3.3.2.1.2.2 Scenario Two

Although the next scenario is not highly sensationalist, it sounds so awkward when translated to Chinese that it is difficult to believe the English sentences faithfully reflect some original Chinese sentences. It is a direct speech from Director Chen of the Academy who had turned down Li's request to re-apply to visit America.

ST: 'I understand your feelings. I'm disappointed too. But you must trust the decision of the party. You shouldn't question the wisdom of the minister's decision[1]. Now[2].

go and carry on with your normal activities[3]. You are only a tiny part of the communist cause. Forget your personal desires[4]. And if you don't mind[5], I have work to do.' (p. 287)

TT: 「我理解你的感受。我也很失望，但是你必須相信黨的決定，你不該質疑部長做決定的智慧 [1]。現在[2]，去做你的正事吧[3]，你只是整個共產主義事業的一小部分。你要放下個人的願望[4]，如果你不介意[5]，我還有工作要做。」 (p. 260)

Should the ST have been an Anglophone, Australian principal addressing an Australian high school student, it would have seemed awkward. However, a sense of foreignness is to be expected in a book written by a Chinese author about China like this. One may expect that speeches and dialogues that took place in between Chinese characters in *Mao's Last Dancer* were reasonably faithful translations from the original Chinese speeches and dialogues, and therefore, should be able to be translated *back* to Chinese. In the case above, The TT renders the original text faithfully. However, the underlined parts are extremely awkward in Chinese (this view has been confirmed by three well educated friends of the present author who are native speakers of Chinese), sounding like translation rather than natural Chinese speeches. This awkward *back* translation into Chinese raises the question as to whether the English ST faithfully represents what was said to Li by Director Chen, and if not, what exactly the original speech was. This is one of many examples in *Mao's Last Dancer* that cannot be easily translated *back* into natural Chinese speech without considerable shifts in lexicogrammar; the only possible explanation for such a dilemma is that the ST was not always a faithful rendition of Chinese utterances; instead, it was written directly in English in a way that (mis)leads Anglophone readers to believe that was what was said in the original Chinese context. Although this may simply be an effort from Li and the publishing team to produce a book with idiomatic English expression, it nevertheless raises doubts as to the extent to which the original Chinese sentences have been manipulated in producing the ST to make it sound idiomatic, or even, whether some English dialogues/monologues were created without an original Chinese source. Examples like this also contributes to undermining the credibility of this book.

3.3.2.1.2.3 Scenario Three

ST. The security guard at Minister Wang's residence told Li, 'Go home and don't come back again until you have a proper appointment. Otherwise I'll shoot you' (p. 293).

TT. “回去吧，下次沒預約就不要再來了，否則我會對你不客氣。” (p. 266-267)

Back translation: “Go back, don’t come next time without an appointment. Otherwise **I will not be so nice to you**”.

Scenario Three is a direct speech from Minister Wang’s security guard, who threatened to shoot Li if he were to show up again without a proper appointment, and there was no verbal clue suggesting the security guard was joking. Threatening to shoot a harmless young student from Madame Mao’s dance academy seems highly unlikely, especially considering the rarity of shooting in China. In fact, this security guard turned out to be a nice person who quickly warmed to Li. Therefore, it is hard to believe that he verbally threatened to shoot Li, which may mislead readers to believe that shooting can be randomly and capriciously exercised by Chinese authorities. This low finiteness has also been corrected in the Chinese translation, which greatly tones down ‘shoot you’ to ‘be not so kind to you’, omitting any mentioning of the shooting threat. As with Scenario Two above, this is an example that the author tried to lead “Western” readers to believe that was what was said by a Chinese security guard, when in fact it is highly problematic and cannot be easily translated back to Chinese without controversy.

3.3.2.2 Horizontal perspectives

Similar to *Wild Swans*, *Mao’s Last Dancer* also shows a lack of horizontal perspective. However, because the latter is more personalised and less interpretative of history, such a lack of horizontal perspective is less consequential. Nevertheless, two examples are illustrated below to demonstrate how a lack of comparison may lead to misunderstanding and unfair evaluation of the nature and condition of poverty in China.

Whereas Li has given an excellent description of poverty in the rural area of China, he may have disproportionately laid the blame on Chairman Mao’s regime. Li claims that Chairman Mao’s regime changed the way they lived. However, it is not clear how Mao’s regime affected poverty. It may well be true that poverty dominated the entire lives of Li’s parents, which started from their marriage in 1946; however, Qingdao did not fall under the Chinese communists until 2 June, 1949 (Daily 2017). Prior to that, Qingdao had been ruled by a number of masters: the Qing Dynasty, Germany, Japan, and Kuomintang. This raises the question of the extent to which the German/Japanese invasion and occupation, or the Kuomintang, were accountable for the poverty. Without a historical perspective, readers may be misled into believing that Mao’s regime was solely responsible for the poverty and had done nothing to improve the economy.

On the other end of this overarching theme of peasantry and poverty, Li gives jaw-dropping descriptions of his first impressions of the material wealth in America. He also claims that he had been manipulated by the Chinese government into believing that the US was poorer than China. To the knowledge of the present author, Mao never claimed that China had surpassed the “Western” countries in terms of materialistic living standards and wealth. Even in the most self-boasting period of the Great Leap Forward (大躍進 *dà yuèjìn*) (1958-1960), Mao’s claim was to catch up with the UK and America in ten to fifteen years. This shows that Chinese people were aware of China’s economic backwardness relative to the “West”. What Li may be referring to is China’s propaganda of the mistreatment and miserable living conditions of coloured people in America, and this issue was not completely irrelevant in the 1950-1970s. For example, African Americans did not have the voting right until 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution started. In writing *Mao’s Last Dancer*, Li has given a version of the lifestyle of some upper-class Americans who were connected to the President, but has not provided any descriptions of lives of either working class or coloured people.

These limitations are perhaps influenced by Li’s own success in climbing the social ladder: from a Chinese peasant to an upper-middle class American and later Australian dancer/ artistic director/ businessman/ motivational speaker. He has certainly made striking contrasts between the poverty of Chinese peasants and the affluence of upper-class Americans. However, he could have given a more balanced contrast had he taken into consideration the lives of underprivileged people in America.

3.3.3 The Chinese translation

As in the case for *Wild Swans*, the 2009 Chinese translation published in Taiwan appears to generally match with the English source text on the broad front. However, there are four noticeable differences. Firstly, the Chinese version has a longer title, 毛澤東時代的最後舞者 (*Máo Zédōng Shídài de Zuìhòu Wǔzhě* | Back translation: *The Last Dancer(s) of the Era of Mao Zedong*). This is more explicit but perhaps less sensational than the ambiguous English title. Secondly, the Chinese version has not included the three new chapters that Li added in the 2009 Penguin Australia edition. This is perhaps because new translation could not be arranged after the initial Chinese translation was completed in 2006. Thirdly, the Chinese version includes a one-page translator’s note at the back by Melbourne-based Chinese language writer, Mr. WANG Xiaoyu. This note mentions that Wang, like Li, was once a peasant. In addition, Wang had interviewed Li, and Li had contributed to the Chinese translation of some expressions and ballet terminologies; while Li had also proofread the manuscript. Lastly, as is the case for *Wild Swans*, there are changes in terms of multimodal elements, with a new cover

design, and two additional photos: a rehearsal photo of a young Li, and a family photo of Li, his wife and children.

3.4 A Comparison between *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*

3.4.1 Commonalities

These two best-selling works by Chinese migrant writers share at least three commonalities:

- 1) There is a thread of contrasts between China and the “West”, with China being the harsh reality to escape from, and the “West” as the ideal to escape to; however, many elaborations that are provided to support this overarching contrast are found to be lacking in plausibility and proportion;
- 2) Mao and his regime are negatively evaluated;
- 3) Chinese cultural elements have been incorporated to attract the reader’s attention.

Both authors have presented China as a harsh reality, with Chang’s focus on the political oppression and persecution, and Li’s focus on poverty. Whereas both authors have made many valid claims, they tend to focus exclusively on the negative aspects of contemporary China and the positive aspects of the “West”. For example, both authors claim to be an avid reader of “Western” books from early on:

- *Mao's Last Dancer*: Li’s favourite book was a translated story book about a young boy in Chicago;
- *Wild Swans*: Chang learnt how to think rationally from reading Marx and English-language books and newspapers.

In describing the backwardness and poverty of China in the first half of the 20th century, neither Chang nor Li has explored the impact of “Western” colonialism, which made tremendous impacts on Chinese society. In addition, in exposing the political upheavals during China’s Cultural Revolution and the persecution of bourgeois intellectuals (資產階級知識分子 *zīchǎn jiējí zhīshì fēnzǐ*) and capitalist roaders (走資派 *zǒu zī pài*), neither has made any reference to anti-intellectual and anti-communist campaigns in the “West”, such as McCarthyism in the U.S. and the U.K.. Furthermore, in presenting a naively positive picture of the “West” with the two attributes of equality and prosperity, neither writer has made reference to aspects of inequality such as the lives of the underprivileged class, race, gender and sexual minorities in the “West” in the period of the 1950s to 1970s, which was

contemporary to the unfolding of most events in China in both books. As a result, neither can be said to be a balanced account of Sino-Western comparisons, even though both writers set out ambitiously to make comparisons between Mao's China and the West. This is highly problematic in two senses. Firstly, from the perspective of text production, the lack of historical proportionality renders the two autobiographies subjective and biased, reducing their value of being historical aware and accurate. Secondly, from the perspective of text reception, the status of the two works being highly valued in the Anglophone context reinforces the view that the 'English-language readers welcome or at least don't object to books that are critical of contemporary China' (McDougall 2014, 57), despite the historical disproportionality. This raises concerns over the ideological embedment in the production use of the two texts; for instance, the popular use of *Mao's Last Dancer* in the English curriculum in Australian schools may indirectly but negatively impact on the ability of young Australians to form a balanced view of contemporary China.

Both writers are found to have depicted events and details that are unrealistic and non-finite due to a lack of verifiable source or representational detail; they have also presented some scenarios that are too sensationalist or awkward to be considered as historically truthful.

Another important similarity is the use of exotic Chinese cultural elements to attract the reader's attention. These include:

- The use of Chinese pinyin as a tokenistic replacement for certain English words:
 - *Wild Swans*: chapter titles are direct translation from Chinese words/phrases; some short sentences are written in Chinese pinyin, and then translated into English;
 - *Mao's Last Dancer*: family members are referred to in Chinese pinyin: *dia* for the father, *niang* for the mother, *na-na* for paternal grandmother; exclamation in Chinese pinyin: *wo de tian na*, meaning oh my Heaven!; some quotations are written in Pinyin without translation, e.g. '*ni hao* (你好), Director Wang' (C. Li 2003/3009, 168), even though this well-known Chinese phrase for 'hello' would be pragmatically inappropriate in the source context: in addressing a leader, one would use the honorific '*nin hao*' (您好). The last is another example of misleading the Anglophone Australian readers to accept a familiar foreignness as what the Chinese characters actually said.

- Detailed descriptions of weddings and funerals, which are both key sites of cultural traditions;
- Foot-binding;
- Chinese dress, Chinese food, Chinese medicine, Chinese superstition etc.

Two similarities that stand out in utilising Chinese cultural elements can be found in Chapter One of both books: the description of a wedding of a young woman, and of foot-binding. This suggests that Li Cunxin might have drawn inspiration from the success of *Wild Swans* (1991) when writing *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003).

3.4.1.1 Asian women and self-orientalisation

Both books start with the wedding of a young Chinese woman: the grandmother in *Wild Swans*, and *niang* (Li's mother) in *Mao's Last Dancer*. Clearly, the wedding of a young Chinese girl was considered a positive, eye-catching element to attract the reader's attention. Admittedly, weddings provide rich resources to explain cultural rituals and traditions. However, beginning the book from a female perspective is also likely to be an influence from the Orientalism ideology.

Orientalism is conceptualised by Said (1979, 3) as a Eurocentric style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the "Orient". Although Said's discussions focus on the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam, his notion has been widely applied to the problems of historical interpretation of Asia in general (cf. Dirlik 1996; Woo 1997; Poon and Ho 2008; Bernstein 2009; Mayuzumi 2015), and China in particular (Dirlik 1996), considering that Americans are likely to associate the concept of "Orient" with the Far East (China and Japan mainly) (Said 1979, 1). The "Oriental" is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, 'different', whereas 'the European is rational, virtuous, mature, and normal' (Said 1979, 40). To examine Orientalism, Said incorporated Foucault's notion of discourse, because "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the 'Orient' politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said 1979, 3).

In managing and producing the "Orient", Europeans, 'placed at the pinnacle of progress, were in a better position than the natives themselves to know what Asians were about' (Dirlik 1996, 111). Said (1979, 7) incorporates Gramsci's notion of hegemony to explain how the "Western" orientalist are able to conceptualise and maintain an Orientalist ideology with very

little resistance from the “Orient” due to the European positional superiority. Whereas Dirlik (1996, 99) agrees that such orientalist discourse have undercut the ability of the “Orientals” to represent themselves, he argues (ibid., 112) that Orientalism requires the participation of the “Orientals” for its legitimation, manifesting the form of self-orientalisation. Self-orientalisation serves to consolidate “Western” ideological hegemony by internalising the historical assumptions of orientalism (ibid., 14), which can be found amongst the Chinese diaspora in the “West” and even in the “Oriental” country. Dirlik argues that the very location of those dissident Chinese intellectuals who portrays China from outside of China suggests that they are “no longer ‘Chinese’ in any simple identifiable sense, but are the products of the ‘contact zone’” (ibid., 116).

An essential part of the Orientalist discourse is that power is interwoven with gender in a conceptualised dichotomy of a masculine “West” and a feminine “Orient”. The historical conquest of the “Orient” by the “West” and the long-lasting “East-West” power imbalance have led the “Orient” female, often portrayed as vulnerable and oppressed, to become the object of the “Western” male-power fantasy (Woo 1997; Bernstein 2009; Mehdid 1993, in Khalid 2011, 15). Thus, Asian likeability is usually associated with Asian women (Mayuzumi 2015); in contrast, male “Orientals” would be associated with more non-positive attributes within the Orientalist discourse, such as those abovementioned by Said (1979, 40) including ‘irrational’, ‘depraved (fallen)’, ‘childlike’, ‘different’.

One manifestation of the disproportionate association of Asian likeability in the “West” with the female gender is the commonality of intermarriage between white Caucasian men and East/Southeast Asian Women in countries such as America and Australia (cf. Livingston and Brown 2017; Winsor 2017). Asian brides are no new phenomenon in these countries. Therefore, a wedding from the perspective of a young Chinese bride can be considered to provide a good balance of familiarity and exoticism to Anglophone readers. Both books can be said to taken a self-oriental approach in opening their books with an exotic and female ‘Oriental’ perspective to attract readers within a broader Orientalist discourse. This process of self-orientalisation is particularly evident in *Mao’s Last Dancer* when the book was written by a male Chinese writer but have nevertheless compromised with the Orientalist ideology, whether consciously or unconsciously, by taking a similar approach as was in *Wild Swans* in its first chapter.

The first chapter of both books mention an obsolete practice that is stereotypically associated with China: foot-binding, which epitomises the oppression of “Oriental” women. Chang’s grandmother was said to have bound feet. Although there is no photo of the grandmother’s bound feet, this is historically plausible considering that she was born in 1909,

before the medieval Qing Dynasty collapsed. In the case of Li Cunxin, he has made a less convincing claim that his mother, born in 1928, only narrowly escaped foot-binding in 1936 at the age of eight. Jung Chang mentioned that foot-binding had virtually been abandoned by 1917. In addition, the government of the Republic of China explicitly banned the practice of foot-binding both in 1912 (Daily 2003) and in 1929 (KKNews 2017). “Western” missionaries were also known to be actively discouraging foot-binding since the second half of the 19th century. Qingdao, where Li and his mother was born, is a coastal city less than 700km away from Beijing, the capital of the Republic of China. In addition, it was occupied by or conceded to, firstly, Germany, and then Japan, during the first half of the 20th century, both of which occupiers would have discouraged foot-binding. Therefore, the claim that Li’s mother was nearly forced into foot-binding in the year 1936 at the age of 8 is hardly plausible, especially considering that she is a peasant woman. Nevertheless, regardless of whether the attempt actually occurred, Li’s inclusion of foot-binding on the highly textually prominent page one of the first chapter clearly shows his motivation to use foot-binding as an exotic, eye-catching element, which echoes the Orientalist ideology of associating the “East” with cruelty and the oppression of women. This is another clear evidence of how self-orientalisation has guided the creation of the ST, and perhaps indicative of how the “Orientals” may influence one another in their self-orientalisation.

3.4.2 Differences

Although both books carry out a negative evaluation of Mao and his regime, they differ greatly in the weight assigned to Mao and the communist regime. *Mao’s Last Dancer* is much more personal and less interpretative of history. Mao is a major and central figure in *Wild Swans*, whereas he is represented as a minor and peripheral character in *Mao’s Last Dancer*.

The books possess different strengths and weaknesses in interpreting China to “Western” readers. A strength of *Wild Swans* is its constant linkage between government policies and the actual brutality and violence that took place in the author’s life. In addition, Chang provides detailed accounts of political oppression, persecution, censorship and the lack of freedom in China. This is in part due to her privileged background as the daughter of two high-ranking communist officials, and in part may be due to the additional information that Chang had access to with the help of her husband, editor, and copyeditor: her husband, for instance, could access to Soviet archives with his knowledge of the Russian language. A weakness of this book is the limitations of her experience and perspective: her experiences, provided that they were truthfully shared, only represent a small stratum of privileged Chinese during the Cultural

Revolution. For example, in comparison with Li, Chang does not have a true understanding of poverty because she had never experienced it.

In comparison, Li's experience of growing up as a peasant in a commune may echo that of the vast majority of Chinese people of the time. The strength of his writing, besides the overall motivational theme, is a vivid verbalisation of signs of poverty. In turn, his weakness is the lack of a convincing account of violence and persecution during the Cultural Revolution. Being a top student in the privileged cocoon of Madame Mao's dance academy, he was insulated from political upheaval. In addition, his parents, who were peasants, were not the target of the Cultural Revolution (peasants, who comprise much of the population in Mao's China, were largely unaffected by the political turmoils). Hence, Li has not represented every aspect of his life under the Maos as deeply scarred and wounded, as has Chang.

Lastly, the two authors show vastly different attitudes towards the rural area and the Chinese peasants. Li's positive evaluation of the peasants was possibly a response to Chang's negative evaluation of Chinese peasants as being un-educated, submissive and ignorant with no dignity: he demonstrates how resourceful and dignified the peasants could be. Hence the two writers have expressed strong and polarised views on peasants, which is perhaps not accidental. Firstly, this difference naturally arises out of the differences in their family background. Secondly, considering the time and success of *Wild Swans*, it would be an unlikely assumption that Li had not read it prior to the writing of his book, and this more positive representation of Chinese peasants may have been Li's response to Chang's negative portrayal of people like his family.

3.5 Summary

Wild Swans and *Mao's Last Dancer* have both disproportionately represented the negative aspects of China and the positive aspects of the "West". Whereas they are similar in their overall stance on Mao and the communist regime, the two books show considerable differences. *Wild Swans* assigns much greater weight to the criticism of China and Mao's regime, and exposes a wider range of political areas, such as Mao's dictatorship, political oppression, lack of freedom and equality, cruelty, systemic oppression of women, sexual repression, and the poverty and backwardness of China. In comparison, *Mao's Last Dancer* is a more personalised account, focusing primarily on the poverty of Chinese peasants, and does not show the same avid interest in exposing the Maos and the communist regime.

The historical truthfulness of both books needs to be considered critically, as many events that are depicted in both books show low finiteness, due to a lack of important

representational detail such as the spatial and temporal locations, or to unverifiability of the sources of information.

In addition, neither book has taken up the choice of presenting a more balanced comparison between China and the “West” by explaining the historical inequality between China and the “West” in the last two centuries or by making horizontal comparisons with the “West” when depicting China as a somewhat unique space. The lack of horizontal perspective results in the creation of ‘otherness’ for China in comparison to the “West” in the late 20th century and early 21st century. However, the horizontal comparisons proposed in this chapter have shown that China and the “West” do not always make a stark contrast: there were more similarities between China and the “West” than the two authors have acknowledged in their books, despite that both writers had presumably had rich experiences of cross-cultural comparisons prior to writing the books; Chang had lived in the UK for 13 years as of 1991 and had obtained a PhD degree there, and Li had lived in America/Australia for 25 years as of 2003. The dichotomy of the “East” and the “West” on which the two authors base their writings is thus problematized in the present thesis.

Furthermore, both books have incorporated Chinese cultural elements to attract the reader’s attention, especially in their beginning chapters, with detailed descriptions of a Chinese wedding from the perspective of a young Chinese female, and the practice of foot-binding. This shows that the ideology of Orientalism and process of self-orientalisation have both influenced the creation of the source texts.

Lastly, whereas the two books show overwhelming similarities in their stance on Mao and the communists, they also show differing ideologies at least in the evaluation of the working class. This shows that the social class of the authors also impacts on their ideological stance.

This section concludes the impressionistic description and analysis of the two books. As these descriptions are not based on in-depth linguistic analysis and contain very few quantitative results, they are intended as a complementary analysis to the in-depth linguistic findings in Chapters 4-7. In addition, an impressionistic comparison of the source text and target text does not show any significant translation shifts, which must be examined through analysis of localised semantic and lexicogrammatical systems. Chapter 4 commences with the analysis of linguistic representations of key participants; which is a clearly suitable starting place for the investigation into the representation of participants and ideological investment.

CHAPTER 4: WHO ‘LET ALL THIS HAPPEN’? – SHIFTS OF RESPONSIBILITIES IN REPRESENTING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION⁴

Long Li

Abstract

A number of Chinese migrant writers have achieved success in writing in English, most significantly, Jung Chang’s politically controversial *Wild Swans* in 1991. However, little scholarly attention in translation studies has been paid to the Chinese translation of this book, an unusual situation where the Source Text (ST) author has partially contributed to the translation decision-making. This article seeks to examine the shifts of political ideology in translation with a focus on the linguistic representation of the agency of three main agents in China’s Cultural Revolution (1966-1976): Mao, the Red Guards, and general students. To achieve this goal, this study proposes a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach to the analysis of TRANSITIVITY in translation in combination with CLAUSE STATUS. Based on both quantitative and qualitative results, this study has found dramatic differences in the translation shifts of the linguistic representation of agency amongst the three main agents.

Keywords: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), ideology, representation, agency, TRANSITIVITY, *Wild Swans*

Co-author biography

Dr. Xi Li is a recent graduate from the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University. Her research mainly focuses on the patterns of coherence in Chinese to English translation and stylistics in translation from SFL perspective.

Authors’ contributions

Long initiated the study, collected and analysed the data, and drafted the manuscript. Xi reviewed the data analysis and critically revised the draft.

⁴ This paper has been prepared for submission to a journal in stylistics, *Language and Literature*, as of July 2018.

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4.1 Introduction

Although the ‘Cultural Turn’ in the 1990s (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Spivak 1993) has generated more interest toward ideology in translation studies, some scholars have criticized the purely cultural approach to translation studies for its lack of rigorous research methods. For example, Boyden (2008, 151) argues that the ‘Cultural Turn’ in Translation Studies has been unproductive, because ‘most of the time, it has served merely as an excuse for not dealing with translation at all’ and ‘has resulted in a watered-down conception of translation and its role in society’. Likewise, Fawcett (1995, 182) and Baker (1996, 9) both criticise the lack of rigorous methods in cultural studies; while House (2013, 50) emphasizes the importance of aiming for generalizations in order for translation studies to be taken as a science.

To enhance objectivity in translation studies, scholars have called for more systematic and rigorous research methods, for example, corpus-based approaches (cf. Baker 1993; Laviosa 2002; Kruger 2012), cognitive approaches (cf. Halverson 2003), linguistic-cognitive approaches (House 2013), and linguistic approaches, including Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (cf. Taylor 1993; Munday 1998; Kim and Matthiessen 2015; Zhang and Pan 2015). Amongst these approaches, SFL provides a systematic and comprehensive analytical framework of language, which can be adapted in combination with other approaches to translation studies.

This study reiterates the importance of a linguistic approach to the examination of the translation of ideology (Hatim and Mason 1997/2005, 119), to move beyond the subjective evaluation of isolated examples and word choices, to an identification of shifts in grammatical patterns. It sets out to focus on TRANSITIVITY⁵, which grammatically construes the representation of experience: the participants and the processes in which the participants are involved (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 211-354). Although TRANSITIVITY has been usefully explored by Mason (2012) and especially by Calzada-Peréz (2007), in which it is considered

⁵ Following the SFL conventions, the names of linguistic systems are written in capital letters (e.g. system of TRANSITIVITY), whereas the names of structural functions are written with an initial capital (e.g. Actor)

as a key site for ideological investigation, especially for exploring agency and, consequently, who should be taking responsibility (or not), it has received little attention from other translation scholars.

This study proposes a more delicate analysis of TRANSITIVITY in translation by taking another variable into consideration: the STATUS OF THE CLAUSE⁶ that contains a linguistic representation of agency. The objective of this study is to investigate potential shifts in the agency of represented participants. It has selected the Chinese translation of Jung Chang's (1991) politically controversial family chronicle, *Wild Swans*. A key site for controversy in this book is its possibly disproportionate attribution of responsibility to people who are considered to have exercised agency and who therefore must be considered as being central to the events in China's Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). This study sets out to provide both quantitative and qualitative evidence in the linguistic shifts of agency between different participants as they are represented in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*.

4.2 An SFL-CDA Approach to the Study of the Representation of Agents in Translation

4.2.1 Ideology, language, translation and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The definition of ideology can be either narrow or broad, critical or neutral. As this study focuses on the translation of a politically controversial popular book with an explicit anti-communist theme, it discusses ideology in its traditionally critical and political sense (cf. Thompson 1990, 28-67), referring to ideas that serve to sustain relations of domination and subordination: specifically, how *Wild Swans*, a best-selling book in the "West", may seek to promote "Western" values and beliefs through a particular representation of people and events in communist China, and, subsequently, how such representation may have shifted in the Chinese translation.

Although this study also seeks to explore the translation process and the ideologies embedded in the wider cultural and historical contexts of the source text (ST) and target text (TT) (cf. Moghaddam 2011; Schäffner 2012; Kim 2017), it prioritises the shifts of ideology through a systematic comparison of the source and the target texts. Language and ideology are intricately linked: the analysis of ideology requires the analysis of language (Fairclough 2013), because language circulates and 'reproduces' ideology (Simpson 1993, 6). As a form of discourse, translation is interdependent with ideology. In fact, ideological considerations tend

⁶ A clause is a structural notion in SFL, and is the central processing unit within lexicogrammar; it is generally equivalent to a sentence simplex.

to win out when in conflict with linguistic considerations in every translation process (Lefevere 1992, 39).

Within linguistics, revealing ideological investment is a key objective in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (Wodak and Meyer 2015). As CDA is a heterogeneous school, some of its prominent scholars openly adopt SFL for discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989/2013; van Leeuwen 2005). A combination of SFL and CDA has been incorporated by a number of translation scholars in their studies of ideology (Hatim and Mason 1997/2005; Calzada-Peréz 2007; Munday 2007; Mason 2010; Zhang and Pan 2015).

Although linguistic approaches, even quantitative, may not eliminate subjectivity in translation evaluation, CDA scholars aim to enhance the objectivity in revealing ideological investment in texts. According to Wodak and Meyer (2015, 4), ‘CDS approaches are characterized by the common interests in deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). CDS researchers also attempt to make their own positionings and interests explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and remaining self-reflective of their own research process.’

This study sets out to propose a CDA-SFL approach to a linguistic examination of agency, through the analysis of TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSE STATUS.

4.2.2 Studying agency through TRANSITIVITY in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

In SFL, the TRANSITIVITY structure of the clause is concerned with who does what to whom/what, where, when, how, and why (Hasan 1985, 36). The analysis of TRANSITIVITY involves investigating three components (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 220):

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| (i) a process unfolding through time; | ‘PROCESS TYPE’ |
| (ii) the participants involved in the process; | ‘PARTICIPANT TYPE’ |
| (iii) circumstances associated with the process. | ‘CIRCUMSTANCE’ |

These components can be viewed from two perspectives of TRANSITIVITY: the traditional, transitive model, in which an Actor extends to the Affected, and an alternative, ergative model, in which a Medium + Process is the core, and whether an Agent is stated or not becomes optional. In essence, the ergative model allows us to distinguish between middle voice, where something just does, and effective voice (active or passive), where something acts on something else. For example, the two clauses ‘The glass broke’ and ‘He ran away’ are both in the middle voice, and the two clauses ‘He broke the glass’ and ‘the glass was broken’ are both

in the effective voice, suggesting or hinting an external Agent; the last example is effective even though the actual Agent is not stated. The ergative model of TRANSITIVITY (ibid., 344) is particularly useful for an ideological investigation into agency and responsibility, as it recognises the agentive function of certain participant types as being an external cause to a process. This agency is not merely an observation of the meaning, but is forced upon by the differences in the grammar. Table 1 elaborates and exemplifies a total of seven types of participants in the transitive model that are considered as Agent in the ergative model.

Table 4.1 Participant types that are considered agentive in the ergative model
(Adapted from *ibid.*, 344)

Process Type	Participant Type	Definition	Example
Material process	Actor [effective]	the source of energy bringing about the change, and is acting on another party (<i>ibid.</i> , 224)	Mao tore up the <i>February resolution</i> .
	Initiator	a participant who brings about the action performed by the Actor (<i>ibid.</i> , 579)	They made me attend the denunciation.
Verbal process	Sayer [effective]	A Sayer who is acting verbally on another party, judging them positively or negatively (<i>ibid.</i> , 307).	Mao hailed the Red Guards' actions,
	Initiator*	a participant who brings about the verbal process performed by the Sayer (<i>ibid.</i> , 579).	They made me criticize him.
Relational process	Attributer & Assigner	a third participant representing the entity assigning the relationship of attribution or of identity (<i>ibid.</i> , 288).	the Red Guards divided pupils into three categories [assigner]
Mental process	Inducer	the phenomenon in a 'please' type, where the typical Senser+Phenomenon order is reversed (<i>ibid.</i> , 256).	His attempted suicide shocked the Party

This study sets out to examine potential shifts in the instances of representation of different participants as the seven agentive roles in Table 1.

Another significant participant type to be discussed in this study is Senser, which, although it does not grammatically express agency, may be closely linked to the source of agency through minding, sensing, and feeling, with the Participant engaged in sensing, feeling, and minding being known as the Senser, and what is mentally processed being known as Phenomenon (Hasan 1985, 36).

4.2.3 CLAUSE STATUS

Section 2.2 provides a practical categorisation of the linguistic manifestations of Agent. However, it is also important to examine agency in combination with CLAUSE STATUS (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 77). A clause can be either independent or subordinate, with the subordinate clause only ‘brought in to support its main clause’ (ibid., 441). Hence, the independent clause is assigned greater grammatical weight than is the subordinate clause (Butt 2008, 76-77). This means that agency in a subordinate clause must be seen as being diminished, as shown in the contrast of Examples 2 and 3 with Example 1:

Example 1

Mao had called on the population to criticize Party officials.

Example 2

Having set up the ‘prison’, they had no idea what to do next.

‘They’ refer to some young students. The agentive material process of setting up a prison by the young people is placed in a subordinate clause.

Example 3

The boys [[who had set upon her]] said in cold voices...

The agentive material process of attacking a girl by the boys is placed in a subordinate clause.

In the first example, being placed in an independent clause, Mao’s agency is represented linguistically with greater grammatical weight: it was Mao who initiated the verbal action to get the population to denounce his political enemies. In contrast, by choosing to represent the agency in a subordinate clause, the agency of the young students in Examples 2 and 3 is assigned lower grammatical weight; instead, greater weights are assigned to the non-agentive processes of the students: the relational process of ‘having no idea’ and the verbal process of saying something. The lower clause statuses diminish the agency of the young students in the last two examples.

The choice of placing agency and actions in an independent clause can have the ideological impact of augmenting or diminishing the agency and power of represented participants. For example, Lukin (2015) shows that a government can be projected as dynamic and effective in a budget speech by listing most government actions in independent clauses.

Therefore, in addition to examining the instances of the three participants being represented as agentive roles, this study also identifies instances where such agentive roles are assigned greater grammatical weight by being placed in an independent clause. Shifts both in the instances of agentive roles and in the CLAUSE STATUS will be investigated for their ideological consequences.

4.3. Data and Methodology

4.3.1 Data Selection

This study has selected two books as parallel corpora: *Wild Swans* (Chang 1991/2003) and its Chinese translation, 鴻—三代中國女人的故事 *Hóng – Sāndài Zhōngguó Nǚrén de Gùshi* (Chang 1992/2011). *Wild Swans* is a politically controversial book, as it is highly interpretive of history and takes an explicitly critical view of Mao and the Chinese government. Having been banned by the Chinese government, it is virtually unknown to the 1.4 billion people in Mainland China, despite being a best-selling work by a contemporary Chinese writer in the “West”. The book has been translated into Chinese by the author’s brother, Pu Zhang⁷, and published in traditional Chinese in Taiwan, a region noted for its freedom of press (Freedomhouse 2016). However, a previous study by one of the present authors (Li 2012) has found dramatic additions and omissions in the Chinese translation.

After the full texts of both books were converted to machine-readable formats, smaller samples were chosen for in-depth and labour-intensive TRANSITIVITY analysis. Chapters 15 and 16 out of the 28 chapters in both books were singled out as the parallel corpora. This decision was based on judgment sampling (Milroy 1987): these two chapters are considered to guarantee rich resources for analysing agency, as they rhetorically deal with the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1965 and 1966, when a great number of material and verbal processes were initiated, actions performed, words uttered, and entities accused and affected. The chosen corpora contain around 10,000 words in both languages, and are considered sufficiently large to strike the balance between representativeness and in-depth analysis.

The sizes of the parallel corpora are as follows:

- ST: 10,645 English words

⁷ Zhang and Chang are different romanisations of the same Chinese surname, 張

- TT: 8,476 Chinese words⁸

4.3.2 Data analysis

Through an impressionistic reading of the two chapters, seven major represented participants/participant groups in this family chronicle were identified: Mao Zedong, the parents of the author (the father and the mother are not distinguished for the purpose of this study), 'I', Mao's assistants (mainly Mao's wife – Jiang Qing, or Madame Mao, and the Gang of Four), the Red Guards, general students (the author's peers who were not members of the Red Guards), and victims of the Cultural Revolution. Amongst these, three types were identified as the main agents in the Cultural Revolution: Mao, Red Guards, and general students. The other four types are represented either as minor figures, for example, Mao's assistants, or as mostly passive roles: for example, victims, parents and 'I'.

A computational tool, SysFan⁹, was adopted in the analysis. Each clause complex and clause was assigned an ID, and the analysis of the participant types in TRANSITIVITY was carried out within SysFan; the analysis of TRANSITIVITY in Chinese is based on Halliday and McDonald (2004, 305-396) and Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 297-319). A total of 1,066 clauses in ST and 976 in TT were recorded. All analysis was revisited at least four times to minimise any error, before numbers were added up for a quantitative summary of the participant types in ST and TT. Subsequently, all clauses in which Mao, the Red Guards and general students were presented as agentive were extracted to examine the CLAUSE STATUS, based on which a balanced conclusion regarding the translation shifts in agency can be made.

Examples of translation shifts that were representative of the quantitative patterns were then extracted for a closer qualitative analysis of ideological shifts. The overall ideological shifts in the Chinese translation were explained; contextual variables, such as the background of the author/translator, and the historical background of the book production and reception, were analysed to provide potential explanations. Furthermore, the social impact that the two books had created were explored.

⁸ This is estimated based on McEnery and Xiao's (2003-2008) rough guideline of a ratio of 1:1.6 of words to characters in Chinese.

⁹ SysFan is a computational tool geared towards systemic and functional analysis of texts. It can be downloaded on the ISFLA website via this link: <http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/Software/Coders.html>

4.4 Results and Discussion

4.4.1 Overall quantitative results

4.4.1.1 TRANSITIVITY Analysis

Table 2 shows the quantitative changes in the number of instances that the seven participants/participant groups have been represented in the ST and the TT. As these results come from a detailed analysis of TRANSITIVITY, which includes not only the exact keywords but also personal pronouns, alternative references, and ellipses, they are a more precise indication of the instances of representation than a simple search for keywords. 10645/8476

Table 4.2 Shifts in the number of instances of the seven represented participants

Type of Participants/ participant groups	ST: instances	TT: instances	Shift (in Number)	Shift (in percentage)	Instances
Mao Zedong	153/143	76/90	-77	-50.33%	
Parents	64	48	-16	-25%	
Mao's assistants	36	27	-9	-25%	
Victims	269	244	-25	-9.29%	
The Red Guards	168	175	+7	+4.17%	
'I'	214	227	+13	+6.07%	
General students	162	179	+17	+10.49%	
Total	1,066	976	-90	-8.44%	

As Table 2 shows, TT, overall, appears to be a condensed translation of the ST with more omissions than additions, with a reduction of 90 instances, or 8.44% in the seven main types of characters in the corpora. However, not all participant types have shifted with the same pattern: in construing the experience of the Cultural Revolution in Chinese, the representation of the author and her peers ('I', General Students and Red Guards) have been increased, whereas those of other participants, who are generally older generations to the author, have been diminished. The most significant reduction is the representation of Mao, which falls

dramatically from 153 instances in the ST to 76 in the TT. The most significant increase of representation is that of general students, with an addition of 11.18% from 162 to 179.

Whereas Table 2 shows the overall translation shifts of all participant types, Table 3 shows the detailed shifts in the grammatical role of Agent. Addressing the focus of the study, Table 3 only includes data for the three main agents: Mao, the Red Guards, and general students.

Table 4.3 Ergative analysis of three main agents in the Cultural Revolution

Represented participants	Text	Instances as an Agent	Total
Mao	ST	37	153
	TT	20	76
Red Guards	ST	28	168
	TT	38	175
General students	ST	44	162
	TT	49	179

As Table 3 shows, Mao has been represented not only less in the Chinese translation overall but also dramatically less in having agentive roles, with a decrease from 37 to 20. In stark contrast, both the Red Guards and general students have been represented more in Chinese not only in the overall instances but also in having agentive roles.

4.4.1.2 *CLAUSE STATUS*

As mentioned in Section 2.4, when examining the linguistic realisation of agency in TRANSITIVITY, it is important to consider whether the agency is placed in a clause with heavy grammatical weight – independent clause – or in a clause with light grammatical weight – subordinate clause. Taking the *CLAUSE STATUS* into consideration, Table 4 identifies the instances where the three main agents have been represented as agentive and in an independent clause. These are instances where the three agents are clearly represented as having highly agentive roles.

Table 4.4 Instances of Agents in an independent clause

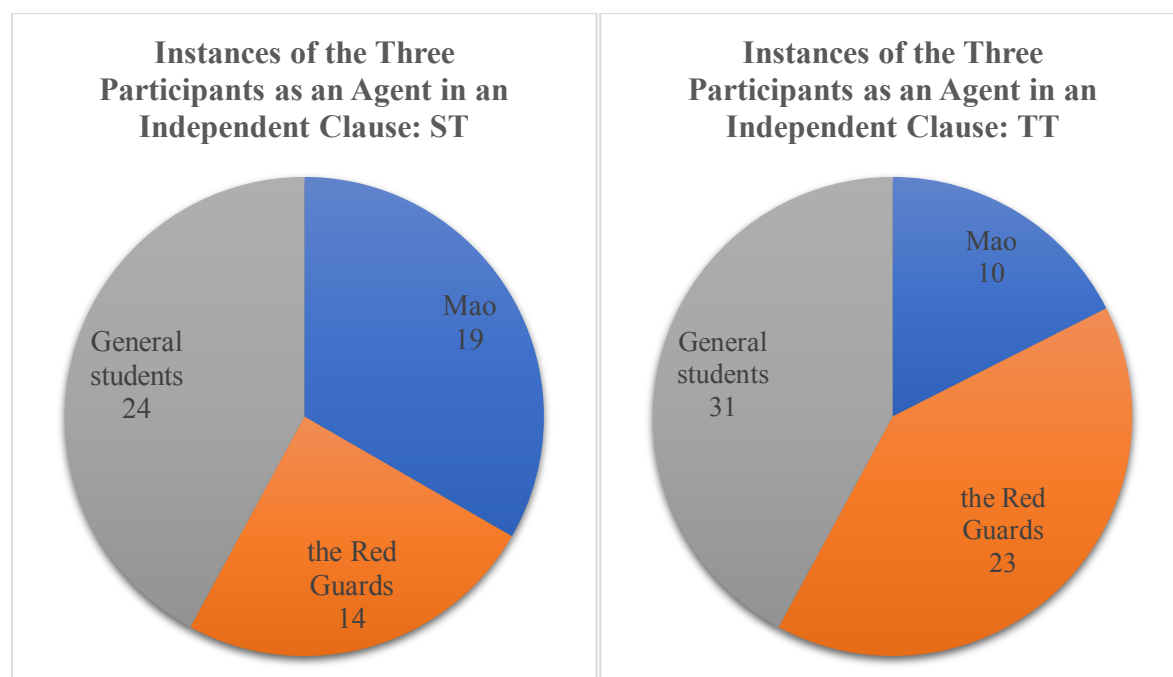
	Mao		Red Guards		General students	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
All agentive roles	36	20	28	38	44	49
Agentive roles in independent clauses	19	10	14	23	24	31
Percentage of Agentive roles in independent clauses	51%	50%	50%	61%	55%	63%

The additional consideration of CLAUSE STATUS has found shifts that echo patterns identified in the TRANSITIVITY analysis listed in Table 4. However, it also provides a new perspective: whereas Mao has undoubtedly been represented less and as less agentive in the Chinese, his agency is also less likely to be seen as being actualized due to the slightly lighter grammatical weight that has been assigned in Chinese; in contrast, not only have general students and the Red Guards been represented more and as more agentive in Chinese, but their agency is also more likely to be seen as being real and actualized due to a considerably higher percentage of agency being placed in independent clauses.

These quantitative results clearly show that, whereas Mao has been represented as a central figure with high agency in the English source text, he becomes a much less important figure in the Chinese translation: his representation and agency have both been dramatically diminished in Chinese. Instead, the Chinese translation is more interested in representing the agency of the people who are commonly considered in China to have committed the bulk of the actual violence in the Cultural Revolution: young people of the day, who were peers of the author – the Red Guards and general students.

The decrease in the agency of Mao and the increase in the agency of the Red Guards and general students is further contrasted and visualized in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Visualisation of the translation shifts of the three represented participants as an Agent in an independent clause



4.4.2 Detailed shifts in the representation of the three main agents

4.4.2.1 Mao

Amongst all represented participants, shifts in the representation of Mao are the most dramatic, with a decrease of 77 instances, or 50.33% of all instances in the ST. Six participant types of Mao are more significantly reduced: Senser (from 30 in the ST to 8 in the TT), Actor (41 to 27), Carrier (11 to 1), Sayer (21 to 15), Initiator (6 to 1), and Assigner (4 to 0). This means that the majority of his mental activities, attributes, initiating and assigning power, and many of his actions and speeches in the ST, have been left out in the translating process. The greatest omission in instances applies to Mao as Senser. As shown in Table 5, the English source text explores Mao's perception, feeling, and thinking in great detail; however, the Chinese translation makes dramatically fewer claims about Mao's mind. Considering that no inherent linguistic, or typological, differences can rationally explain such shifts as being obligatory or random translation choices, the decrease in representing Mao as a Senser must be considered as motivated choices in the translation process.

Table 4.5 Shifts of the instances of Mao as Senser

	An example in English	ST	TT
Senser (Perceptive)	Mao saw...	3	0
Senser (Cognitive)	Mao knew...	14	2
Senser (Desiderative)	Mao wanted to...	10	4
Senser (Emotive)	Mao did not like the Red Guards	3	2
Total Senser		30	8

Although Senser is not considered grammatically as being agentive, mental processes can be used to signal culpability, innocence or nobility, in the form of spelling out the good or evil intention and motive behind certain agentive physical or verbal actions. In the case of Mao, spelling out his mental activities in the English ST serves to emphasise his culpability for the Cultural Revolution: many of his words and actions, which were highly impactful in China, can be traced back to the detailed steps in his feeling and thinking. In fact, Mao's mental activities are so extensively explored in the ST that Mao has the second most occurrences as Senser in the ST, after only 'I', despite being fifth in the overall instances of representation. This contributes to the representation of Mao as a wary and shrewd tyrant figure: he was intolerant of any potential disloyalty to him; he was aggressive and evil; he was keen to destroy his enemies at all costs; he knew how to destroy his enemies by unleashing the ugly human nature of jealousy and violence. By explicating Mao's negative motives, the ST presents a more explicit accusation of Mao's agency in the Cultural Revolution, and there is a reoccurring narrative pattern to link China's calamities to his mind: Mao felt such and such, therefore he decided to say and do such and such, which he put into words and actions, which then quickly turned the whole of China into chaos, and subsequently brought tragedies to the Chang household.

However, exploring someone else's mind inevitably carries a strong subjective and speculative nature, especially considering that Chang is not personally related to Mao and has never met him. This raises an important question as to how Chang could openly interpret Mao's mind with such certainty. In fact, *Wild Swans* has been criticised for being interpretive of Chinese history (Lin 1992; Gao 2002). As the Chinese translation is published a year after the English ST, reducing instances of the speculation of Mao's mental activities could have been a strategy to protect the Chinese translation from potential criticism. A dramatic reduction from

30 to 8 instances has been found of Mao as a Senser in the Chinese translation, which has resulted in Mao having the second lowest occurrences as Senser amongst the seven participants. In fact, the ratio of Mao being represented as Actor to that of Senser has shifted from 1.29:1 to 3.38:1. Considering that Senser indicates the attribute of the consciousness of the represented participant, a lower ratio of Senser in relation to Actor suggests that the represented participant is less conscious of his/her actions. This shows that the Chinese text makes fewer attempts to provide interpretations of Mao's actions. Consequently, fewer signs of violence and destruction represented in the Chinese translation can be explicitly traced back to Mao's motives.

For example, the five clause complexes below constitute a discussion of why Mao decided to launch the Cultural Revolution, in which Mao is presented as Senser five times. However, they have been deleted in entirety in the Chinese translation.

Example 1 sets up an interesting question as to how Chang could spell out Mao's mind with such fine detail, particularly in relation to the highly controversial claim that Mao was deriving satisfaction from destruction. Although this shows a high level of subjective interpretation of history and evaluation of Mao, it has been included in the ST publication. In comparison, a dramatic omission of five clause complexes in the Chinese translation is clearly a motivated decision: it may be a strategy to address the over-interpretation of Chinese history and disproportionately negative evaluation of historical Chinese leaders in the source text when the translation is intended for Taiwanese readers. The omissions of instances of Mao as Senser have semantic consequences: with less causes attributed to Mao's mind, the accusation of him in Chinese has been abated and made more implicit.

In addition, as shown in Table 4 above, near half of all instances of Mao as an Agent in an independent clause have been omitted in the translation. For instance, the participant type Initiator, which represents someone as an explicit external cause to a process, is highly agentive: in Example 1, Mao initiated the public to criticism party leaders; being agentive means that each of the six instances of Mao as an Initiator is meaningful. However, only one instance of Mao as an Initiator has been retained in the Chinese translation, with the remaining having been omitted, including Example 5 and Example 6.

The word 'this' refers to factional conflicts amongst students. Mao's role as an Initiator in the ST makes Mao's agency explicit, and the word 'all' suggests that Mao deliberately planned everything: all the struggles and torture of the young people were masterminded by Mao. However, Example 4.5 has been omitted in Chinese. The TT mentions the factional

conflicts amongst the Red Guards and students, but without explicitly attributing the cause to Mao.

Example 4.4 Omission of five clause complexes from the ST

Clause Complex ID	Clause	Participant Type of Mao
ST04_42	Mao felt threatened.	Senser (Emotive)
ST04_43	He saw himself as a Stalin figure,	Senser (Perceptive); Phenomenon
ST04_43	about to be denounced by a Khrushchev	Target
ST04_43	while he was still alive	Carrier
ST04_44	He wanted to ||	Senser (Desiderative)
ST04_44	make a pre-emptive strike	Actor (Volitional)
ST04_44	and destroy the man	Actor (+Animate Goal)
ST04_44	[[he regarded as ‘China’s Khrushchev,’ Liu Shaoqi]], and his colleague Deng, as well as their followers in the Party	Senser (Cognitive)
ST04_45	This he deceptively termed the ‘Cultural Revolution’.	Assigner
ST04_46	He knew || (his would be a lone battle,)	Senser (Cognitive)
ST04_46	but this gave him the majestic satisfaction of feeling that	Recipient
ST04_46	he was challenging nothing less than the whole world,	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)
ST04_46	and maneuvering on a grand scale	Actor (Volitional)

Example 4.5 Deleted clause complexes with Mao as three participants

Clause Complex ID	Clause	Participant Type of Mao
ST06_79	Mao let all this happen ||	Initiator
	in order to generate the terror and chaos	Actor
	[[he wanted]].	Senser

Example 4.6

	Clause Complex ID	Clause (complex)	Participant Type of Mao
ST	ST04_37	when the Party newsstudys refused to publish an article [[he had authorized]]	Actor
	ST04_48	Mao was at last able to get it printed in Shanghai	Initiator
TT	TT05_10	...(姚文元寫了篇批判文章...)，十一月十日在上海發表。... Back translation (BT): (...Yao Wen yuan wrote a critical article), on 10 November in Shanghai publish(ed).	n/a
	TT05_11	共產黨中央機關報《人民日報》不轉載這篇文章， BT: The Communist Party newspaper People's Daily did not re-publish this article.	n/a

Example 6 differs from Examples 4 and 5: whereas the first two have been omitted in their entirety, the essential information in the ST in Example 6 has been transferred to Chinese, except for the agentive role of Mao. By construing a middle voice, ‘the article published in Shanghai on 10 November’, Mao’s dual agency in authorizing the article and in getting it published in Shanghai are both omitted; the publication of the article is construed grammatically as middle voice, as if caused by no external agent. This is clearly another

motivated selection in diminishing the representation, agency, and direct accusation of Mao in Chinese.

In short, whereas the ST represents Mao as a central figure with high agency, the Chinese TT shows reduced interest in Mao's representation and agency; it also shows fewer attempts to decipher Mao's mind, and draws fewer explicit links between unfolding events in China and Mao's agency.

4.4.2.2 The Red Guards and general students

As shown in Section 4.1, despite the overall trend of the Chinese TT being a condensed version of the ST, the two represented participant groups, the Red Guards and general students, have not only been represented more in Chinese but also as being more agentive. In addition, their agency in Chinese is more likely to be seen as real and actualised, due to the heavier grammatical weight being assigned to the clauses. Considering that it was these two groups who are considered to be the perpetrators of the bulk of the actual violence in the Cultural Revolution, and considering that Chang was part of the general students group and often had to work with the Red Guards, the decrease in the representation and agency of Mao and the increase in those of the Red Guards and general students suggest that the Chinese translation is a more personalised account of what happened in the author's life and is less interpretive of history.

Interestingly, the mental activities of the Red Guards and general students have both been made more explicit in the translation, which sharply contrasts with the omission of Mao's mental activities. The ratios for the Red Guards and general students as Actor and Senser are, respectively, 5.69:1 and 5.5:1 in the ST, which are unusually high in comparison to those of other characters, showing that the Red Guards and general students are represented as being less conscious of their actions in English. It is as if their mental activities are hidden in order to portray them as blind followers and to highlight the absolute agentive role of Mao as the ultimate villain. The Actor to Senser ratios of the Red Guards and general students, respectively, drop to 2.72:1 and 3.88:1 in the translation, which may modify the image of these young people as being less of blind and unthinking followers, as shown in Example 7.

In the ST, students were automatically following the leader without any consciousness, whereas they show some degree of perception before following the leader in the TT. Many similar shifts have been identified. Such shifts may seem insignificant each on their own, but together they can create an ensemble semantic consequence, that the young

people were not completely manipulated and blind followers but instead had at least some thinking qualities, and should be held responsible for their actions to some extent.

Example 4.7

	Clause Complex ID	Clause (complex)	Participant type of general students
ST	ST04_181	More pupils had been following her from the moment she arrived.	Actor
TT	TT05_96	<u>學生們</u> 見她來了，就圍攏了過來。 BT: Pupils <u>see (saw)</u> she come+ASPECT, then move closer+ASPECT come+PHASE.	Sensor; Actor

Besides the increased representation in their mental activities, the young people are also represented with higher agency in Chinese. One type of shift that stands out is that the agency of either the Red Guards or general students is made explicit in the TT, when the agency can only be retrieved endophorically in the ST, as shown in Examples 4.8-10.

Example 4.8

	Clause Complex ID	Clause (complex)	Participant type of the Red Guards
ST	ST06_45	Bonfires were lit to consume books	n/a
TT	TT07_35	紅衛兵們…燒書 BT: The red guards ...set fire to book(s)	Actor

Example 4.9

	Clause Complex ID	Clause (complex)	Participant type of the Red Guards
ST	ST06_65	they were then beaten with the brass buckles of the <u>Guards' leather belts</u>	n/a
	ST06_66	They were kicked around,	n/a
TT	TT07_48	紅衛兵則揮舞銅頭皮帶|| 連打 ||帶踢 BT: The red guards then swing brass-buckled leather belt(s) both beat and kick	Actor

Example 4.10

	Clause Complex ID	Clause (complex)	Participant type of the Red Guards
ST	ST06_37	teachers were abused and beaten, sometimes fatally	n/a
TT	TT07_29	有的甚至把老師折磨致死 BT: Some even tortured the teacher(s) to death [anaphorically, ‘some’ clearly refers to the Red Guards]	Actor

In all three examples, the agency of the young people in the violence and destruction is implicit in the ST but explicit in the TT, both of which should be considered motivated selections. The consistency in using passive structure in English suggests a clear decision by the target text producer(s) to draw less attention to the agency of the young people, who are represented as tools of Mao. As for the TT, although one may argue that passive voice may be less common in Chinese, there are various translation strategies that could have been adopted to adequately transfer the implicitness of agency into Chinese, such as retaining the passive voice, using subject ellipse, and using general reference ‘rén’ (people) instead of specific

naming. However, that none of these options was taken up suggests a motivated decision to explicate the agency of the young people, whether this strategy was consciously or unconsciously adopted. The non-randomness of the explication of their agency in Chinese can be further argued by being contrasted with the previously mentioned implicitation of Mao's agency in the Chinese translation.

4.4.3 The ensemble of ideological shifts in translation

The ideological consequences of the above-mentioned translation shifts in agency and CLAUSE STATUS are significant. Firstly, through a comparison with the Chinese translation, this study has highlighted some biases and over-interpretation of Chinese history in the ST. For example, Chang's claims of Mao's mental activities are largely unsubstantiated. In addition, the over-emphasis on the agency of a single person for the entire Cultural Revolution appears overly simplified. A question arises as to what extent the destructions and suffering across a country with a population of around 700 million (Field 2009) can be attributed to a single man, bearing in mind that his official policy was *engage struggle with words but not with physical attack* (要文鬥不要武鬥 *yào wén dòu bù yào wǔ dòu*) (Gao 2002, 423), and that he never ordered people to kill (Chang 1991/2003). In addition, although the perpetration of violence by the young people is acknowledged in the ST, they appear to have been excused as blind followers and unthinking machines of destruction – an interpretation based on the low percentage of them being represented as Senser. Furthermore, whereas Chang acknowledges that some violent acts from the young people are deliberate: for example, the beating of teachers out of personal vendetta, she often conceals the agency of the young people in English, drawing reader attention to the victims and the process of victimising, but not to the perpetrator. These suggest that the author has not only deliberately diminished the representation of the agency of the young people to highlight Mao's agency but also over-simplified the overall caliber of the Chinese youth by downgrading their abilities of independent thinking.

This disproportionality in the representation of agency has, to some extent, been amended in the Chinese translation. The Chinese TT represents Mao less and with lower agency and lower grammatical weight, but represents the young people more and with higher agency and greater grammatical weight. Such shifts in grammatical patterns have resulted in the TT moving away from the ST narrative of Mao being an absolute villain, to a slightly different narrative, in which ordinary people, especially Chang's peers, are collectively held responsible for the Cultural Revolution.

These shifts are particularly significant considering the context of reception of the target text is Taiwan. Whereas the “West” may tolerate a harsher criticism of Mao as an absolute tyrant and dictator, such one-sided representation and over-simplification of the causes of the Cultural Revolution may have been considered implausible for the Taiwanese context, where the publishers, editors and readers are presumably more knowledgeable about China due to the geographical adjacency and the convenience of communication in the same language. This explanation is plausible, especially considering the thawing political climate between Taiwan and Beijing in the early 1990s since the adoption of *Guidelines for National Unification in Taiwan* (國家統一綱領 *guójiā tóngyī gānglǐng*) in 1991 and the 1992 Consensus (九二共識 *jiǔ'èr gòngshì*), both of which were welcomed by Beijing for supporting the concept of ‘One China’ despite the different interpretations. Hence, on the one hand, the target context of Taiwan is not likely to defend the Beijing government; on the other hand, it also understands the Chinese context sufficiently not to accept an implausible account of Chinese history.

Another important contextual variable that may have contributed to the dramatic shifts in translation is tenor: not only has the ST author contributed to the translation decision-making, but the book was also translated by the ST author’s brother, who shares the same family history and has been represented in this family chronicle. In this case, both the ST author and the translator may feel justified in deliberately introducing changes that they deemed necessary for the TT context, which an ordinary translator may hesitate to do. Their authority with the content of the book make the shifts identified in the Chinese translation more meaningful.

4.5 Conclusion

Through an SFL-CDA approach to an unusual ST-author-assisted translation of a politically volatile, popular book, this study has found dramatic shifts in the linguistic representation of agency. The ST and TT appear to serve different functions in their respective contexts of reception. The ST promotes “Western” values and social systems by representing contemporary China as a harsh reality and by highlighting its cultural otherness in comparison to the “West”, reinforcing the image of Mao as a ruthless dictator and highlighting tragedies under his rule; however, such over-emphasis on Mao and his negative attributes is considered disproportionate and over-simplified, and reinforces the view that mainstream “Western” publishers may welcome or at least do not object to promoting unbalanced criticism of ‘known’ dictators (cf. Kim Jong-il in 2017). This sets up a question whether the autobiography was written mainly to serve a political purpose. On the other hand, as a more personalised account,

the TT is less interpretive and critical of history, but focuses more on sharing the lived experiences of the author, her family, and her peers, which appears to be more congruent with its genre as an autobiography. Such contrast between the ST and the TT sets up an interesting question as to whether a translation can be potentially ‘better’ than the ST in terms of truthfulness and proportionality of claims.

The significance of this study is twofold. Firstly, it shows that shifts in grammatical patterns and its resulting quantitative data, identified through a linguistic examination of TRANSITIVITY in translation, can usefully enhance objectivity in studying ideology in translation. Secondly, it makes an original contribution to translation studies by applying a combinatory analysis of TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSE STATUS, which approach has been useful in fine-tuning the quantification and visualization of agency. This approach combining TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSE STATUS can be applied to future studies of the representation of agency. A limitation of this study is the lack of an ethnographic approach: to date, neither the ST author nor the translator has responded to requests to be interviewed; hence, one cannot assume authorial intentions. Nevertheless, the choice-making by the author and the translator can be traced to discuss their ideological consequences, whether those consistent patterns in translation shifts are deliberately or unconsciously created.

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Chapter 4: Part II

Two Additional Variables for the Analyses of the Linguistic Representation of AGENCY:
Cline of Dynamism and FINITENESS.

4.6 Introduction

This study of the linguistic representation of the shifts in AGENCY between different participants that are represented has initially taken three variables into consideration: TRANSITIVITY, Cline of Dynamism, CLAUSE STATUS, and FINITENESS. For reasons of publication, the variables were addressed separately; but they then needed to be brought back into relation to each other for a deeper evaluation of the semantic consequences of the grammar.

4.7 An Elaborated Cline of Dynamism

Whereas TRANSITIVITY analyses have usefully identified the instances in which certain participants are represented as Agents, they do not distinguish the level of agency. Hence, it is useful to investigate agency in combination with Hasan's Cline of Dynamism (1985, 45) for a quantitative and visual representation of different levels of agency and overall dynamism. Hasan states that the semantic quality of any participant type must be seen as distinct in their 'quality of being able to affect the world around us, and of bringing change into the surrounding environment'. She termed such quality as 'dynamism', based on which the various participants can be placed on a cline, from the most 'dynamic' to the least (passive). For example, an Actor with an Animate Goal should be seen as more dynamic than an Actor without Goal:

an **Actor** with an Animate Goal:

Mao openly backed the Rebels

an **Actor** without a Goal:

For days, **I** wept in silence

As Hasan's Cline was developed based on the analysis of a poem, it does not cover all participant types in the transitive model. Hubbard (1999) and García-Marrugo (2013) each proposed an elaborated cline, with selected participant types. This paper proposes an elaborated cline that includes all participant types in the transitive model. In addition, finer differentiation needs to be made within the two main participant types for agency: Actor and Sayer. For the former, this cline follows Hubbard in quartering Actor:

Table 4.6 Four Types of Actor

Actor:	Notes	Examples
Actor (+ <u>Animate Goal</u>)		They had shut <u>them</u> all up in a classroom
Actor (+ <u>Inanimate Goal</u>)		and (they) put a <u>notice</u> on the door
Actor (Volitional)	standard Actor/Behaver in an intransitive clause	Eventually we left
Patient	Actor/Behaver in a non-volitional clause	He had, in effect, lost control.

There are four additional overall principles:

- 1) Agent is more effective than all other ergative participants
- 2) An agent is more dynamic when impacting on an animate entity
- 3) Finer distinction is made within Sayers in terms of their agency and whether they precede Receiver/Verbiage/Quote or Report/Proposal/ Proposition
- 4) This paper follows Calzada Pérez's strategy of eliminating behavioural clauses (2007), as they could be classified either as the material or the mental process. The majority of 'Behaver' has been analysed as 'Actor (Volitional)' or 'Patient'.

This cline provides a model for quantifying and visualising the dynamism of any represented character in a verbal art. The number of instances of a character being presented as different participants can be placed along this cline, which will then demonstrate whether a character has been portrayed as more dynamic or passive in a book. This paper proposes an elaborated Cline of Dynamism based on Hasan (1985), Hubbard (1999), and García-Marrugo (2013) to allow all the 24 participant types in Table 4.1 to be represented, as shown in Figure 4.1.

4.8 INSTANTIAL WEIGHT and FINITENESS

The journal article has incorporated Butt's concept of 'Instantial Weight' (Butt 2008, 76-77) in examining the STATUS OF THE CLAUSE in which an Agent is represented: whether an agentive process is placed in an independent clause or subordinate clause. However, subordinate clauses can be further distinguished in terms of its statuses, as shown in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.2 An Elaborated Cline of Dynamism

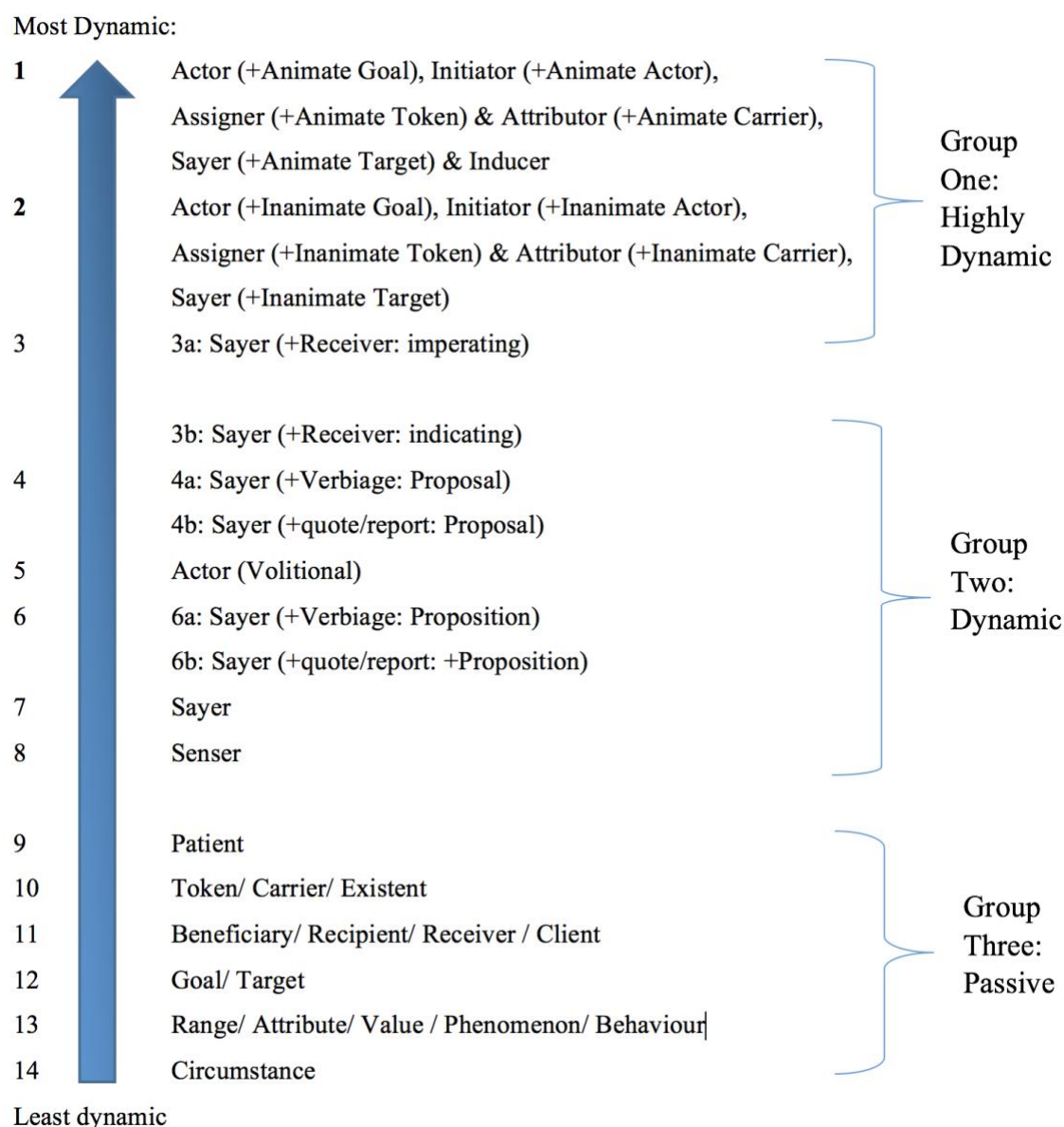


Figure 4.3 The Cline of CLAUSE STATUS (Adapted from Butt 2008, 76-77)



[Note: 'Rankshift' is where the item is downgraded as a constituent, e.g., from a clause to nominal group (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 382)]

Another dimension to Instantial Weight relevant to the transitivity analysis is Finiteness (Butt 2008, 76-77). Finiteness refers to the traditional concepts of actualised/unactualised events: a

process is seen as actualised if it can be pinned down temporally by its tense marker in English. In comparison, both modality and non-finite predicator reduce the finiteness of a process. For example, the agency of ‘he’ in destroying must be seen as the highest in the clause with tense, and the lowest in the clause with non-finite predicator in the examples below.

Tense: He **destroyed** his enemy.

Modality: He **would** destroy his enemy.

Non-finite predicator: **To destroy** his enemy, he needs supports.

The present chapter makes an original contribution by examining transitivity in translation in combination with the Cline of Dynamism and the two dimensions of Instantial Weight: **CLAUSE STATUS** and **FINITENESS**.

One of the few main differences is that Chinese does not have a commensurable system of FINITENESS; therefore, the differentiation between actualised and unactualised in Chinese will be based on whether a clause contains an expression of MODALITY.

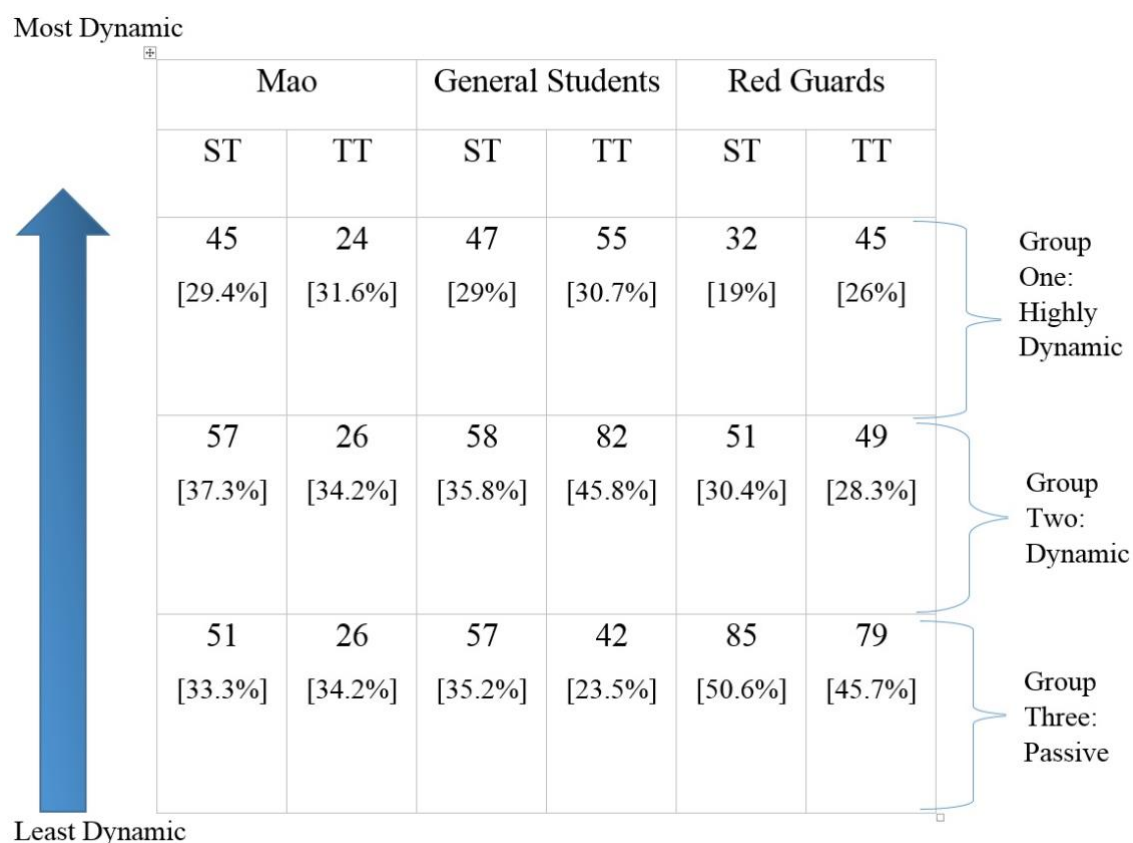
4.9 Results and Interpretations

This section mainly serves to demonstrate how the analysis with the two additional variables have found quantitative results that are more indicative of the patterns in translation shifts. In other words, quantitative results of the translation shifts tend to be more dramatic when the two extra variables are taken into consideration. However, because the overall trends remain the same, additional qualitative analysis will not be included in this section.

Figure 4.4 shows the differences in the representation of Mao, the Red Guards, and general students in terms of their dynamism.

As the cline shows, Mao's highly dynamic roles have been dramatically reduced from 45 in the ST to 24 in the TT, however, the overall dynamism of Mao by percentage is similar to that in the ST. In contrast, the Cline of Dynamism shows that general students and the Red Guards have been represented as considerably more dynamic in the translation, both in terms of instances and percentages.

Figure 4.4 The Representation of three Main Agents in terms of Their Dynamism



The next step examines the effectuality of the highly dynamic roles of these three main agents by investigating the STATUS and FINITENESS of the clauses in which they are represented as highly dynamic roles. Table 4.7 presents results from the analyses of CLAUSE STATUS. Table 4.8 presents results from the analyses of FINITENESS. Table 4.9 summarises the main findings from Figure 4.4, Tables 4.7 and 4.8 by listing the instances and percentages of the representation of the three main agents as being highly dynamic, and being placed in an independent clause, with primary tense in English, or without modality in Chinese.

Table 4.7 The STATUS OF CLAUSE in which the three agent types are represented as being highly dynamic

Clause Status (High to low)	Mao		General Students		Red Guards	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
Independent (primary/dominant)	27	12	27	35	16	27
Hypotactic	11	10	11	11	8	11
Hypot ²	3		2	2	6	2
Rankshifted	4	1	5	5	1	4
β in rankshifted		1	2	2	1	1
R/s in R/s						
Total	45	24	47	55	32	45

Table 4.8 FINITENESS of the clauses in which the three agent types are represented as being highly dynamic

Finiteness (High to low)	Mao		General Students		Red Guards	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
Tense	31	n/a	27	n/a	14	n/a
Modality	2	2	5		5	2
Non-finite Pred.	12	n/a	15	n/a	13	n/a

As shown in Table 4.8, the analyses of the two additional variables of the elaborated Cline of Dynamism and FINITENESS confirm findings discussed in Section 4.5, but with more comprehensive perspectives and more dramatic quantitative shifts in translation. Mao has been represented less in Chinese as agentive and highly dynamic roles; in addition, his agency in Chinese is less likely to be seen by readers as being real and actualised due to a lower percentage of them being placed in a clause with low instantial weight. In stark contrast, both the Red Guards and the general students have been represented more in Chinese as agentive and highly dynamic roles; in addition, their agency and dynamism are more likely to be seen as being real and actualised due to being placed in a clause with greater instantial weight.

Table 4.9 Instances and percentage of representation of the three agents as being highly dynamic roles in an independent clause, with primary tense in English, or without modality in Chinese

	Mao		General students		Red Guards	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
Instances	24	10	24	35	12	26
Percentages (out of all highly dynamic roles)	(53.3%)	(41.67%)	(51.06%)	(63.6%)	(37.5%)	(57.8%)

4.10 Summary

This chapter makes an original contribution by applying the analysis of Cline of Dynamism, CLAUSE STATUS, and FINITENESS to TRANSITIVITY analysis in translation. The quantitative results in Section 4.9 show that the analyses of the two additional variables, Cline of Dynamism and FINITENESS, not only provide useful quantification and visualisation of the representation of agency and dynamism but also provide additional perspectives in examining the actualisation of the agency, which have produced quantitative results that are more indicative of the overall translation shifts.

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CHAPTER 5: AN EXAMINATION OF IDEOLOGY IN TRANSLATION

VIA MODALITY: WILD SWANS AND MAO'S LAST DANCER¹⁰

Abstract

This paper compares the semantics of grammatical choices in Chinese with the system of MODALITY in English, with particular reference to descriptions from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The latter is a theory much informed by both English (Halliday 1961) and Chinese in its development (Halliday 1956, in Halliday 2005). Based on existing literature on language typology, this paper seeks not only to examine the usefulness of this grammatical potential to translation scholars but also to provide more delicate typological descriptions to ensure commensurability in translation. As modality is often expected to be a key site for expressing interpersonal judgments, this paper investigates whether choices in this system can be indicative of patterns of ideologically motivated regularities, or shifts, in the translated texts. This paper uses the Chinese translations of *Wild Swans* (Chang 1991/2003) and *Mao's Last Dancer* (C. Li 2003/2009) as domains of study, both of which are highly successful but politically controversial autobiographies written in English by Chinese migrant writers. Incorporating both quantitative and qualitative approaches, this study has found how meaningful choices of modality have altered the evaluation of political leaders.

Keywords: ideology, translation, modality, Systemic Functional Linguistics, *Wild Swans*

5.1 Introduction

It is often said that the Anglophone book markets are resistant to translated works, as reflected by the well-known *Three Percent Problem*: only around 3% of books published in the UK and USA are translations (Donahaye 2012, 6; Ban 2015, 160). Such resistance may have encouraged attempts by some migrant writers to write directly in English. Since the late 1980s, there has been a number of successful English works by Chinese migrant writers (Cheng 2010; Ha 2000; Qiu 2003; C. Li 2003/2009; Chang 1991/2003). Amongst them, *Wild Swans*, by Chinese-British writer Jung Chang (1991/2003), is at the summit of success, having sold 13 million copies worldwide and been translated into 37 languages (Chang 2016). In Australia, Li Cunxin's *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003/2009) has become a best-selling and award-winning book:

¹⁰ This paper has been published by a journal in Systemic Functional Linguistics, *Journal of World Languages*. Candidate is the sole author.

with a young reader's edition recommended in the Australian school curriculum, it is a nationwide household name.

Despite the phenomenal success and their cross-cultural nature, these two books can hardly be considered as tokens of Sino-Western friendship. Rather, they may be indicative of ongoing conflicts of ideologies. Both books have been banned in Mainland China due to their explicit criticism of the Chinese government. This ban extends to the translations: although both books have been translated 'back' to Chinese (Chang 1992; C. Li 2009), they have only been permitted for publication outside of Mainland China.

To date, the Chinese translations have received little scholarly attention, even though these books are highly valued (Halliday 1988, ix) and politically controversial. A previous study of the present author (Li 2017) of *Wild Swans* found that Mao has been represented dramatically less and as less agentive in the Chinese translation. This paper further investigates the shifts of political ideology in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*, with a new focus on the interpersonal metafunction within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). As judgments are often considered to be expressed through choices of MODALITY within the interpersonal metafunction, an examination of modality has the potential to reveal ideological shifts in the translation.

The overall objective of this paper, therefore, is to explore the influence of political ideology in translation through investigating potential regularities in the translation shifts of modality. It proposes a quantitative-qualitative approach to reveal the ensemble of semantic consequences of these linguistic choices on the broad front (quantitative results), and the localised ideological shifts on the narrow front (quantitative/ qualitative results).

To achieve this objective, three research questions have been raised:

- 1) What are the typological differences that may affect translation studies? Are there even commensurable systems?
- 2) Can patterned shifts be identified in the comparable domains or systems of meaning in each translation? How do the two translations compare?
- 3) Do the regularities in such shifts have ideological consequences? In particular, are the regularities non-random, in the sense that may seem to be directed, whether unconsciously or deliberately?

This study therefore sets out to contribute to a better understanding of the link between modality and ideology in translation. A subsidiary goal is a more delicate comparison of MODALITY across two major world languages – English and Chinese – from the perspective of SFL. Although modality has been extensively studied in both English (cf. Lyons 1977; Matthiessen 1995; Biber et al. 1999; Krug 2000; Palmer 2001; Huddleston and Pullum 2002;

Leech 2003) and Chinese (cf. Chao 1968; Zhu 1996; Lu 2002; Ma 2005), descriptive linguistics cannot be mechanically applied to translation studies without the bridge of contrastive linguistics. However, existing typological descriptions often lack the delicacy to handle specific translation issues, because language is ‘inexhaustible’ in its system potential (Halliday 1994, xiii).

5.2 MODALITY and its Relations to MOOD in English and in Chinese: an SFL Perspective

5.2.1 The application of SFL to the study of ideology in translation

Many translation scholars have called for SFL as an empowering tool to reduce the subjectivity of translation evaluation (Bell 1991; Butler 1988; Taylor 1993; Munday 1998; Kim and Matthiessen 2015). This paper reiterates the importance of a linguistic approach to the study of ideology, because language is the most common form of social behaviour through which ideology circulates (Fairclough 1995). This approach requires a systematic analysis and comparison of source text (ST) and target text (TT). Although studies of ideology from the perspective of Cultural Studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Spivak 1993) have been strong since the ‘Cultural Turn’ in 1990s, they have been criticized for a lack of generalisable methodologies and findings (House 2013, 46-57), especially quantitative results, and for insufficient attention to the actual translation (Boyden 2008, 149-155). SFL has supplied a generalisable framework for grammatical description in which the interpersonal resources of speakers are represented by alignments of mood and modal meanings. These have been set out in detail in studies mentioned in the following section.

The definition of ideology can be either narrow or broad, critical or neutral. Whereas this study stays away from the negative connotation of ideology, as being erroneous and misleading, it is primarily interested in ideology in its traditionally critical and political sense: in the chosen domains of study, the comparison of the two social systems of capitalism and communism, through an evaluation of historical figures and events in popular books.

5.2.2 MOOD

5.2.2.1 MOOD in English

Semantic and lexicogrammatical systems in the interpersonal metafunction are the linguistic realisation of the contextual variable of ‘Tenor’, which concerns the nature of the participants, their statuses, roles and relationships (Halliday 1985, 11-12). For example, it is relevant to ask

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whether a central participant is shifted in the grammatical relations from text to translations, perhaps as a result of different levels of information in the new readership.

As the principal interpersonal system, MOOD is treated in SFL in ways that overlap with long standing traditions of language descriptions in the “West”, except that the commodity exchanged (goods and services or information) is carefully aligned against indicative and imperative, and against propositions and proposals (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 136).

5.2.3 MODALITY in relation to MOOD

MOOD and MODALITY are closely related. In a narrow sense, modality and polarity form the two options of Finiteness in an English MOOD element. This presents an apparent problem for clause descriptions in which there is no Finite element, as in Chinese (Halliday and McDonald 2004, 330): Chinese MOOD consists of Subject and Predicator, instead of Subject and Finite operator. In addition, in Chinese, a clause may be in declarative mood without a Subject, and imperative mood can be considered unmarked with a Subject.

In a broader, semantic sense, modality may be seen as a resource for expanding the potential for negotiation. In other words, whereas polarity is used by a speaker to take a definite stance, modality construes the intermediate ground between the positive and the negative poles. Choices of modality express a speaker’s belief or attitude towards a proposition, and can function to circumscribe the listener’s/reader’s behaviour (Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam 2010, 88; Espindola and Wang 2015, 110-111). Thus, choices of modality can have ideological consequences, in that modal meaning limits propositional claims or the scope of responsibility in proposals.

Despite the wide literature on modality, or perhaps because of it, modality is widely understood, and the descriptions tend to share most details. In SFL, three additional systems have been identified in the study of MODALITY besides the MODALITY TYPE: VALUE, ORIENTATION, and MANIFESTATION. VALUE is the system of the choices of the strength: median/low/high. ORIENTATION refers to choices of subjective or objective judgement. MANIFESTATION refers to choices of the explication or implicitation of the source of judgement (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 162).

SFL also describes MODALITY in relation to MOOD and speech functions. For instance, although all instances of modality are meaningful, those in free major clauses must be considered as being more significant, as they modify the speech function. In addition, in propositions, MODALITY is called ‘modalization’: the region of uncertainty between ‘it is’ and

“it isn’t”, including the degree of probability and of usuality. In proposals, MODALITY is called ‘modulation’: the region between the definitive ‘do’ and “don’t”, including the degree of obligation in a command, and of inclination in an offer.

5.2.3.1 List of English Modality

This paper has adopted Matthiessen’s (1995, 498) list, which usefully categorises MODALITY according to speech functions. His list of English modality may take the form of:

- Modal auxiliary verbs: such as *must*
- Semi-modals, such as *ought to*
- Adverbs, such as *probably*
- Full verbs, such as *want*
- Interpersonal metaphor: here modality is realised by an external clause, which does not realise a speech function itself, but serves to condition the uncertainty, such as *I believe that...* and *it’s impossible that...*

Table 5.1 lists English modality based on Matthiessen (1995), with a few additions marked with an asterisk. These additional words are added either because they are considered similar to Matthiessen’s items or because they have been listed by other grammarians. All modality items are classified according to the sub-systems of MODALITY TYPE, VALUE, MANIFESTATION and ORIENTATION.

5.2.3.2 Comparison of modality between English and Chinese

Modality has been discussed in Chinese Linguistics under the name of auxiliary verbs (Chao 1968, 731-733) with a structural approach, as ‘ability-wish’ verbs (能願 *néngyuàn*) (Wang 1959, 130, Ma 2005, 42-67), or as ‘realis/irrealis’ (實虛 *shí/xū*) (Lu 2002, 247-257) in semantics; the terms ‘auxiliary verbs’ and ‘*néngyuàn*’ can be used interchangeably (Zhu 1996, 185). Various scholars have provided different categorisations of Chinese modality.

Zhu (1996, 183-205) proposed a classification of Chinese MODALITY based on speech functions. He not only listed the realization forms of modality based on VALUE but also made comparisons with English. This makes his list largely commensurable to Matthiessen’s list. Therefore, this paper adopts Zhu’s list. However, three important modifications have been made:

- (1) The Chinese modality should also include USUALITY (cf. Halliday & McDonald 2004);
- (2) An original contribution is made in this study with the analysis of ORIENTATION and MANIFESTATION of Chinese modality;

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(3) More tokens are added to necessarily expand Zhu's small set of examples, based on similarities to Zhu's list and discussions by other Chinese grammarians.

With an elaboration and extension of Zhu (*ibid.*), this paper proposes a list of Chinese modality items classified by their TYPE, VALUE, MANIFESTATION and ORIENTATION in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 List of Modality in English

*English modality added by the present author for obvious similarity to Matthiessen (1995)

** A modality item suggested by Krug (2000, 218)

Italics: Matthiessen's given examples that do not appear in the corpora

			median		outer			
					low		high	
modaliz .	prob.	im	will/would (+NEG)	probably	can/could, may/might, *can+possibly	maybe, perhaps, possibly, hardly	could not, should, must, may not, might not, <i>ought to</i>	certainly impossible
		ex	I think, <i>I believe</i>	<i>it's likely/probable that</i>	<i>I suppose, I suspect, I guess, I reckon</i>	<i>it's possible that</i>	I know, <i>I'm sure/certain</i>	<i>it's certain</i> *everybody knew that...
	usual.	im	will/would (+NEG),	often, <i>usually</i>	can/could, may/might	<i>sometimes, occasionally, seldom, rarely</i>	should, must, <i>ought to</i>	always, never, <i>ever</i>
		ex		*it's the traditional time for X to, <i>it's usual for x to...</i>		<i>it's rare for x to..</i>		
modul.	oblig.	im	should, is (not) to, (had) better	supposed to, *meant to	can/could, may/might, need not	allowed to	have to, could not, must, need <i>ought to</i>	NEG+allowed to, *forbidden to, <i>required to, obliged to</i>
		ex	*expect <i>I want</i>	<i>it's desirable</i>	<i>I'll let</i>	<i>it's permissible for x to...</i>	<i>I insist</i>	*it's the duty of x to... <i>it's necessary for x to...</i>
	Incl.	im	will/would (+NEG.), (+NEG) want to, **be (not) going to, <i>would rather</i>	*given to, keen to <i>eager to</i>	will	<i>willing to</i>	<i>must, has/had to, will</i>	determined to,
					can	able to [abil.]	could not	
		ex						
			subjective	objective	subjective	objective	subjective	objective

Table 5.2 List of Chinese Modalities

* Additions made by the present author from the corpora;

**Modality items added by other scholars (Gao 1948/1986; Halliday & McDonald 2004; Li 1924/1992; Lü 1942/1952/1956/1982/2002; Ma 2005; Sun 1996; Yang 1930/1984);

Italic: expressions provided by other scholars that have not appeared in the chosen corpora.

			median		outer			
					low		high	
modaliz.	prob.	im	*很可能	大概 多半	(不)會 可能	或許 也許	一定會 該 准該	一定 必定 肯定 准
		ex	我想 我認為 我覺得 我相信 我估計 我看		*我猜	*有這種 可能	我知道 *我曉得	不用說 毫無疑問 *人人都清楚 *我母親清楚
	usual.	im		*經常 *時不時 *平時 **平常 *平常 *常 *通常 *常常 *時常		**有時		*總 *總是 *從來沒 *老
		ex						
modul.	oblig.	im	應該 應 不(該) **最好 應當	有責任	得[de] 可以 可 不必 **好 能 [permissi on]	讓 允許 許可	要 必須 得[dei] *只好	禁止 不得 不准 不可
		ex					要	
	Incli.	im	會 (不)想 **將		*樂意 願意 肯		要[insistence] *決心不 一定 **不肯 **不願 **不敢 **不屑 非 偏要	
					能 [ability] 會 [ability] 能夠 可以		不能[ability]	
		ex						
			sub	ob	sub	ob	sub	ob

As is the case of MOOD, MODALITY in English and Chinese are commensurable, with more similarities than differences. However, a few typological differences can impact on a contrastive study. Firstly, English modal expressions are more grammaticalised: for instance,

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English modal auxiliaries do not change their form except in contraction and negative contraction, such as *I will/I'll/I won't*. As for full verbs and metaphors, although their variant forms are determined by tense, plurality and polarity, these variants are easily predictable. Variants in the form of ellipses are rare: for example, *had better/better*. On the other hand, Chinese modal expressions are more lexicalised: most two-character modal auxiliaries can be disassembled into single characters, which can be independently used as virtually the same modality. For example, both 應該 *yīnggāi* and 應當 *yīngdāng* express median value of obligation, as does the English 'should'; each of the three constituent characters, 應 *yīng*, 該 *gāi* and 當 *dāng*, can independently express median obligation. As this lexicalisation of modality leads to more variants, careful examination is needed in a quantitative approach, especially when using computational tools. Secondly, Chinese modal auxiliaries can be used in succession: for example, 應該能 *yīnggāi néng*, 'should can'. This is not the case for English modal auxiliaries, although a modal verb can be followed by a semi-modal or an adverbial modality: for example, 'should be able to' and 'should probably'. Nevertheless, for both Chinese and English, this type of succession has been considered in this paper as one modality, the value of which is determined based on the component with a higher value.

5.2.3.3 Distribution of Modality

Besides examining the various sub-systems of MODALITY, this paper also seeks to investigate and visualise the distribution of modality in text: for example, whether and why they are evenly distributed or concentrated in certain sections. Although such distributions of modality are usually below the consciousness of a reader and can thus be considered as latent patterning (Coulthard and Sinclair 1975, 1-34; Butt 1988, 74-97), such patterns can have a powerful ensemble effect on perceptive readers on a subliminal level (Jakobson 1985, 127-136). Therefore, this paper investigates whether distribution patterns of modality have been preserved in the translation.

5.3 Data and Methodology

5.3.1 Data

Wild Swans and *Mao's Last Dancer* have been compared in this study, as they fulfil the requirements of 'comparability' and 'consequentiality' (Bardovi-Harlig 2008, 11). Firstly, both source texts are successful English works by Chinese migrant writers. Secondly, both are expected to be factual writing, which prioritises truthfulness. Thirdly, both are politically sensitive and banned in Mainland China for criticism of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

The two Chinese translations also share three similarities. Firstly, both are published in traditional Chinese in Taiwan, a region noted for press freedom (Freedomhouse 2016). Secondly, both are translated by Chinese-language writers based in the same Anglophone city with the source writers. Thirdly, both ST authors have personally contributed to the decision-making in the translating (Chang 1992; C. Li 2009), which makes them an unusual translation phenomenon in terms of tenor. With these similarities, findings from *Mao's Last Dancer* may serve as a reference for distinguishing motivated and unmotivated selections in *Wild Swans*.

To strike a balance between representativeness and in-depth analysis of MODALITY, four corpora have been selected, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 The selection of corpora

Corpora	Chapter	Words/Characters	Clause Complexes	Clauses
1. Parallel Corpus One: <i>Wild Swans</i> -ST	Chapter 27 (total chapters: 28)	9,438	486	912
2. Parallel Corpus Two: <i>Wild Swans</i> -TT	Chapter 27	15,078 characters (roughly 9,420 words ¹¹)	425	1,157
3. Reference Corpus One: <i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> -ST	Chapter 22 (total chapters: 30)	5,061	378	606
4. Reference Corpus Two: <i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> -ST	Chapter 22	7,795 characters (roughly 4,870 words)	232	678
Total			1,517	3,353

The selections are based on judgment sampling (Milroy 1987). The chosen chapters are the linchpin of each book: the rhetorical climax of emotional outburst, blaming and accusation. Chapter 27 in *Wild Swans* concerns the peri-mortem period of Chang's father in 1975-1976. Chapter 22 in *Mao's Last Dancer* concerns Li's overnight detention and interrogation at the Chinese consulate before his defection. Both chapters epitomise the authors' resentment towards China. Therefore, patterned shifts in the interpersonal meaning in these chapters can be considered more consequential, and ideological shifts identified in the translation of these two chapters may be indicative of the overall trend.

¹¹ This is estimated based on McEnery and Xiao's (2003-2008) rough guideline of a ratio of 1:1.6 of words to characters in Chinese.

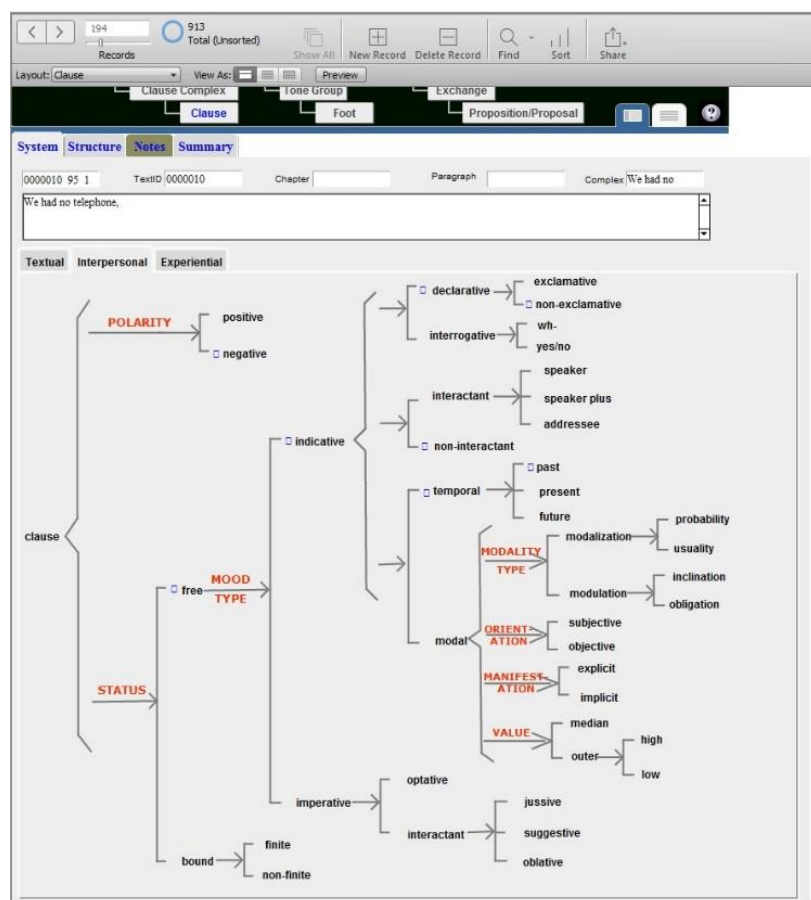
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In addition, the combined size of around 14,500 words in each language can be considered sufficient (Matthiessen 2006, 108) as a specialised corpus for the study and comparison of modality in English and Chinese.

5.3.2 Methodology

After the chosen chapters were scanned from hard copies and converted into Word documents, the texts were divided into clause complexes and clauses, before being imported into a computational tool named SysFan (Wu 2000, 111-194; Wu and Yu 2016, 7)¹². As shown in Figure 5.1, SysFan allows the analysis of modality in combination with speech function: the systems of MOOD, POLARITY, MODALITY TYPE, VALUE, MANIFESTATION and ORIENTATION can be manually selected for each free major clause. Once all clauses were analysed, SysFan would generate quantitative results. Clauses containing modality were exported to Excel for a closer qualitative analysis. In addition, SysFan was used to visualise the distribution of modality.

Figure 5.1 System network for analysing MOOD and MODALITY in SysFan



¹² SysFan is a computational tool geared towards systemic and functional analysis of texts. Access to SysFan can be downloaded from the ISFLA website: <http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/Software/Coders.html>

5.4 Results and Discussions

5.4.1 Comparison of Modality in the four books (the broad front)

Quantitative results from the two English STs show that *Mao's Last Dancer* expresses more strident, subjective and explicit modality, and *Wild Swans* uses modality of comparatively lower value and focuses more on obligation.

The two Chinese TTs are found to share these similar shifts in translation:

- TTs have fewer clause complexes but more clauses than STs;
- TTs contain more instances of modality, although the percentages of modality per free clause are lower in the TT due to the larger numbers of clauses;
- TTs contain less probability but more obligation. Less probability means more polarity, which indicate higher certainty of the propositions. The increases in obligation show that both TTs place heavier emphasis on the function of proscribing and responsibility. Both shifts may have ideological consequences.
- The modalities are more objective in Chinese, largely due to the translation of modal auxiliaries to adverbs.
- The modalities are more explicit in TTs, largely caused by the explicitation of the source, either from a subjective source 'I', or from an external source.
- There is a significant increase of high modality in both translations: from 31 to 62 in *Wild Swans*, and from 21 to 36 in *Mao's Last Dancer*.

To track the translation of modality, expressions of English modality have been aligned with the equivalent expressions in the TTs. The results show four ways in which English modality have been handled, as shown in Table 5.4.

Despite sharing the abovementioned similarities between the two translations, shifts in the translation of modality in *Wild Swans* are found to be more dramatic than those in *Mao's Last Dancer*. For example, as shown in Table 5.5, there is a higher percentage of English modality in *Mao's Last Dancer* that has been translated in Category One in Table 5.4 – into a Chinese modality of the same type and value, which can be considered reasonably equivalent.

Table 5.4 Four ways to handle modality from English to Chinese

Categories		Characteristics
Internal shifts	One	An English modality is translated into a Chinese modality with the same type and value: For example, ‘must’ > ‘必須 <i>bìxū</i> ’ (high obligation)
	Two	An English modality is translated into a Chinese modality of the same type, but with modified value (up/down): For example, ‘should’ > ‘必須 <i>bìxū</i> ’ (median to high obligation)
	Three	An English modality is translated into a Chinese modality of a different type: For example, ‘could’ > ‘該 <i>gāi</i> ’ (probability to obligation)
External shifts	Four	Decreasing shifts: an English modality does not have a corresponding modality in the translation, because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The corresponding Chinese expression is placed in a bound or downranked clause, OR • The English clause is translated into a Chinese clause without modality, OR • The entire English clause is omitted (only in <i>Wild Swans</i>)
		Increasing shifts: a modality in the translation cannot be traced back to an equivalence that counts as modality in English, because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The corresponding English expression is placed in a bound or downranked English clause, OR • The clause where the Chinese modality is located is translated from an English clause without modality (from polarity to modality), OR • A free major Chinese clause with modality is translated from a prepositional phrase in English, • The entire Chinese clause cannot be traced back to the ST (only in <i>Wild Swans</i>)

Whereas the majority of English modality items in *Wild Swans* have gone through noticeable shifts in the translation, shifts have occurred to a lesser extent in *Mao's Last Dancer*. The notable contrasts between the two translations show that shifts in *Wild Swans* cannot merely be considered as resulting from typological differences. Rather, the dramatic quantitative shifts in *Wild Swans* must be at least partially explained as motivated selections of the target text producer(s), whether they were conscious or unconsciously created.

Table 5.5 The percentages of English Modality that has been translated in Category One

Text	Modality Type	Total Instances of Modality		Translation in Category One
		ST	TT	
<i>Wild Swans</i>	Probability	29	18	10
	Usuality	13	14	6
	Inclination	26	28	6
	Obligation	31	51	21
	Total	99	111	43 [43.4%]
<i>Mao's Last Dancer</i>	Probability	25	22	18
	Usuality	0	0	
	Inclination	50	48	32
	Obligation	15	22	9
	Total	90	92	59 [65.6%]

5.4.2 Ideological shifts through the translation of modality on the narrow front

Quantitative and qualitative analyses have been carried out within each of the four modality types to further investigate the localised ideological shifts in translation. Considerable ideological shifts have been found in the translation of *Wild Swans*, through choices of probability, usuality and obligation. Therefore, inclination will not be discussed in this paper due to lack of space. In addition, as detailed analysis of the translation of *Mao's Last Dancer* has found no clear patterns of overall ideological shifts, only the translation of obligation in *Mao's Last Dancer* will be discussed, as examples of how shifts of two opposite trends may result in a dynamic balance and an overall non-shift of ideology.

5.4.2.1 Probability

As previously mentioned, the instances of probability have decreased in both translations, which is foregrounded against the overall increase of modality in both translations. This decrease has resulted in higher certainty of propositions in Chinese, because polarity should be considered as more certain than high probability.

Probability in *Wild Swans* has decreased dramatically by 38%: from 29 in ST (15 Median/ 11 Low/ 3 High) to 18 in TT (7 Median/ 8 Low/ 3 High). Out of the 29, only 11 have been translated into Chinese modality of the same type and value, and another 11 have been translated into polarity. Propositions, therefore, become more certain in Chinese.

AN EXAMINATION OF IDEOLOGY IN TRANSLATION VIA MODALITY

Because the overall trend of probability is a decrease from ST to TT, any notable additions of probability in Chinese should be considered as a foregrounded pattern. For instance, Figure 5.2 shows a cluster of clauses in the Chinese translation, where two cases of added probability have been identified in adjacent sentences. In the same cluster, one also finds two cases of the foregrounded shifts of ORIENTATION, from ‘objective’ to ‘subjective’, a case of elevated VALUE from low ‘could’ to high ‘肯定會 *kěndìng huì*’, and an omission of the word ‘probably’. This is a crux where shifts of various sub-systems of probability have converged, and it has been visualised in SysFan in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Visualisation of the distribution of Modality in SysFan: Zhou

(Left: English ST; right: Chinese TT. Yellow: low modality; Green: median; Red: high)

Textual Interpersonal Experiential				Textual Interpersonal Experiential			
ClassID	Mod	Clause	Words	ClassID	Mod	Clause	Words
0000010_4		On 8 January 1976, Premier Zhou Enlai died	8	0000011_3		周恩來是什麼樣子呢？	1
0000010_4		To me and many other Chinese, Zhou had represented a comparatively sane and liberal	22	0000011_3		一九七六年一月八日，周恩來總理去世了	2
0000010_4		In the dark years of the Cultural Revolution, Zhou was our meagre hope	13	0000011_3		對於我和千萬萬中國人來說，周恩來代表了一種較清遠、開明、致力於國家建設的政府	4
0000010_4		I was grief-stricken at his death,	7	0000011_3		在文革那些動盪的年代裡，周恩來是我們的一線希望	2
0000010_4		as were all my friends	5	0000011_3		我和朋友們都十分悲痛地去世	1
0000010_4		Our mourning for him and our looking of the Cultural Revolution and of Mao and his coterie	20	0000011_3		對他的紀念和文革中與毛澤東合作	2
0000010_4		But Zhou had collaborated with Mao in the Cultural Revolution	10	0000011_3		他是周恩來在文革中與毛澤東合作	1
0000010_4		It was he [who delivered the denunciation of Liu Shaoqi as an "American spy"]	14	0000011_3		是他宣讀劉少奇是「叛徒、內奸、工賊」	4
0000010_4		He met almost daily with the Red Guards and the Rebels	11	0000011_3		他幾乎每天都在接見紅衛兵和造反派	1
0000010_4		and issued orders to them	5	0000011_3		對他們發號施令	1
0000010_4		When a majority of the Politburo and the country's marshals tried to put a halt to the Cultural	22	0000011_3		他是毛澤東的忠實僕人	1
0000010_4		Zhou did not give them his support	7	0000011_3		但是我想，他也可能是在盡量防止更大、更可怕的災難	3
0000010_4		He was Mao's faithful servant	5	0000011_3		比如公開對毛澤東搞動搖	1
0000010_4		But perhaps he had acted	5	0000011_3		他保護了中國最重要的文化遺產	1
0000010_4		as he did	3	0000011_3		他維持了中國正常連續	1
0000010_4		In order to prevent an even more horrendous disaster, like a civil war, [which an open challenge	23	0000011_3		這樣他才能繼續在中國大陸生活	1
0000010_4		By keeping China running,	4	0000011_3		他也使國家避免了完全崩潰	1
0000010_4		he made it possible for Mao to weaken havoc on it,	11	0000011_3		只要他能夠得到	1
0000010_4		but probably also saved the country from total collapse	9	0000011_3		他保護人	1
0000010_4		He protected a number of people	6	0000011_3		而不是敵人	1
0000010_4		as far as he judged safe, [including, for a time, my father, as well as some of China's most	22	0000011_3		他選擇了中國最重要的文化遺產	1
0000010_4		It seemed that	3	0000011_3		這樣，他還處於一種連續而隱約的境地	2
0000010_4		he had been caught up in an insoluble moral dilemma,	10	0000011_3		當然也有這種可能：[[生存是他的第一考慮]]	2
0000010_4		although this does not exclude the possibility [that survival was his priority]	12	0000011_3		第一考慮是	1
0000010_4		He must have known	4	0000011_3		一旦4歲起就反對老澤東	1
0000010_4		that if he had tried to stand up to Mao,	10	0000011_3		他自己馬上就會垮臺	1
0000010_4		he would have been crushed	5	0000011_3		他還造成了百花齊放和百家爭鳴，對鄧小平特別重要	2
0000010_4		The campus became a spectacular sea of white paper wreaths and mourning posters and couplets	13	0000011_3		每個人都在獻花，鞠躬，獻花	2
0000010_4		Everyone wore a black armband, a white paper flower on their chest, and a sorrowful expression	16	0000011_3		看上去很悲傷	1
0000010_4		The mourning was partly spontaneous and partly organized	8	0000011_3		這樣會半自發、半組織	2
0000010_4		Because it was generally known	5	0000011_3		因為人人都知道	1
0000010_4		that at the time of his death Zhou had been under attack from the Gang of Four,	17	0000011_3		在周恩來去世時，「四人幫」還在猛烈攻擊他	3
0000010_4		and because the Gang had ordered the mourning for him to be played down,	14	0000011_3		而且下令[[不進行這樣會...]]	2

This cluster is related rhetorically to Premier Zhou Enlai, who is depicted as a mediating character: he is positively evaluated for protecting people, including Chang's father, but negatively evaluated for never having openly challenged Mao. Examples 5.1 to 5.4 show a clear ideological shift, that Zhou is evaluated less negatively in the Chinese translation through choices of probability.

Example 5.1

ST: But perhaps he had acted...in order to prevent an even more horrendous disaster

Modality: perhaps: objective/implicit/low

TT: 但是我想，他也可能是在盡量防止更大、更可怕的災難

Back Translation (BT): But I think, he also possibly be avoiding bigger, more horrendous disaster

Modality: *wǒ xiǎng*: subjective/explicit/median; *kěnéng* (in bound clause): objective/implicit/low

The primary probability in TT is ‘*wǒ xiǎng*’ (I think), an interpersonal metaphor. The TT steps away from being an objective historian; instead, it presents this evaluation as a personal view of Chang. This makes her sympathy for Zhou explicit.

Example 5.2

ST: like a civil war, [[which an open challenge to Mao could have brought on]]

Modality: could (in downranked clause): subjective/implicit/low

TT: 比如公開對毛澤東挑戰後肯定會產生的大規模內戰。

BT: for instance, after openly challenging Mao, certainly will cause large-scale civil war

Modality: *kěndìng huì* (in downranked clause): objective/implicit/high

Although these two examples are not in free clauses and therefore do not form part of the quantitative results, they clearly show an ideological shift. The author shows understanding of Zhou’s dilemma: there would be the possibility of a Chinese civil war should Zhou have openly challenged Mao. As this possibility of war is presented as much higher in the TT, it presents Zhou as a more sensible leader. These shifts suggest more sympathy for Zhou in Chinese.

Example 5.3

ST: but probably also saved the country from total collapse.

Modality: probably: objective/implicit/median

TT: 但也使國家避免了完全崩潰。

BT: but also enable the country [to] avoid total collapse

The expressing for medium probability has been omitted in Chinese. Without modality, Zhou is given definite credit in Chinese for having saved China from a total collapse.

The examples above show a closer alignment of the character ‘I’ in the book with Zhou Enlai and a more favourable evaluation of his contributions in the Chinese translation. The more positive evaluation of Zhou in Chinese echoes the general perception of him as a well-respected figure in Mainland China, despite the fact that the translation is published in Taiwan.

In short, shifts in probability have led to a more favourable evaluation of Zhou in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*. In comparison, the translation of modality in *Mao’s Last*

Dancer is considerably more faithful. Both translations have elevated certainty of propositions due to the decrease of probability.

5.4.2.2 Usuality

Quantitatively, expressions of usuality in the TT (14: 6 Median/ 8 High) appear to be rather similar to those in the ST (13: 6 Median/ 7 High). However, a closer examination finds several subtle shifts. Out of the 13, 8 have been translated into the same modality type and value. The rest comprise 5 decreasing shifts and 5 increasing shifts:

Decreasing Shifts

- Translating high usuality ‘always’ into polarity;
- Translating ‘always’ into median usuality ‘平時 *píngshí*’ (usually);
- Translating high usuality ‘never’ into polarity ‘根本不 *gēnběn bù*’ (not at all);
- Translating ‘always’ into a verb ‘愛 *ài*’ (love+doing sth).

Increasing Shifts

- Translating polarity into high usuality ‘總 *zǒng*’ (always);
- Translating the adjective ‘numerous’ into median usuality ‘時不時 *shíbùshí*’ (occasionally);
- Translating median inclination ‘would’ to high ‘總 *zǒng*’;
- Translating median ‘frequently’ (in bound) to high ‘老 *lǎo*’ (always).

There are two shifts in usuality which clearly reveal a changed evaluation of represented participants:

Example 5.4 Mother’s fight for a good memorial speech for father’s funeral

ST: This was the traditional time for a Chinese family || to engage in a bit of emotional blackmail.

Modality: ‘the traditional time for x to do’: objective/explicit/median usuality

TT: 死亡對中國家庭來說，可能是唯一的機會，可爭取到[[非此得不到的]]東西。

BT: death for Chinese families, can be only opportunity, can strive [to] achieve things [that are otherwise unobtainable] [*kěnéng* and *kě*]

Modality: ‘可能 *kěnéng*’ & ‘可 *kě*’: both subjective/implicit/low probability

The mother’s intention to threaten the authorities for an acceptable speech is presented in the ST as ‘usual’, normal, and expected, with the choice of median, explicit, objective usuality, hinting that this chance to fight is not uncommon following someone’s death in China.

With such normality, the mother can be expected to succeed. However, in the TT, it is expressed with low, implicit probability ‘可能 *kěnéng*’ and ‘可 *kě*’; which implies more obstacles and a lower chance of success. In turn, having won unexpectedly, the mother must have had to put in more effort. This contributes to a more agentive and resolute image of the mother in Chinese.

Example 5.5 Madam Mao (Mao Zedong’s wife, who is 21 years junior)

ST: Since she was frequently seen together with ... || people said she had taken them as ‘male concubines,’

Modality: ‘frequently’: objective/implicit/median [in bound clause]

TT: 從宣傳媒體裡，大家 老 看見她和...

BT: from propaganda media, people always saw [that] she [was] with...) [*lǎo*]

Madame Mao was thus blamed for causing China’s sexual repression, on the one hand, and openly taking ‘male concubines’ on the other hand. The Chinese expression ‘老 *lǎo*’ expresses high usuality, and it clearly exceeds the median value expressed through the English ‘frequently’, which could have been rendered as ‘經常 *jīngcháng*’, ‘常常 *chángcháng*’ or ‘常 *cháng*’. A higher frequency of Madame Mao being seen with handsome young men is highly charged with a negative evaluation of her promiscuity and hypocrisy.

In fact, this shift in usuality is supplemented with a shift beyond modality: an added direct speech of Madame Mao in Chinese, which expresses her approval for women to take male concubines. This higher usuality in the TT and the added direct speech result in a more negative evaluation of Madame Mao in Chinese. The harsher criticism echoes the general perception of her as a notorious leader in Mainland China, even though the translation is published in Taiwan.

In summary, a number of subtle shifts have occurred in the translation of usuality in *Wild Swans*, although the overall statistics are similar. Some cases in usuality have led to a more negative evaluation of Madame Mao and a more resolute image of the mother. In comparison, no expressions of usuality are used in the ST or TT of *Mao’s Last Dancer*.

5.4.2.3 Obligation

Amongst the four modality types, obligation shows the greatest shifts in both translations, with significantly more obligation in both TTs, in particular high obligation.

5.4.2.3.1 Obligation in *Wild Swans*

Obligation in *Wild Swans* stands out as the most dramatic shift, with an increase from 31 in ST to 51 in TT. High obligation has more than doubled from 22 to 45 instances. Out of the 31 English expressions of obligation, 21 have been translated into a Chinese obligation of the same value. Another six instances of English obligation have been translated into Chinese obligation with higher value. Other factors that contribute to this increase include:

- Translating one English clause with obligation into two Chinese clauses with shared obligation;
- Translating English bound clauses with obligation into Chinese free clauses with obligation;
- Translating English clauses without modality into Chinese clauses with obligation.

The increases in the instances, percentage and value of obligation clearly have ideological consequences: they reconstruct an inner context that imposes more and harsher restrictions, which may serve to either express stronger resentment and frustration toward the lack of freedom and justice, or implicitly portray certain characters as more resolute, resourceful, and brave for battling against harsher obstacles. Some significant ideological shifts via choices of obligation include:

5.4.2.3.1.1 Restrictions on women in Chinese society

Example 5.6

ST: we women students were supposed to keep our hands under the table, and [were supposed to] sit motionless

Modality: supposed to x 2: objective/implicit/median obligation

TT: 我們女學生得把手放在桌子下面，[得] 坐得絲紋不動 [*dei*]

BT: We women students have to have hands placed under the table, [have to] sit motionless.

Modality: *dei*: objective/implicit/high obligation

Dei expresses a stronger value of obligation than ‘supposed to’: it implies stronger necessity for an adherence to such rules. As this obligation was directly imposed on the author herself, who was one of the Chinese women, the shift from median to high obligation can be taken to express stronger personal resentment towards restrictions on women in the Chinese society. Several similar cases can be found in the same cluster of clauses, as shown in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 Visualisation of the distribution of Modality in SysFan: Restrictions on Women (left: English ST; right: Chinese TT; yellow: median; red: high)

Textual Interpersonal Experiential		
ClauseID	Mood	Clause
0000010_3		It was stated that
0000010_3		I had violated these
0000010_3		because my eyes looked "too interested,"
0000010_3		I "smiled too often,"
0000010_3		and when I did so
0000010_3		I opened my mouth "too wide.
0000010_3		I was also criticized
0000010_3		for using hand gestures:
0000010_3		we women students were supposed to keep our hands under the table
0000010_3		and sit motionless
0000010_3		Much of Chinese society still expected its women to hold themselves in a sedate manner, lower
0000010_3		They were not meant to use hand gestures at all
0000010_3		If they contravened any of these canons of behavior
0000010_3		they would be considered "flirtatious.
0000010_3		Under Mao, flirting with foreigners was an unspeakable crime

Textual Interpersonal Experiential		
ClauseID	Mood	Residue
0000011_2		我的引人注目引起了明先生和明太太的不滿
0000011_2		在政治會議上，有人指責我違反了「涉外紀律」，
0000011_2		說
0000011_2		我看上去「太感興趣」、
0000011_2		「笑得太多」、
0000011_2		「嘖得太大」、
0000011_2		還用手勢——
0000011_2		我們女學生得把手放在桌子下面，
0000011_2		坐得絲絲不動
0000011_2		中國社會很多人仍然要女人保持「端莊持重」的舉止，
0000011_2		面對男人的注目要垂目敬若鶩，
0000011_2		笑不露齒，
0000011_2		當然更不能用手勢
0000011_2		違反這些行為規範就是「輕浮」
0000011_2		在毛澤東統治下，對外國人「輕浮」簡直是不可饒恕
0000011_2		[[這些針對我的批評]]使我怒不可遏

Resources to express either high or median obligation are abundantly available in both English and Chinese, as shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. However, whereas the entire cluster of English modality items are of median value, all in the corresponding cluster in TT are of high value. The author as the narrator, 'I', clearly expresses stronger interpersonal judgements in Chinese on an issue that concerns herself: women's role in the society.

5.4.2.3.1.2 Restrictions on 'me' imposed by the teachers

The TT also expresses stronger resentment toward the teachers who forbid 'me' from boarding a foreign ship for a dinner banquet, as shown in the explication of obligation in the two examples below:

Example 5.7

ST: a) my teachers said that || *no one was allowed* on board a foreign ship

b) I was told to say || I was busy that evening.

Modality: no modality in free clause

TT: 但是，老師們不准我去 [*bù zhǔn*]

他們要我去撒個謊，[*yào*]

BT: But, the teachers did not allow me (to) go

They want(ed) me go tell a lie.

Modality: both 不准 *bù zhǔn* and 要 *yào* express explicit/objective/high obligation, with the teachers as the explicit source

In the ST, there is no obligation in the free clause: the high obligation ‘neg+allowed’ is in a bound clause and is used in passive voice, which conceals the source of obligation: the rule may not have been set by the teacher. In addition, ‘no one’ blurs the target of the rule. In contrast, the source of restriction is explicated in Chinese as the teachers, and such restrictions are imposed directly on ‘me’. A stronger resentment towards the teachers is thus detected in the TT.

5.4.2.3.1.3 Restrictions on mother

Example 5.8

ST: She wanted to concentrate on...

Modality: subjective/implicit/median inclination

TT: 她得集中精力...[*dei*] Increasing

BT: She had to concentrate energy...

Modality: *dei*: objective/implicit/high obligation

This examples echoes Example 5.4, in that both Chinese examples imply a context that is harsher and more restrictive for the mother; which then suggests a more resolute and resourceful image of her for having won a tougher battle.

In short, the instances and percentage of obligation, especially high obligation, are considerably higher in Chinese. This has resulted in the reconstruction of the external restrictions as harsher and more challenging in the Chinese version, and a stronger personal resentment toward the societal expectations.

5.4.2.3.2 Obligation in Mao's Last Dancer

Contrary to the case of *Wild Swans*, the shifts in obligation in *Mao's Last Dancer* show no consistencies of ideological shifts in the evaluation of the Chinese government officials. One reason is the dynamic balance brought by two translation trends that tend to counteract the ideological consequences, as discussed in the following.

5.4.2.3.2.1 Trend One: from imperative or polarity to obligation

It comes as little surprise that shifts between imperative mood and indicative mood with obligation are found in translation, as both realise the speech function of proposal/command. However, being the incongruent realisation, proposal realised through modality tends to be more polite. Many commands come from the direct speech of the Chinese consulate staff; two cases have been found, in which the Chinese opt for a more polite form, instead of faithfully rendering the imperatives; as shown in Examples 5.9 and 5.10:

Examples 5.9 and 5.10

ST	TT	Shift in obligation
You follow Chinese laws (Consul Zhang)	必須遵守中國法律 (you) <u>must</u> obey Chinese law,	Imperative (marked) > modality (politer)
Have faith in the party (vice-consuls general)	要相信黨 (you) <u>must</u> believe (in the) party	Imperative > modality (politer)

There is an additional example of a shift from polarity to obligation. Similarly, even high obligation presents more potential for negotiation than polarity, as in Example 5.11:

Example 5.11

ST	TT	Shift in obligation
Everybody listens to the party. (vice-consuls general)	每個人都得聽黨的 Everybody all <u>has to</u> listen (to the) party	Polarity > modality (politer)

Based on Examples 5.9-5.11, one may assume that the Chinese consulate staff appear softer in Chinese, by allowing more negotiation. However, three other shifts contradict such image.

5.4.2.3.2.2 Trend Two: from obligation to imperative or polarity

Examples 5.12-5.14

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ST	TT	Shift in obligation
You simply <u>have to</u> listen to [[what we say]] (vice-consuls general)	你老實聽我們的話吧， <u>You</u> obediently listen to us+‘ <i>ba</i> : imperative mood tag’	Modality > Imperative (unmarked theme) The interpersonal tag ‘ <i>ba</i> ’ somewhat softens the harsh imperative ‘you obediently listen...’
‘It’s <u>not for</u> you <u>to</u> ask me questions	現在不是||你問我問題 Now <i>neg.</i> +be you ask me question	Modality > Polarity (more strident)
<u>Could</u> ’ve killed that bastard!	真該殺了這混蛋！ really should kill+ <i>aspect</i> : <i>complete</i> this bastard	Low inclination [ability] > Median Obligation (Higher value/more strident)

Examples 5.12-5.14 present the Chinese consulate officers as being more strident and blunt, allowing less negotiation, which counterbalances the opposite effect brought by Examples 5.9-5.11. Consequently, no significant shift in the image of the Chinese consulate officers can be concluded.

In short, whereas both translations have shown more obligation, especially high obligation, clear ideological shifts have been identified in the translation of *Wild Swans*, which help construe an external environment with harsher restrictions on the Chang household. In *Mao’s Last Dancer*, however, no clear patterns of overall ideological shifts has been identified.

5.5 Concluding Discussion of the Influence of Ideology on the Choices of Modality in Translation

An examination of the translations of modality in *Wild Swans* and *Mao’s Last Dancer* has found more similar shifts than differences. In terms of similarities, both Chinese translations use more instances of modality than do their respective parallel source texts; this is particularly true for high modality and obligation. In addition, both translations use fewer instances of probability. These suggest a preference in the Chinese language for more strident expressions of modality, which present propositions as more certain, and emphasise more the speech function of modulation and circumscription.

In terms of differences, however, translation shifts in *Wild Swans* are much more dramatic than those in *Mao’s Last Dancer*. A considerably lower percentage of English

modality items in *Wild Swans* have been translated into expressions of Chinese modality of the same TYPE and VALUE. In addition, greater shifts have been found within each MODALITY TYPE in the translation of *Wild Swans*.

Furthermore, shifts in modality in *Wild Swans* frequently reflect shifts in the ideological stance. Through meaningful choices of usuality, the author/translator present harsher criticism of Madame Mao, who is an 'accomplice' of the Gang of Four. This confirms previous findings (Li 2017), that the Gang of Four is represented as being more agentive, and hence more culpable, in Chinese. Considering the Chinese translation is published in Taiwan, the harsh criticism of Madame Mao and favourable evaluation of Premier Zhou Enlai set up an interesting question as to why the adjusted evaluation of Zhou and the Gang of Four in Chinese appears closer to the general opinions of them in Mainland China.

The English source text is primarily interested in revealing the absolute agency and culpability of Mao Zedong. To highlight his agency, the thinking capacities and agency of other 'accomplices', such as the Gang of Four, are somewhat blurred. The Chinese translation, however, shows less interest in singling out Mao. Instead, more people are represented as having thinking capacities and agency, and thus as being held accountable for the catastrophic Cultural Revolution: for example, the Gang of Four, other central and provincial party leaders, and the collective destructive power of the youth – the Red Guards and general students. The Chinese version can be considered a somewhat more balanced account than the English book, as the ST appears to be an over-simplification of Chinese history with a disproportionate contrast between the agency of Mao and the passivity of all others.

Wild Swans has been criticised for its interpretation of Chinese history (Lin 1992, 121-128; Gao 2002, 419-434). Such dramatic shifts found in both the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions in the Chinese translation may well be an attempt by the translator/editor, and even the ST author, to adjust a certain over-interpretation of history and bias in the source texts, as the Chinese translation is intended to address readers who potentially possess higher levels of knowledge about the inner context of the book.

Another previous finding is that the Chinese translation is not only less interpretive of history but also a more personalised account. This has been supported in this study, in that stronger resentment has been expressed in Chinese when it comes to restrictions that would personally apply to the author.

In contrast, the translation of modality in *Mao's Last Dancer* not only is more faithful but also show no notable ideological shifts. Although the increase in the instances and value of modality may have resulted in the Chinese translation being slightly more dramatic and strident than the English book, this may be largely influenced by stylistic preferences, and does not affect the evaluation of represented participants. The lack of ideological shifts may be because the ideological stance of the book was not considered controversial or problematic for the Taiwanese readers: the chosen chapter is a recollection of closed-door personal experience, which is hard to verify or challenge.

Another difference between the two translations is tenor. *Wild Swans* was translated by the author's brother, ZHANG Pu. As a represented character who shares many of his sister's experiences, he has more power than ordinary translators. In addition, as Chang was well educated in China and had completed a university degree by the time she left China at the age of 26, her Chinese proficiency is believed to be high enough to potentially be actively contributing to the translation decision-making; in this case, Chang may potentially have allowed or even proposed translation shifts that an ordinary translator would not dare to consciously introduce. In comparison, although the translator of *Mao's Last Dancer* was based in the same city with Li, had interviewed Li and consulted him for advice, he was not personally related to Li. In this sense, he is like an ordinary translator. In addition, as Li was only a young graduate of a dance academy when he left China, his Chinese literary proficiency may not be high enough to be thoroughly involved with the translation; in this case, the translator may opt for safety by staying close to the ST. These factors in tenor provide potential explanations for the relatively faithful translation of modality in *Mao's Last Dancer*.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

This paper has carried out a systematic comparison of MODALITY in the Chinese translations of two politically controversial English works. The significance of this paper is fivefold. Firstly, this study makes an original contribution to categorising Chinese modality in the sub-systems of VALUE and ORIENTATION; he lists of modality items in English and Chinese will hopefully be useful for future translation studies and contrastive linguistics. Secondly, it contributes to a better understanding of the link between modality and ideology in translation: shifts in the VALUE, ORIENTATION and MANIFESTATION in probability, usuality and obligation can significantly alter the interpersonal evaluation of and the author's alignment with represented participants. Thirdly, it has highlighted the importance of a balance between a quantitative and qualitative approach to the study of modality: quantitative alone may disregard

potential dynamic balance underneath the surface; qualitative alone may appear unsystematic. Lastly, by exemplifying the complex translation shifts of modality in various sub-systems, it will hopefully raise awareness of different dimensions of equivalence in modality in translation teaching and practice.

A limitation of this study is that the quantitative approach needs to be manually adopted, and cannot be applied automatically to a large corpus within a concordance programme. Some major challenges need to be addressed before the proposed lists of modality items can be applied to larger corpora: for instance, the potential of an modal auxiliary to express multiple types, interpersonal metaphor and the plethora of variants of Chinese modality.

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CHAPTER 6: ARE CHINESE TEXTS MORE STRIDENT THAN ENGLISH TEXTS? A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH TO THE DEGREES OF INTENSITY IN TRANSLATION¹³

Long Li and Canzhong Wu

Abstract

It is often said that Chinese prefers stronger or more exaggerated terms (Ouyang 2013) than English: for example, ‘hěn’ (very) is often added in translation without a ‘very’ being in the English source text. Such a claim appears plausible to the intuition of perceptive translators; however, it is not founded on linguistic evidence. The lack of objective evidence has inspired this quantitative-based study of the degree of intensity in translation, which, within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), is an important device of fine-tuning taken by a speaker to express interpersonal judgments. For politically sensitive texts, shifts in the degrees of intensity may have ideological consequences. This study examines the degree of intensity in the Chinese translation of Jung Chang’s politically volatile *Wild Swans* (1991), and compares results with another translation and two larger reference corpora. Results show that, whereas Chinese indeed prefers more and higher degrees of intensity, translators nevertheless have a degree of freedom in decision-making, which can be consequential in meaning and ideology.

Keywords: degree of intensity, corpus-based, translation, ideology, *Wild Swans*

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¹³ This paper has been prepared with a journal in functional grammar, *Functional Linguistics*, as the target.

Authors' contributions

Long initiated the study, collected and analyzed the data, and drafted the manuscript. Canzhong provided technical support and methodological guidance, and critically revised the draft.

6.1 Introduction

A number of Chinese migrant writers (CMW) have achieved success with writing in English in the past three decades. Globally, *Wild Swans* (1991/2003) by Chinese-British writer Jung Chang is the summit of success ever achieved by a CMW: it has sold more than thirteen million copies worldwide and has been translated into 37 languages. In Australia, another Chinese migrant writer has achieved an enormous success: *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003/2009) by Chinese-Australian ballet dancer Li Cunxin is already a household name; its young readers' edition has been used extensively in the English curriculum. Due to their explicitly accusative tone toward the Communist Party of China (CPC), neither book has been allowed for publication in Mainland China. Nevertheless, they have been translated into traditional Chinese (Chang 1992/2011, C. Li 2009) and published in Taiwan, which is known for its freedom of press (Freedomhouse 2016). Both translations are in an unusual situation where Source Text (ST) authors have written about their life experiences in Communist China for English readers, and subsequently contributed directly to the decision-making for the Chinese translation. However, Chapters 4 and 5 have shown a large number of lexicogrammatical shifts in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* that indicates a manipulation of political ideology.

This paper, as a continuation of previous chapters, adopts Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014) as the underlying theoretical framework. Chapter 4 on TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSE STATUS in the ST and TT of *Wild Swans* has found that the Chinese TT is a more personalized account, and less interpretive of history when compared to the ST. In addition, the Chinese TT shows a backgrounding of the agency of Mao during the Cultural Revolution, but a foregrounding of the agency of the young people of the day: the general students and the Red Guards. The study on the interpersonal metafunction – MOOD and MODALITY (L. Li 2017) – confirms the finding that the TT is more personalized. In addition, the Chinese translation expresses more and higher degrees of MODALITY than the English source text does, particularly high obligation. Moreover, shifts in MODALITY have revealed a more favourable evaluation of Zhou Enlai, who was the Premier of China from 1949 till his death in 1976, and who has been generally well respected in China, but a harsher

criticism of Madame Mao, Jiang Qing, who had a close association with the notorious Gang of Four. A similar study has been conducted on MODALITY in the translation of *Mao's Last Dancer*, and, while the overall trends of shifts are similar to those in the translation of *Wild Swans*, the extent of shifts are nowhere as dramatic as those in the translation of *Wild Swans*. Likewise, no clear patterns of ideological shifts have been identified in the translation of *Mao's Last Dancer*.

Another important aspect of interpersonal judgment is MOOD ADJUNCT (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 189), of which DEGREE OF INTENSITY is a major sub-system. Chapters 4 and 5 were geared towards an in-depth analysis of the ideational and interpersonal meanings within SFL in selected chapters of *Wild Swans*. As expressions of intensity are predominantly adverbs, which, in English, are not subject to changes in tense, plurality or contraction, they are considered an appropriate object for a corpus-based study utilizing computational tools. Hence, this paper adopts a quantitative-based approach to the degree of intensity in the whole ST and TT of *Wild Swans*. Patterned shifts of the degree of intensity, whether in instances, density, or degree, can be ideologically invested, particularly in the translation of politically volatile texts such as *Wild Swans*, in which victimization and attribution of responsibilities are heavily involved.

This study sets out to compare the expression of the degree of intensity in the ST and Chinese TT of *Wild Swans*, which were initially published, respectively, in 1991 and 1992. In addition, to help determine whether a particular pattern of translation shifts is motivated or merely influenced by a poetological (Lefevere, 1992) norm of the target language, this paper has included four reference corpora: *Mao's Last Dancer* (Li, 2003/2009), and its Chinese translation (Li, 2009), and two external corpora, respectively, of non-translated English and non-translated Chinese.

To achieve the overall objective, the following research questions have been raised as guidance:

1. How are degrees of intensity expressed in English and in Chinese? Are there even commensurable systems?
2. What kind of shifts have occurred in the translation process in terms of instances, density and degree? What are the semantic consequences?
3. To what extent can the shifts be attributed to stylistic differences between English and Chinese? To what extent can they be classified as motivated selections?

By analysing the whole ST and TT, comparing results with another translation of a similar kind, and using two large independent corpora of non-translated texts as reference, this

article aims to find linguistic evidence to test the common claim that Chinese translations tend to employ higher (and perhaps more) intensity than English STs. Small isolated translation shifts in the degree of intensity may escape the attention of researchers or appear random and insignificant to intuition, and they are often dismissed as the stylistic preferences of the Chinese language or a translator's individual style, rather than motivated selections. However, when such shifts are found to form latent patterns (Couthard and Sinclair 1975, Butt 1988), particularly those that exceed or fall short of typological differences between English and Chinese, they may have a powerful ensemble effect on a perceptive reader, especially on a subliminal level. Shifts in these patterns, whether conscious or unconsciously made, cannot simply be dismissed as random, and may alter the ideological stance of a verbal art.

6.2 Degree of Intensity

As previously mentioned, this contrastive study of intensity initiates from Halliday and Matthiessen's concept of MODAL ADJUNCTS (2014, 189), which are types of modal assessments that extend beyond the 'core' systems of POLARITY and MODALITY within the interpersonal metafunction in SFL. Modal adjuncts include the mood adjunct and comment Adjuncts. As the name suggests, an adjunct is 'a word or group of words amplifying or modifying the meaning of another word or group of words in a sentence' (OED 2016). A mood adjunct serves to modify the Mood element, which includes 'Subject + Polarity + Finiteness' in English (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014) and 'Subject + Polarity + Predicator' in Chinese (Halliday and McDonald 2004), and the mood adjunct is closely associated with the meanings enacted by the mood system: MODALITY, TEMPORALITY and INTENSITY.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), adjuncts of intensity fall into two categories: the first type relates to the degree, which, as shown in Table 6.1, can be total, high or low; while the second type relates to expectation, which can be 'limiting' or 'exceeding' what is expected (2014, 188). Although counter-expectancy (Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer 1991, Traugott 1999, F. Wu 2004, Yuan 2008) and subjectivity (Lyons 1982, Shen 2001) are other interesting areas of research, we decided not to consider intensity of counter-expectancy in this paper, due to a lack of commensurable systems between English and Chinese from an SFL perspective.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, 189) have divided the mood adjuncts of intensity into three degrees: (1) total, such as 'totally'; (2) high, such as 'quite'; and (3) low, such as 'scarcely'. They have also provided a list of expressions of the three degrees. This paper proposes an elaborated list of the degree of intensity in English, with a few additional

expressions taken from Biber et al. (1999, 556) in their discussion of the ‘adverbs of degree’, and Martin & White (2005, 141-142) in their discussion of ‘force: intensification: isolating & maximization’, ¹⁴as shown in Table 6.1 below:

This list has excluded adverbs that are non-gradable, for instance, those that mainly serve as counter-expectancy: for example, ‘actually’, and ‘merely’. It has also left out expressions of intensity that are metaphorical, such as ‘dead’ in ‘It’s dead silent’, in order to build a list that is suitable for a corpus-based approach. In addition, concordance lines are manually excluded in this paper when a degree of intensity from the above list is used in a non-gradable sense: for example, ‘quite’ in ‘quite motionless’ (Biber et al. 1999, 556).

Table 6.1 Classification of the degree of intensity items in English
B: Biber et al. (1999, 556); M&W: Martin & White (2005, 141-142)

Degree	total	totally; utterly; entirely; completely; extremely (B); thoroughly (B); too (B); absolutely (B)
	high	quite; almost; nearly; very (B) rather (M&W); fairly (M&W); greatly (M&W)
	low	scarcely; hardly slightly (B); somewhat (B) a bit (M&W) neg.+entirely; neg.+totally; neg.+utterly; neg.+completely; neg.+too

Although this study originates from the sub-system of MOOD ADJUNCT, it was decided that all instances of the degree of intensity would be counted, regardless of whether they modify the mood element. Admittedly, those that do modify the mood element are more consequential than the adverbs of degree in a nominal group: for example, the ‘totally’ in ‘This excuse is totally unacceptable’ has heavier grammatical weight than that in ‘this is a totally unacceptable excuse’. However, the computational tool does not automatically recognise mood adjuncts. Although degree of intensity items that are situated in the mood element are expected to be in

¹⁴ Although Martin and White (2005) have discussed ‘intensification’ in detail, their discussion may overall be suitable for an in-depth, qualitative study of English expressions of intensity, but not for a corpus-based approach to translation studies, as they have not proposed a clear paradigm of three degrees, nor has the applicability of their Appraisal system to Chinese been demonstrated.

the clear majority, it would nevertheless be cumbersome to manually delete all instances of non-mood adjuncts when working with a large body of text such as the FLOB Corpus. In addition, all instances of the degree of intensity are meaningful. Therefore, the results in this paper have included both mood and non-mood adjuncts of the degree of intensity items.

6.2.1 *Degree of Intensity in Chinese*

In Chinese linguistics, degree of intensity is usually studied under the name, ‘adverbs of intensity’ (程度副詞 *chéngdù fùcí*) (Lü 1982/2002, 146-149, Zhu 1982, 196-197, Hu 1962, 290, Fang 2014). However, gradable intensity is often mixed with non-gradable intensity such as those of counter-expectancy, and most studies do not have a clearly gradable paradigm of intensity. Amongst these scholars, Lü Shuxiang (1982/2002, 146-149) has identified adverbs (副詞 *fùcí*) and quantifiers (數量詞 *shùliàng cí*) of three degrees: low degree – including adverbs of high intensity in negation; high degree; and total degree and beyond. According to him, such adverbs or quantifiers are generally placed in front of the adjective or verb; however, some, such as ‘很 *hěn*’, can be placed either before or after the adjective/verb; whereas some such as ‘厲害 *lihài*’ and ‘慌 *huāng*’ can only be placed after the adjective/verb. Lü also points out that adverbs of high or total intensity may lose their ‘cutting edge’ (鋒芒 *fēngmáng*) once they have been in usage for a long time: for example, ‘很 *hěn*’ (very) no longer means ‘very’, and ‘太 *tài*’ (too) no longer expresses an intensity beyond totality. In this paper, whereas the computational tool will assist in identifying lexico-grammatical patterns, such semantic and pragmatic considerations will be taken into account as an afterthought for the translation shifts identified.

This paper adopts Lü’s list of the degree of intensity in Chinese, which itself is a substantial list. Degree of low intensity appears commensurable with the English list. However, there is a clear misalignment between Lü’s intensity of total degree and beyond, and the English list in Table 6.1: some of the obviously literal translations of the English degree of intensity are not part of Lü’s list. Likewise, two expressions of high intensity in English with a similar meaning – ‘nearly’ and ‘almost’ – also do not have an equivalence in Lü’s list. To make sure the literal Chinese renditions of these English degree items are not missed out, a decision was made to add the appropriate Chinese translations of these English words based on Lu Gusun’s *English-Chinese Dictionary* (2007). The extended list is shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Classification of the degree of intensity items in Chinese (Traditional characters)

Degree	total & beyond	極 至 絕 太 無限 十分 十二分 萬分 百分之百 Additions made from Lu's dictionary entries: 完全 全部地 整個地 全然 徹底 完整地 圓滿
	high	很 非常 挺 怪 特別 特 酷 大 老 甚 慌 厲害 Additions: 幾乎 差不多 將近 快要 近乎 相當 頗
	low	還 稍 少 小 有點 有些 點 些 不大 不很 不甚 不完全 Additions: 幾乎+neg. 簡直+neg. 不完全 不全

The Chinese list appears longer than the English list; this echoes a previous finding (L. Li 2017) that Chinese has more expressions of modality than English does, as Chinese modality is more lexicalized, whereas English modality is more grammaticalized. Although the expressions in each category may not be strictly identical between the two languages, when all appropriate expressions are categorized into groups, such groups are then considered commensurable¹⁵.

6.3 Data and Methodology

6.3.1 Data Selection

In the absence of electronic versions, the ST and TT of *Wild Swans* were converted from hard copies to machine-readable texts. All copies were used strictly for private academic research under ‘fair dealing’. The machine-readable texts were then manually proofread to minimize any errors occurring during the automatic conversion process. The ST and TT of *Mao's Last Dancer* were collected through the same process. The only difference is that, instead of the

¹⁵ The only typological difference is the location of adverbs, which is more flexible in English. Adverbs of intensity can be placed at four possible locations in English: (1) thematic (before the Subject, (2+3) neutral (just before, or after, the Finite verbal operator), (4) afterthought (at the end of the clause) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 187). Unlike Chinese adverbs such as “*lì -hai*” and “*huāng*”, no English adverb has an obligatory afterthought position. Nevertheless, the position of the degree of intensity does not affect results in the present, quantitative-based study.

A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH TO THE DEGREES OF INTENSITY

whole books, seventeen out of the thirty-three chapters were selected, to strike a balance between labour intensity and representativeness. Details of the four texts are listed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Information of the four chosen texts

Books	Chapters	Number of word tokens	Year of 1 st Publication	Reference Corpus	Size of RC
Wild Swans-ST	All	220,399	1991	FLOB	A million words
Wild Swans-TT	All	199,493*	1992	LCMC	A million words
Mao's Last Dancer-ST	6-22	79,503	2003		
Mao's Last Dancer-TT	6-22	77,254*	2009		

[As there are no spaces that mark word boundaries in natural Chinese texts as in English, the word counts of the two TTs are estimated based on McEnery and Xiao's (2003-2008) rough guideline of a ratio of 1:1.6 of words to characters.]

Table 6.3 shows that both translations contain fewer words than the STs, although the gap is rather small between the ST and TT of *Mao's Last Dancer*, whereas the TT of *Wild Swans* has at least 20,000 less words than its ST, and it indeed appears to be a condensed translation, with more omissions than additions, confirming findings in the analysis of ideational meanings in Chapter 4.

To distinguish language typology and motivated selections, the ST and TT of *Wild Swans* will be compared, respectively, with the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB) (Mair 1999) and the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC) (McEnery and Xiao 2004), both being million-word corpora that were designed to closely match the LOB Corpus (Leech and Johansson 1976); LCMC was designed as the Chinese match for FLOB so that contrastive studies can be made between English and Chinese.

The reasons for the choice of reference corpora are fourfold. Firstly, FLOB and LCMC are matching corpora, and both were carefully designed to be balanced with systematic collections of sampling (Hundt, Sand and Siemund 1999, Xiao 2016) to ensure representativeness of the published British English and Mandarin Chinese¹⁶; LCMC is the most

¹⁶ Although the word "Mandarin" in the title makes LCMC sound like a corpus of spoken Chinese, it is in fact of written Chinese. LCMC is a collection of published works in Mainland China, but *Wild Swans* was published in Taiwan; however, the main producers of the TT – the translator and the ST author – were both of Mainland Chinese background. Admittedly, the Taiwanese editors may have

balanced and representative Chinese corpus that is publicly available. Secondly, both corpora are collections of texts either in 1991 or within ± 2 years of 1991, and the ST and TT of *Wild Swans* were, respectively, published in 1991 and 1992. Therefore, both corpora are extremely time-appropriate as a reference. Thirdly, these corpora are either publicly available or free access can be requested. Lastly, their million-word size¹⁷ guarantees valuable insight into the probabilistic grammar (Halliday 1991) of the degree of intensity in English and Chinese. With these four reasons, FLOB and LCMC are considered the best possible reference corpora for the purpose of this paper.

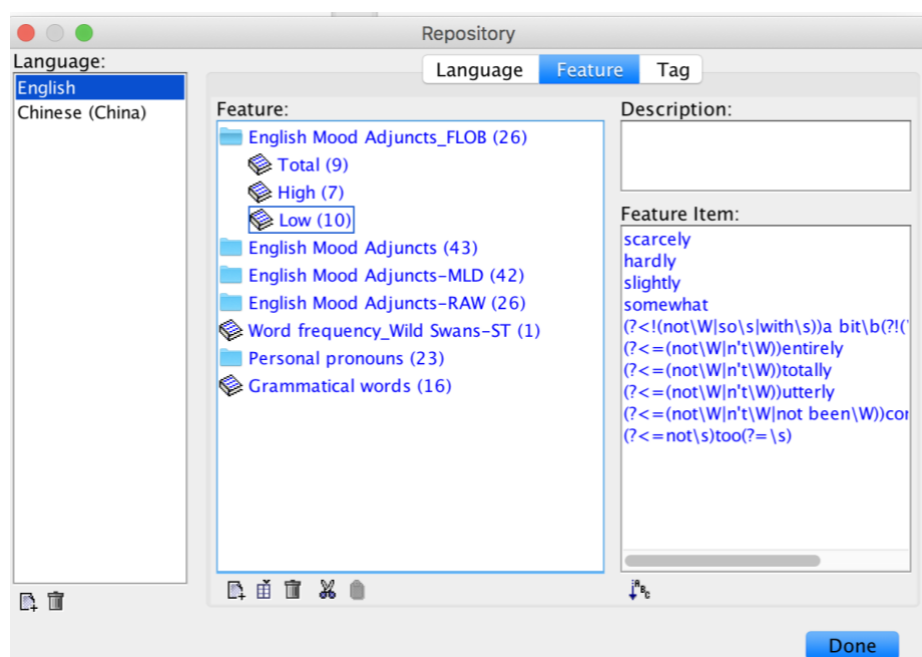
6.3.2 Data Analysis

As shown in Figure 6.1, the concordance programme SysConc¹⁸ (Wu 2000) has been used to create the list of features of the degree of intensity in English and Chinese, to search for selected features simultaneously within a given body of text, generate quantitative results, and show and export concordance lines.

injected their stylistic preferences into the TT. This paper therefore took into consideration a few degree of intensity items that are more commonly used in Taiwanese Mandarin, such as “蠻 mán”, “超 chāo” and “比較 bǐ-jiào” (Fang 2014, 89-90); however, as none of these were found in the TT of *Wild Swans* or *Mao’s Last Dancer*; a decision was made to exclude these expressions.

¹⁷ Admittedly, a million words is the typical size of the first-generation corpus (Leech 1991), and is not considered large in comparison to later corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC) – 100 million words from 1980s and early 1990s (2007). Nevertheless, size is not all-important (Leech 1991), and a balanced million-word corpus is by no means small: Matthiessen (2006) has recommended a limit of 15,000 words for a specialized English corpus, which echoes Sankoff’s view (1980) (in Milroy 1987, 21) that linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous.

¹⁸ Access to SysConc can be requested by emailing the developer, Dr Canzhong Wu, at Macquarie University in Sydney: Canzhong.Wu@mq.edu.au.

Figure 6.1 Building feature lists of the degree of intensity in SysConc

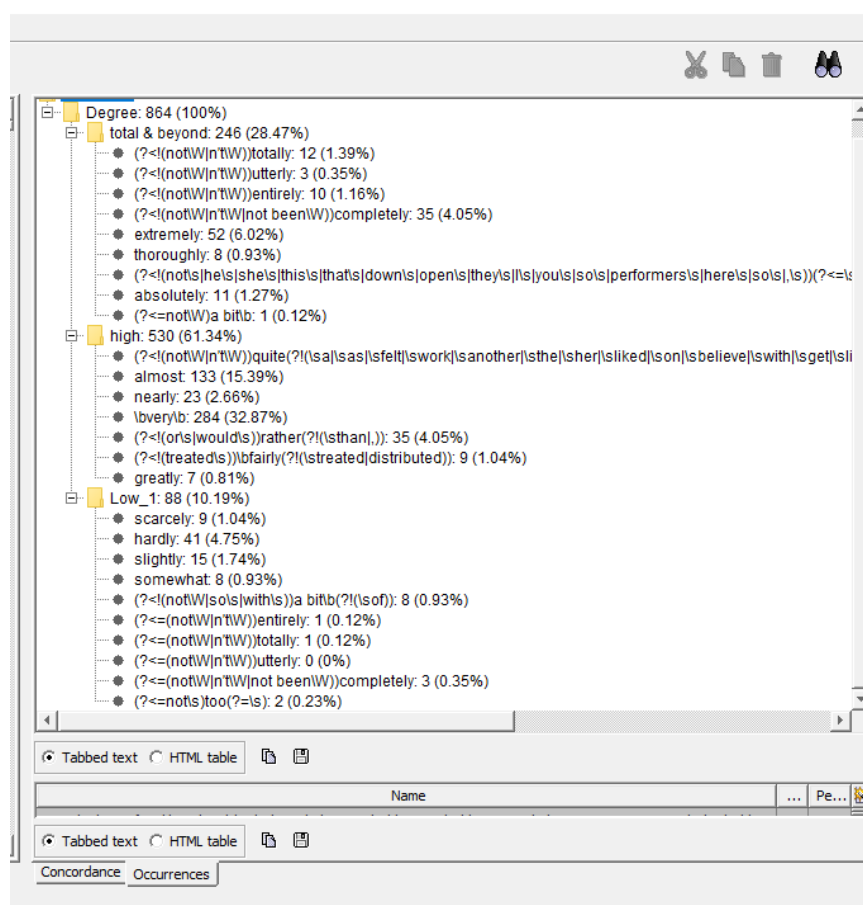
Raw features of the English and Chinese degree of intensity listed in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, respectively, were built in SysConc. Then, searches for the features as regular expressions were carried out on the whole ST and TT of *Wild Swans*; however, at this stage the percentages of relevant concordance lines were only 53% in English and 19% in Chinese. Irrelevant lines needed to be excluded. Scanning all concordance lines showed three main types of error. Firstly, although the negation of outer degree of intensity would change or reverse the degree, this reversion had not been built in the raw features: for example, ‘completely’ expresses total intensity, but ‘neg.+completely’ expresses low intensity. This problem was solved by using a regular-expression construct from the manual of SysConc that would exclude negation in front of the high intensity: for example, the feature (?<!(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely only searches for the positive ‘completely’, and (?<=(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely only searches for ‘neg.+completely’. Secondly, some unwanted words which contain a featured item came up: for example, ‘every’ for ‘very’. This issue was addressed with the additional word boundary: \bvery\b. Thirdly, when a word had the semantic potential to express both a relevant meaning (degree of intensity) and irrelevant meanings, the raw features had failed to distinguish them. This problem was tackled by identifying the word collocations with the relevant or irrelevant meanings, and subsequently including/excluding those associations beforehand or afterwards, depending on whether inclusion or exclusion would be easier: for example, (?<!(treated\s))\bfairly(?!(\streated\sdistributed)) ensures that all concordance lines

containing the word ‘fairly’ express a degree of intensity by excluding any irrelevant associations in *Wild Swans-ST*.

The revised features were tested and revised a few more times, until no more irrelevant concordance lines could be found. The methodology is reasonably straightforward, but in fact the process was unexpectedly time-consuming, as it could take hours to scroll down thousands of raw concordance lines whilst trying to identify patterns required to revise one feature. It was particularly labour-intensive for the development of Chinese features, as the percentage of irrelevant lines was very high to start with. These problems were amplified when the same feature lists were tested on larger corpora such as LCMC. As previously mentioned, correct concordance lines were found either by including all relevant collocations or excluding all irrelevant collocations, depending on which approach would require less labour. For instance, it was decided that exclusion would be more efficient for the feature of low Chinese intensity ‘點 *diǎn*’ (*a bit*); even so, a total of 102 exclusions had to be specified in this case, with 43 on the left and 49 on the right side, to rule out all irrelevant concordance lines. Further effort was required in revising the Chinese features for LCMC, as LCMC had been automatically annotated for word boundaries with spaces, whereas the initial features built for *Wild Swans-TT* were built for texts without word boundaries. The revision of features was essentially a rewriting process. Nevertheless, the final features¹⁹ have been built to be compatible with LCMC, a million-word corpus of simplified written Chinese, and should be applicable to other Chinese corpora with word boundaries without major revision; features are available in both simplified and traditional characters.

When the feature lists were successfully built, SysConc could then generate quantitative results by searching for the instances of different degrees of intensity, as shown in Figure 6.2.

¹⁹ SysConc and all features built for this paper are available upon request to the present authors.

Figure 6.2 Some quantitative results generated by SysConc

Results were then compared between the ST and TT of *Wild Swans*, between *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, and between *Wild Swans* and the reference corpora.

6.4 Results and Interpretations

6.4.1 Degree of Intensity in *Wild Swans*

As a translation, the Chinese version of *Wild Swans* has employed considerably more instances of the degree of intensity than has the English ST, with a 67.2% increase from 864 in the ST to 1,445 in the TT. This also affects the density of the degree of intensity across the books: the number of the degree of intensity items per 10,000 words in the TT is 72.4, whereas it is only 39.2 in the ST.

The intensity items expressed in the TT are also of higher value: amongst the three degrees, total degree has increased considerably in both instances and percentage. Amongst the high intensity instances, the increases of ‘很 *hěn*’ (634 times) and ‘非常 *fēi-cháng*’ (89 times), which are both in equivalence with ‘very’ (284 times), stand out quantitatively as the most dramatic increases for a single word in the translation. However, the semantic consequence is

less significant than for the increase of total intensity, such as ‘extremely’. Firstly, as Lü points out, ‘很 *hěn*’ no longer strongly indicates high intensity in Chinese. Secondly, although not obligatory, it is common to translate the Finite ‘am’ in ‘I am+*adjective*’, for example, ‘I am happy’, into ‘很 *hěn*’ (literally: I very happy), as there is no grammatical equivalence of ‘am’ in Chinese as a Finite: the word ‘是 *shì*’ (be) is generally only equivalent to the English ‘be’ used in ‘be+noun’, such as ‘I am an Australian’. Even though the semantic consequence is not significant, a translator who abides by the principle of accuracy should avoid adding an intensity of high degree unnecessarily, as the accumulated effect of such patterns will create a TT that is more strident than the ST, such as in this case. As mentioned, shifts in the total degree are more consequential, as they project the highest degree of interpersonal judgement, and are generally not obligatory or semi-obligatory. In this case, they have increased by a dramatic 80.5%, from 246 to 444, which, by percentage, is much higher than the increase of high intensity.

Table 6.4 Degree of intensity in the ST and TT of *Wild Swans*

	Total Degree	High	Low	Sum
<i>Wild Swans</i> -ST	246 (28.51%)	529 (61.3%)	88 (10.19%)	863 (100%)
Top expressions of the degree of intensity	too: 114 extremely: 52 completely: 35 totally: 12	very: 284 almost: 133 quite: 39 rather: 35 nearly: 23	hardly: 41 slightly: 15 scarcely: 9 a bit: 8 somewhat: 8	
<i>Wild Swans</i> -TT	444 (30.73%)	844 (58.41%)	157 (10.87%)	1,445 (100%)
Top expressions	太 <i>tài</i> : 130 極 <i>jí</i> : 89 完全 <i>wánquán</i> : 86 十分 <i>shífēn</i> : 79	很 <i>hěn</i> : 634 非常 <i>fēicháng</i> : 89 幾乎 <i>jīhū</i> : 57 特別 <i>tèbié</i> : 23	點 <i>diǎn</i> : 55 稍 <i>shāo</i> : 30 幾 乎 <i>jīhū</i> +neg.: 21 還 <i>hái</i> : 18	

The way these patterns echo previous findings (L. Li 2017), that *Wild Swans*-TT employs more and higher MODALITY, opens up the question whether the increases in higher intensity are influenced by broader stylistic preferences in Chinese. Hence, these results have been compared with the translation of *Mao's Last Dancer* and the two reference corpora.

6.4.2 Comparison between *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer***Table 6.5** Degree of Intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer*

	Total degree	High	Low	Sum
<i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> -ST	115 (37.83%)	168 (55.26%)	21 (6.91%)	304 (100%)
Top expressions of the degree of intensity	too: 74 completely: 21 totally: 6 extremely: 4	very: 109 nearly: 31 almost: 12 quite: 10	hardly: 8 slightly: 7 not too: 4 not totally | a bit: 1	
<i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> -TT	154 (18.36%)	637 (75.92%)	48 (5.72%)	839 (100%)
Top expressions	太 <i>tài</i> : 76 極 <i>jí</i> : 22 完全 <i>wánquán</i> : 15 點 <i>diǎn</i> +neg.: 11	很 <i>hěn</i> : 514 非常 <i>fēi-cháng</i> : 77 幾乎 <i>jīhū</i> : 20 特別 <i>tèbié</i> : 6	點 <i>diǎn</i> : 14 不太 <i>bútài</i> : 9 些 <i>xiē</i> : 7 稍 <i>shāo</i> /還 <i>hái</i> /幾乎 <i>jī-hū</i> +neg.: 4	

In comparison to *Wild Swans*, the ST of *Mao's Last Dancer* has slightly lower density of the degree of intensity: 38.2 per 10,000 words versus 39.2 in *Wild Swans*. However, *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST expresses much higher intensity: 37.83% of its degree of intensity items are of total degree; in addition, the percentage of low intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* is a mere 6.91%. As the MODALITY chapter also found higher MODALITY expressed in *Mao's Last Dancer* than in *Wild Swans*, *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST clearly expresses stronger and more strident interpersonal judgements than does *Wild Swans*-ST.

The main expressions of the degree of intensity chosen in the two English works are reasonably similar, despite that *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer* were, respectively, considered examples of British and Australian English, with the latter published 12 years later. As Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show, *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer* share the top four expressions of total degree, too / completely / totally / extremely, with a slightly different order in the last three. Likewise, they share three out of the top four expressions of high degree, very / almost / quite, with a slightly different ordering, and two out of the top four expressions of low degree.

When it comes to the Chinese translations, however, there are both similarities and differences. On one hand, *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT, like *Wild Swans*-TT, contains more instances and higher density of degree of intensity than do the respective STs, although the overall quantitative increase from 304 in the ST to 839 in the case of *Mao's Last Dancer* is more dramatic than shifts in *Wild Swans*. The density of the degree of intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT also sits at a staggering 108.6 per 10,000 words, as compared to 72.4 in *Wild Swans*-TT. Therefore, both TTs contain more and denser degree of intensity than the STs do. In addition, both TTs express higher degree of intensity than do the STs.

On the other hand, there are sharp contrasts between the two translations. Whereas considerable shifts have occurred across the three degrees of intensity in the case of *Wild Swans*, with those in the total degree being the most semantically consequential, shifts in the case of *Mao's Last Dancer* are concentrated in the strand of high intensity, with a dramatic 279% increase from 168 to 637. However, as in the case of *Wild Swans*, this is largely due to the addition of ‘很 *hěn*’ and ‘非常 *fēi-cháng*’, which are too common to be consequential in English to Chinese translation: there are 109 ‘very’ in *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST, but 514 ‘很 *hěn*’ and 77 ‘非常 *fēi-cháng*’ in *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT. If these three words are removed from the data, the increases of total, high and low degree of intensity from *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST to *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT would, respectively, be 39, 47 and 27; which, compared to *Wild Swans*, can be considered as minor. This also echoes the MODALITY chapter that, despite both translations expressing more and higher MODALITY, the translation of *Mao's Last Dancer* is undoubtedly more faithful.

In terms of the choices in the expression of the degree of intensity in Chinese, the two translations also share overwhelming similarities: the two TTs share the identical top five expressions of high intensity, 很 *hěn*/ 非常 *fēicháng*/ 幾乎 *jīhū*/ 特別 *tèbié*/ 相當 *xiāngdāng*, identical top three expressions of total intensity, 太 *tài*/ 極 *jí*/ 完全 *wánquán*, and the top four expressions of low intensity, with a different order, 稍 *shāo*/ 點 *diǎn*/ 些 *xiē*/ 還 *hái*/ 幾乎 *jīhū* +neg.

In short, when ‘very’, ‘很 *hěn*’ (very) and ‘非常 *fēi-cháng*’ (very) are not taken into consideration, the translation of the degree of intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* can be said to be rather faithful. As in the case of the translation of MODALITY, the TT of *Wild Swans* deviates more from the ST through shifts of the degree of intensity; such a sharp contrast with the case of *Mao's Last Dancer* shows that shifts in *Wild Swans*, especially in the total degree, cannot be dismissed as merely random, or the results of stylistic preferences in Chinese. Nevertheless,

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similarities between the two translations indeed suggest potential preference in Chinese for more and higher degree of intensity in comparison to English. This hypothesis has been verified with comparisons to the reference corpora.

6.4.3 Comparison between Wild Swans-ST & FLOB, and between Wild Swans-TT & LCMC

Table 6.6 Degree of intensity in FLOB Corpus and LCMC Corpus

	Total Intensity	High	Low	Sum
FLOB	878 (26.13%)	2,044 (60.83%)	438 (13.04%)	3,360 (100%)
Top Expressions	too: 506 completely: 90 entirely: 82 extremely: 66 totally: 45	very: 1,081 almost: 394 quite: 250 nearly: 120 rather: 110	slightly: 118 hardly: 109 a bit: 103 somewhat: 56 scarcely: 20	
LCMC	1,471 (29.87%)	2,843 (57.73%)	611 (12.41%)	4,925 (100%)
Top Expressions	太 <i>tài</i> : 342 十分 <i>shífēn</i> : 319 极 <i>jí</i> : 298 完全 <i>wánquán</i> : 260 绝 <i>jué</i> : 138	很 <i>hěn</i> : 1,726 大 <i>dà</i> : 308 非常 <i>fēicháng</i> : 219 几乎 <i>jīhū</i> : 134 相 当 <i>xiāngdāng</i> : 126	些 <i>xiē</i> : 194 点 <i>diǎn</i> : 136 稍 <i>shāo</i> : 120 还 <i>hái</i> : 36 不太 <i>bú tài</i> : 36 不大 <i>bú dà</i> : 25	

As FLOB and LCMC were carefully designed as parallel corpora, together they provide a sound basis for contrastive studies of Chinese and English. A comparison of FLOB and LCMC shows that naturally occurring, written Chinese texts (with no translated texts) employ more expressions of the degree of intensity, as LCMC contains 1,565 or 46.6% more instances of the degree of intensity than its British English counterpart does. As both corpora are of a million words, LCMC clearly has a higher density of the degree of intensity: 49.25 per 10,000 words, as compared to 33.6 per 10,000 words in FLOB. In addition, Chinese texts express slightly higher degrees, with a slightly lower percentage of low degree than in FLOB. In short, authentic written Chinese texts express considerably more and slightly higher intensity than do British English texts.

The percentages of the degree of intensity in *Wild Swans* do not greatly differ from those in FLOB; although it is clear that *Wild Swans* expresses higher intensity than average written British texts of its era, with higher percentages in both total and high degree. Regarding the choices of expression, clear resemblance is also detected between *Wild Swans* and FLOB, as shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Most common expressions of the degree of intensity in British English in 1991

Degree of Intensity	<i>Wild Swans</i> – ST	FLOB
Total	1. too 2. extremely 3. completely 4. totally 5. <i>absolutely</i>	1. too 2. completely 3. <i>entirely</i> 4. extremely 5. totally
High	1. very 2. almost 3. quite 4. rather 5. nearly	1. very 2. almost 3. quite 4. nearly 5. rather
Low	1. hardly 2. slightly 3. scarcely 4. somewhat / a bit	1. slightly 2. hardly 3. a bit 4. somewhat 5. scarcely

As Table 6.7 shows, *Wild Swans* shares nearly all top expressions of the degree of intensity with FLOB, with the same or slightly different order, the only exception being the two expressions of total degree: ‘absolutely’ in *Wild Swans*, and ‘entirely’ in FLOB. This shows that, despite the fact that *Wild Swans* was written by a Chinese migrant writer whose first language was not English, patterns of, at least, choices in the degree of intensity are highly typical of the usage in the British written English of its year; such high resemblance may be due to either the conscious effort of Chang to adopt the British conventions or to the copyediting process. Despite the similarities, *Wild Swans* expresses slightly more strident intensity and contains slightly higher density of the degree of intensity than average, perhaps due to its political nature.

Wild Swans-TT has significantly higher density of the degree of intensity than does the average written Chinese texts of its era, 72.4 per 10,000 in *Wild Swans-TT* versus 46.6 in LCMC. In addition, *Wild Swans-TT* also expresses slightly higher degree of intensity than does the reference corpus; the differences in percentages are minor, yet the degree of intensity items in *Wild Swans-TT* are clearly higher. With regard to the choices in the expression of the degree of intensity, high resemblance is also found, although it is not as close as what was found

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between *Wild Swans*-ST and FLOB, or between *Wild Swans*-TT and *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT. This is perhaps partly due to the presence of 'translationese' in the two TTs, which sets translated Chinese texts apart from authentic Chinese texts. One such case that stands out is the word 'hěn'. Whereas it takes up most of high degree of intensity in all translated and non-translated Chinese corpora, its percentages are considerably higher in translated texts, respectively, at 75% and 81% in *Wild Swans*-TT and *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT. However, in LCMC, 'hěn' only takes up 61% of all high degree of intensity. This shows that translated Chinese texts express higher degree of intensity with a higher-than-average percentage of 'hěn', and may lack the balance and variety of the choices in degree of intensity pertaining to authentic Chinese texts.

Table 6.8 Most common expressions of the degree of intensity in Chinese around 1991

Degree of Intensity	<i>Wild Swans</i> – TT (traditional characters)	LCMC (simplified characters with traditional characters in brackets)
Total	1. 太 2. 極 3. 完全 4. 十分 5. 絕	1. 太 2. 十分 6. 极(極) 3. 完全 4. 绝(絕)
High	1. 很 2. 非常 3. 幾乎 4. 特別 5. 相當	1. 很 2. 大 3. 非常 4. 几乎(幾乎) 5. 相当(相當)
Low	1. (有/有一/一) 點 2. 稍 3. 幾乎+NEG 4. 還 5. (有/有一/一) 些 簡直+NEG	1. (有/有一/一) 点(點) 2. 稍 3. (有/有一/一) 些 4. 还(還) 不太 5. 不大

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 show the percentages and density of total intensity (and beyond) in the six chosen domains of study.

Figure 6.3 Percentages of the intensity of total degree (and beyond)

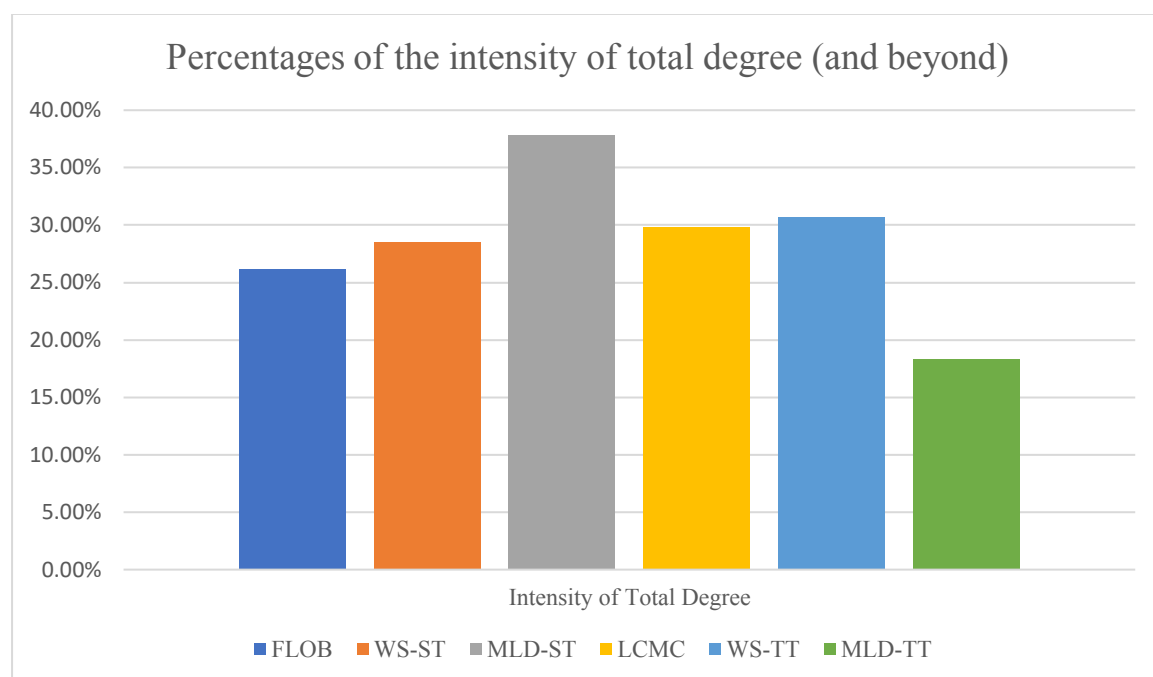
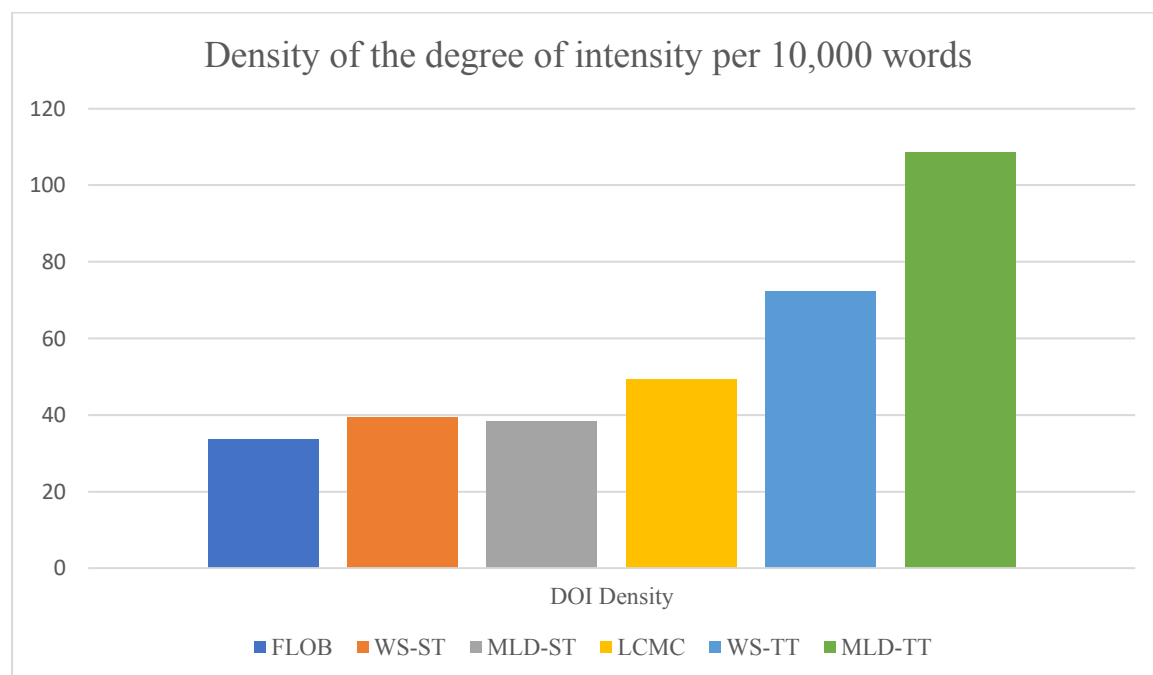


Figure 6.4 Density of the degree of intensity per 10,000 words



As previously mentioned, the comparison between FLOB and LCMC shows that Chinese texts appear more strident than English texts, with more degree of intensity (46.6% more per certain words), or higher density of the degree of intensity (49.25 in Chinese versus 33.6 in English per 10,000 words), and a higher percentage of intensity of total degree. Therefore, increases in the instances of degree of intensity, especially in the total degree and

beyond in a Chinese translation, can be partially attributed to stylistic preferences in Chinese. However, as shown in Figures 6.3 and 6.4, the density of degree of intensity and percentages of total degree in *Wild Swans*-TT have exceeded not only those in the ST but also those in LCMC. Therefore, it becomes clear that the increase of degree of intensity, especially that of total degree, in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* cannot be merely dismissed as arising from stylistic differences between two languages, but rather were brought about by motivated selections to express stronger interpersonal judgements in the TT than in the ST. Such selections were further explicated when the translation of *Wild Swans* was compared to that of *Mao's Last Dancer*: in the latter case, there is no significant increase of total degree, and shifts in the degree of intensity are considered minor, except for the twice discussed issue of the addition of 'hěn' in Chinese.

6.4.4 Shifts in the image of represented participants in *Wild Swans* and their ideological consequences

Echoing the MODALITY paper, the present study has found that shifts in the DEGREE OF INTENSITY in *Wild Swans* can have the semantic consequence of creating a Chinese version that is interpersonally more strident than the English source text. When it comes to the changing representation and evaluation of historical Chinese leaders, this study has found patterns of ideological shifts that echo the shifts identified in the TRANSITIVITY and MODALITY chapters.

6.4.4.1 Degree of intensity and 'I'

Whereas a considerable overall increase of intensity of total degree, from 246 to 444 – an 80% increase – has been found from the ST to the TT, this increase is found to be more dramatic when it comes to matters that concern the author personally. A total of 43 English clauses have been found in the entire ST that contain both a token of total intensity and 'I' (or 'me'). In contrast, a total of 87 Chinese clauses have been found that contain both a total intensity and '我' (wǒ: I). This echoes a finding in the TRANSITIVITY chapter, that the Chinese translation is a more personalised account than the English ST; it also echoes a finding in the MODALITY paper that the Chinese TT tends to express stronger interpersonal assessment than does the English ST, toward matters that concern the author personally. For example, Example 6.1 expresses the author's frustration over her difficulty with carrying goat droppings and manure on her back, and with pouring them from the basket onto the field, when she was sent to the countryside to work with the peasants.

Example 6.1

		DOI used
ST	When I finally arrived at the field I saw the peasant women <u>skillfully</u> unloading by bending their waists sideways and tilting the baskets in such a way that the contents poured out.	n/a
TT	當我終於走到 那塊空地時，我看到背糞的農婦們都 <u>十分靈巧地</u> 把腰斜著一扭...	Total degree
BT	When I finally arrived at that empty field, I saw the manure-carrying peasant women all <u>extremely skillfully</u> bending their waists...	

By turning up the degree to which the peasant women were considered skilful, the Chinese translation provides sharper contrast between the skilfulness of the peasant women and the clumsiness of the author; which in turn conveys a stronger sense of self-mocking in Chinese and projects stronger differentiation and incompatibility between the author and the peasants. This serves to sharpen the personal resentment toward Mao's policy of sending the urban youths to the countryside.

Example 6.2

		DOI used
ST	My father also found it difficult to strike up a close relationship with Jin-ming, but he was very close to me.	1) n/a; 2) high degree
TT	我父親也 <u>很難</u> 接近京明，但卻和我 <u>十分</u> 親密。	1) high degree;
BT	My father also found it very difficult to get close to Jin-ming, but was extremely close to me.	2) total degree.

Whereas the first addition of ‘很 hěn’ is likely to be influenced by the previously mentioned typological difference, the second shift from ‘very’ to ‘十分 shí-fēn’ (completely/extremely) is a more noticeable shift, which cannot be plainly accounted for by any inherent linguistic difference. The Chinese translation suggests a closer tie between the author and her father.

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Many similar examples can be found in supporting the claim that the Chinese translation expresses higher degree of intensity toward matters that are personally related to the author.

Another important difference between the ST and the TT is that more total intensity items are found to modify positive attributes in the TT, such as total degree + happy, excited, relaxed, close/intimate, pleasantly surprised, and beautiful: a total of 13 instances of Chinese total intensity are found to modify a positive attribute. In comparison, the English total intensity is used overwhelmingly to modify negative attributes, such as scared, sad, aggressive, dominated, horrified, and irritated: only two out of the 43 instances of total intensity are used to modify positive attributes. This differences in valence suggests that the increase in the stridency of intensity is not inherently ideological, and that more factors such as valence can be taken into consideration: although both the positive and negative attributes and states associated with ‘I’ have been enhanced in the Chinese translation, the author as narrator ‘I’ may be seen as being less sad and miserable in the Chinese translation due to the higher increase in the use of total intensity in conjunction with a negative attribute.

6.4.4.2 Degree of intensity and Mao

Whereas the higher stridency of the Chinese translation is clearly reflected in the translation of clauses that contain both total degree and ‘I’, the trend of increasing stridency may not be considered to apply to the translation of clauses that contain both total degree and ‘Mao’. Although the number of clauses that contain both a total intensity and ‘Mao’ has increased from 9 in the ST to 16 in the TT, a number of translation shifts in fact consistently show that the Chinese translation tones down some over-statements about Mao in English.

The omission of the three instances of the English total degree in the Chinese translation suggests potential exaggeration in the English ST when presenting something as a quote of Mao to “Western” readers; such exaggeration cannot be easily verified by English-speaking readers. The three tokens of total intensity help construe an image of Mao as being aggressive and impatient. However, as it may be easier for Chinese readers to verify the source of information, Mao’s quotes in English had to be translated into his original wordings, which, in the case of these examples, are in fact without any use of the degree of intensity and therefore less strident than what Chang has claimed in English. This echoes previous findings in the present thesis, that certain translation shifts can be considered as attempts to rectify the over-interpretation of history in the English ST.

Examples 6.3-6.5

ST	TT	BT
Mao had said that 'education must be thoroughly revolutionized.'	毛澤東說過[教育要革命]	Mao had said that 'education <u>must be</u> revolutionized'.
Mao had accused schools and universities of having taken in too many children of the bourgeoisie.	毛澤東指責中學、大學偏重資產階級子弟，	Mao Zedong had accused schools and universities of <u>having biases towards</u> children of the bourgeoisie.
We needed something to occupy ourselves, and the most important thing we could do, according to Mao, was to go to factories to stir up rebellious actions against capitalist roaders. Upheaval was invading industry too slowly for Mao's liking.	那時我們沒事幹，正好毛澤東又因為工廠文革開展不起來而要年輕學生去「煽風點火」。	At that time, we had nothing to do, and it happened that Mao wanted young students to 'fan the fire' as the Cultural Revolution <u>was not being carried out</u> at the factories.

In addition, although a few Chinese clauses show total intensity when the English source clauses do not, the Chinese is nevertheless an understatement, as shown in Example 6.6.

Example 6.6

ST	TT	BT
At the same time, Mao was sowing the seeds for his own <u>deification</u> .	同時，毛澤東也播下了對他個人 絕對 忠誠的種子，	At the same time, Mao also sew seeds of <u>being absolutely loyal</u> to him.

Although the Chinese TT uses the total degree, 'jué-duì' (absolutely), it may be argued that 'being absolutely loyal to Mao' is an understatement of 'deification of Mao': the latter means treating Mao like a god. 'Deification' has occurred four times in the ST; however, it has been translated faithfully into '神化崇拜 *shénhuà chóngbài*' only twice. In Example 6.6, deification – treating Mao like a god – has been toned down in Chinese as 'being absolutely loyal'.

Whereas stronger interpersonal assessments have been expressed in Chinese toward matters that concern the author, the same cannot be said about matters that concern Mao. In

many examples, the higher degrees of intensity to construe Mao as an aggressive and impatient dictator in English have been toned down or omitted in the Chinese translation.

6.4.4.3 Degree of intensity and Madame Mao

Although both the ST and TT contain only two clauses/clause complexes that contain both a degree of intensity and ‘Madame Mao’, analysis of the four instances shows a more negative evaluation of Madame Mao in the Chinese translation, which echoes a finding from the MODALITY chapter.

Example 6.7

ST	TT	BT
Mme. Mao said publicly, ‘There were merely several hundred thousand deaths. So what? Denouncing Deng Xiaoping concerns eight hundred million people.’ Even from Mme. Mao, this sounded too outrageous to be true, but it was officially relayed to us.	毛夫人公然說：「唐山不過就死了幾十萬人嘛！有什麼了不起，批判鄧小平才是關係八億人民的大事。」這話就是出自暴戾的江青之口也好，像太暴戾過分了。	Mme. Mao said publicly, ‘weren’t there merely several hundred thousand deaths! So what? Denouncing Deng Xiaoping is the bigger matter that concerns eight hundred million people’. This sentence seems too <u>ruthless and outrageous</u> even if coming from the <u>ruthless</u> Jiang Qing (Mme. Mao)

In Example 6.7, whereas there is no shift in the intensity of total degree, the textual environment of the total degree ‘too’ expresses more negative evaluation of Madame Mao in Chinese. Although the translation of one English word, ‘outrageous’, into two Chinese words, 暴戾 (*bàoli*: ruthless and brutal) + 過分 (*guòfèn*: excessive, over the boundary), may be unremarkable, the repetition of the word 暴戾 *bàoli* (ruthless and brutal) as a quality of Madame Mao is highly charged with negative evaluation of her.

Another noticeable shift relating to the degree of intensity is the omission of 250 English words in the Chinese translation in which ‘too’ has appeared. The omitted part is a rumour that ‘Mme. Mao had personally denounced my father’ (Chang 1991/2003, 450). Considering the scale of this omission, the only plausible explanation is that this anecdote is considered too speculative and sensationalist to be included in the Chinese translation, whose readers may be able to verify the veracity of this rumour through archives of Madame Mao’s

quotes. This echoes the omission of the bulk of Mao's mental activities discussed in Chapter 4.

6.4.4.4 Degree of intensity and Zhou

Lastly, the Chinese translation of clauses that contain both an instance of a degree of intensity and 'Zhou Enlai' has shown more positive evaluation of Zhou; which echoes a finding from Chapter 5.

Example 6.8

ST	TT	BT
<u>Zhou's eyes became intent</u> . My father had an important position.	從周恩來的眼神裡可以看得出他很留心這件事，因為我父親是個高級幹部。	From Zhou Enlai's eyes, it can be seen that he (is) very concerned about this matter, because my father is a high-ranking official.

The intensity of high degree in Chinese, '很 *hěn*' (very), serves to enhance the level of Zhou's concern about the author's father, who was being persecuted in Sichuan. As previously mentioned, this additional '很 *hěn*' (very) is by no means obligatory: it could have simply been translated as '他留心這件事', meaning 'he is concerned about this matter'. Even though Zhou's concern was partly because of the father's position, the fact that Zhou was 'very concerned' instead of merely 'concerned' about the author's father must be seen as the author's more positive evaluation of Zhou in Chinese.

6.4.4.5 Summary

With more instances of degree of intensity and a higher percentage of total degree, the Chinese translation is considered a more strident version of the English source text. On one hand, the qualitative analysis in Section 4.4 has found that more strident degrees of intensity are expressed in Chinese toward matters that concern the author herself, echoing the previous finding that the Chinese translation is a more personalised account. However, the higher stridency is not inherently ideological. On the other hand, shifts in the translation of clauses that contain a degree of intensity show shifts in the evaluation of historical leaders, including Mao, Madame Mao and Premier Zhou: the Chinese translation has toned down the criticism of Mao, but has enhanced the criticism of Madame Mao and the positive evaluation of Zhou. Lastly, some shifts and omissions have suggested exaggeration and over-interpretation of history in the English source text.

6.5 Conclusion

This paper has proposed a revised list of the degree of intensity in English and Chinese based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2014), Lü (1982) and other scholars, and has utilized the computational tool, SysConc, to conduct a quantitative-based study of the shifts of the degree of intensity in the Chinese translations of two highly successful and politically sensitive English works by Chinese migrant writers. To identify and address typological differences, and ultimately to separate them from motivated selections in translating, this paper has not only compared the translation of the degree of intensity in *Wild Swans* with that in *Mao's Last Dancer* but also with two parallel reference corpora of the same era, FLOB and LCMC. The results provide an answer to the question in the paper title, that there are indeed stylistic preferences in Chinese for more strident degrees of intensity, especially with the addition of 'hěn' within the high degree. However, this does not mean that all shifts identified are attributed to such preferences. In fact, the increases in the density and degree of intensity in the translation of *Wild Swans* have both exceeded typological differences. In addition, the degree of intensity in the TT of *Mao's Last Dancer* is much more faithful to the ST than are shifts in *Wild Swans*; which is an indirect evidence that shifts of the degree of intensity in *Wild Swans* are, at least partially, the results of motivated selections in augmenting the interpersonal judgements from the ST. As these findings are consistent with results on MODALITY in Chapter 4, together they show that, in two important sub-systems through which a speaker expresses interpersonal judgements, MODALITY and DEGREE OF INTENSITY, the Chinese TT of *Wild Swans* is more strident than the ST, with higher density and higher degree of MODALITY and intensity.

The significance of this study is threefold. Firstly, it is a first attempt of a corpus-based approach to the degree of intensity between English and Chinese. Secondly, it draws attention to the semantic and ideological consequences of a translator's choice-making in terms of the degree of intensity. Lastly, it is expected that the features built for this paper can be applied directly, if not with minor revision, as a tool for translation quality assessment of a large body of texts to examine shifts in the interpersonal assessment of degree of intensity in the translation between English and Chinese.

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CHAPTER 7: A TRANSLATED VOLUME AND ITS MANY COVERS – A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGY²⁰

Long Li, Xi Li, and Jun Miao

Abstract

The front cover is often indicative of the overall theme. This sets up an interesting problem about the ideological investment in the cover of controversial books. Ideology is context-specific, and translation studies may offer a unique perspective in viewing how different cover designs may reflect ideologies. So far, a gap remains between multimodality and translation studies, especially from a social-semiotic approach. This paper therefore bridges this gap by applying Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar to an English cover of Jung Chang's *Wild Swans* and the Chinese and French translations. *Wild Swans* is a politically controversial family chronicle by a Chinese female writer in the UK, and has been critically acclaimed in the "West" but banned in Mainland China. This study has found how visual and linguistic patterns suggesting the Orientalist ideology have motivated the design of selected "Western" covers to increase the likeability and to 'back-stage' the anti-Mao motif in the book.

Keywords: book cover, translation, ideology, Orientalism, *Wild Swans*, Kress and van Leeuwen,

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²⁰ This paper has been published in the *Social Semiotics* journal.

Authors' contributions

Long initiated the study, collected and analysed the data, and drafted the manuscript. Xi analysed the Chinese data; Jun collected and analysed the French data. All critically revised the draft.

7.1 Introduction

It is common to judge a book by its cover, which is usually a reader's first impression of a book. A cover is often considered not as part of the main content of the book – the text proper – but as 'paratext' (Genette 1997). Paratext controls one's whole reading of the text' (Lejeune 1996, 45) and includes 'peritext', such as titles and chapter titles, and 'epitext' – those outside the book, such as interviews (*ibid.*, 5). The front cover not only is an important form of peritext due to its textual prominence but also has a separate potential to articulate political ideologies (Machin and van Leeuwen 2016). In addition, a cover may express ideologies that are either congruent or incongruent with the overall ideological stance of the text proper. Furthermore, within a book cover itself, the visual and verbal modes can be 'aligned', 'complementary', or refer to 'distinct aspects of meaning' (Jewitt 2009, 25).

Covers are multimodal in nature. Despite the increased interest in multimodality, there remains a significant gap in multimodal approaches to translation studies. Translation is generally conceptualised as the interlingual rendering of written text (O'Sullivan 2013); Matthiessen's (2001) criticism remains relevant in 2018 of the negligence of other semiotic systems in translation studies. On the other hand, there is also a lack of attention to translation issues within multimodal studies: for example, Taylor (2016) notes the invisibility of 'translation' in the index of Jewitt (2009). We consider that linguistics, translation studies and multimodality can learn a good deal from each other. We aim to show not only the potential of multimodal analysis as an empowering tool for translation studies, but also some potential contributions of translation studies to multimodality.

A small number of multimodal studies have been carried out on translation-related issues in the last ten years. They mostly focus on audio-visual translation (cf. Taylor 2016; Gambier 2006); other less-visited topics include: translation and the localisation of a global magazine (Chueasuai 2013), inter-semiotic interactions in comic books (Borodo 2015), text layout (Littau 2011), illustrations (Alvstad 2008; Fu 2013) and inter-semiotic poetry (Lee 2013). However, despite the significance of covers in marketing and attracting attention to translated

works, there is few systematic comparison of original and translated covers from a social-semiotic approach. For example, Yu and Song (2016) take one such approach, but have only analysed translated covers in English.

This paper therefore seeks to bridge the gap in the study of book covers by investigating two phenomena: the intersemiotic relations within a book cover, and the ideological congruence between a cover and the text proper. It applies Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design (1996) to the analysis of visual elements in book covers; analyses certain front-cover verbal elements within the full text of the books and within external corpora, using a concordance tool. The applications here are specifically to isolate influences that must be put down as being ideological in nature.

English, French, and Chinese covers of *Wild Swans* by Jung Chang are used as the domain of study. Written by a Chinese female migrant writer, *Wild Swans* is a politically volatile family chronicle that has become a best-seller in the "West" but banned in China, due to the explicitly accusative tone against Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party. However, previous linguistic analyses have found significant ideological shifts in the Chinese translation (Li 2017). As Chang has directly contributed to the decision-making of the Chinese translation (Chang 1992), we consider that such dramatic shifts are meaningful not only to translation studies but also to a better understanding of choice-making in the source text.

The overall objectives of this multimodal study are to investigate the ideologies expressed through the book covers, and to test whether a social-semiotic approach to multimodality can be useful to translation studies. To achieve these, the questions below have been raised:

1. Are verbal and visual elements on a cover 'aligned' or 'complementary', or do they refer to 'distinct aspects' of ideology?
2. Do the covers carry an ideological load that is congruent with the overall ideological stance of the books?
3. Do the translated covers show ideological divergence from the English-language cover verbally and visually?
4. What are some possible contextual reasons for the shifts?

7.2 A social-semiotic Approach to Ideology in Multimodal Translation Studies

Inspired by Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)²¹, Social-Semiotic approaches to multimodality have been pioneered by O'Toole (1994) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). Both approaches are social theories with an emphasis on key Hallidayan concepts such as metafunctions and the system of choices available to sign-makers within a social context (Machin 2016)²².

Realising that ideology can be communicated through different semiotic modes, Kress and van Leeuwen took the concerns of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to multimodality, and established Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) (Machin and Mayr 2012). According to Machin and van Leeuwen (2016), MCDA should follow three essential stages of analysis: 1) the signifier – verbal and visual signs; 2) the signified – context-specific meaning of signs; 3) the wider social significance of the verbal and visual resources analysed; an instance of sign-making is not merely influenced by its context: it affects the context.

With the globalisation of the publishing industry, in particular of translated publications, where books are translated overwhelmingly from English, and where source covers tend to impact on the design of translated covers, we consider that the visual grammar of Kress and van Leeuwen should be applicable to the analysis of book covers translated from English, even though this analytical framework was developed from “Western” conventions. However, visual aspects in translation, as for linguistic systems, cannot be adequately explored without considering culture-specific sign-making. The pioneering studies of Machin and his colleagues (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2005; Chen and Machin 2014) on women's magazines in China show the importance of understanding non-Western conventions. The present study also seeks to contribute to a better understanding of contemporary typological differences in the cover design between the “West” and Greater China, by analysing signs in their cultural and

²¹ Halliday acknowledges that meaning can be construed in modes outside the realm of language (Halliday 1978), and is aware that his concept of ‘text’, which includes both spoken and written texts, has been extended to other semiotic systems, in discussions of ‘multimodal text’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 46).

²² Whilst both works have been highly influential and are based on the same social semiotic theoretical principles, it is considered that Kress and van Leeuwen's work has made greater impact outside of Linguistics (Machin 2016), and differs from O'Toole's in a few aspects. First, whereas O'Toole applies SFL to various modes, such as sculpture and architecture, Kress and van Leeuwen provide more delicate analysis of graphic design. Second, their works show disagreements: for example, pose/gesture is listed under the ideational (Representational) metafunction by O'Toole, but under interpersonal by Kress and van Leeuwen. Third, Kress and van Leeuwen explicitly address ideologies embedded in visual design, which makes it more relevant to the present study. Fourthly, unlike Kress and van Leeuwen, O'Toole has explicitly addressed the notion of ‘unit’: the compositional hierarchy in a painting from Work>Episode>Figure>Member; ‘unit’ in visual grammar is equivalent to ‘rank’ in SFL. It is useful to borrow O'Toole's notion to the present study to understand the compositional hierarchy on a book cover.

situational context: for example, the vertical layout of traditional Chinese and the typicality of book size on different markets.

7.3 Data and Methodology

7.3.1 Data Selection

Wild Swans was initially published in the UK in 1991. The creation and the positive reception of the English source text should be considered politically charged. Two broader themes may have contributed to its unprecedented success in the U.K.: its tough-minded re-evaluation of contemporary China, with an unambiguous anti-Mao and anti-communism stance, and the theme of women's courage and resilience in suffering. The anti-communism motif was timely at its initial publication, which was close in time to the end of the Cold War and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. The theme of women's emancipation was also significant in the U.K. context, which went through the feminist movements of the 1960s and 70s and the decade-long ruling (1979-1990) by Margaret Thatcher – the Iron Lady. Having sold 13 million copies and been translated into 37 languages (Chang 2017), this book possesses greater potential for disseminating ideology than do many stereotypical political texts.

Interestingly, Chang (2017) lists the covers of *Wild Swans* in various languages since 1991 on her personal website²³. Differences amongst the covers are striking, and some clearly carry a heavier ideological load. There are often multiple editions with distinctive covers even within a given language.

This study has chosen two “Western” covers (American + French) and two Chinese covers (Taiwanese + Mainland Chinese), as shown in Table 1. Although the 1991 British cover is within our perspective, it has not been analysed for two reasons. First, we do not have a physical copy of this dated edition. Second, to back the multimodal analysis with previous linguistic findings (Li 2017), this study has focused on the same books: the 2003 U.S. edition and 2006/2011 Taiwanese translation.

Table 7.1 Covers in scope

Place of publishing	Book	Year	Publisher	Translator	1 st publication
America	<i>Wild Swans – Three Daughters of China</i>	2003	Touchtone		1991

²³ Chang's website: <http://www.jungchang.net/wild-swans>

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Chinese Mainland	鴻-三代中国女人的故事 (Simplified Chinese) <i>(Hong – The Story of Three Generations of Chinese Women)</i>	1997	<i>(pirated)</i>	Pu Zhang	unknown
Taiwan	鴻-三代中國女人的故事 (Traditional Chinese) (English as above)	2006	Heliopolis/Clio Culture	Pu Zhang	1992
France	<i>Les Cygnes Sauvages</i> (The Swans Wild)	2011	Pocket	Sabine Boulogne	1992

The American version is an edition of the source text. Its cover is identical with the 1991 British edition in fundamental aspects: for example, the language, title, subtitle, author’s names, and choices of photos. Therefore, some impressionistic differences in the photo design between the 1991 UK cover and the 2003 American cover do not rule out the overwhelming similarities between the two English-language covers.

In addition, whereas most key verbal texts in the Chinese and French covers, such as title and author’s name, are translated from English, this study does not claim that the visual design in the chosen translated covers are directly ‘translated’ from the 2003 American cover. Instead, it seeks to compare the covers designs between the “West” and Greater China in the similar time period, especially in their expression of ideologies through visual texts and the translation of verbal texts.

The 2003 American edition is significant considering the size of the US market and the global influence of the US; in fact, the physical copy of this book was purchased in 2006 in Asia, which exemplifies its far-reaching dissemination. The 2006/2011 Taiwanese translation and the 2011 French cover are both the editions closest in time to the U.S. edition. The pirated 1997 Mainland Chinese cover has not been systematically analysed, but is brought up as part of the discussion of the translation of the title, which remains consistent in different Chinese-language editions.

7.3.2 Methodology

With a focus on the influence of political ideology, this study follows the three stages recommended by MCDA scholars in analysing the signifier, signified and the wider social significance of text.

The first stage analyses the signifier, where we propose an analytical framework shown in Table 2 for selected verbal and visual sub-systems on the chosen book covers within the three metafunctions.

Table 7.2 Analysis of Verbal and Visual Elements in the Chosen Front Covers

Content: Semantics (The Signified)		Ideational Metafunction	Interpersonal Metafunction	Textual Metafunction
	Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • title and sub-title; • interplay of episodes; • the overall background 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • author name; • emblem of publisher;²⁴ • publisher blurb & press quotation; • modality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • book size; • salience; • information value (given/new, ideal/real); • framing
Content: Lexicogrammar & visual grammar (The Signifier)	Episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • actor-goal; • a group of people/ objects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shot of frame; • perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • regional salience; • sub-framing
	Figure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a character/ object; • act/ gesture; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gaze & pose; • involvement; • vertical angle; • contrast in colour & light 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • local salience; • size & font of blurb and quotation
	Member	part of body/ object		

As shown in Table 2, we have further developed relevant sub-systems by Kress and van Leeuwen by categorising them into ranks with the incorporation of ‘unit’ in paintings from O’Toole: work > episode > figure > member. In addition, within Work, we take additional consideration of sub-systems that are relevant to book covers, including the title, sub-title, author’s name, and book size.

Within the ideational metafunction, we propose to examine the following sub-systems:

1. Title, sub-title and their translation
2. Participant: who are represented verbally and visually? As what participant type? Are they agentive and dynamic?
3. Process type: in what processes are the represented participants involved?

²⁴ Although author’s name and emblem of publisher simultaneously serve all three metafunctions, they are considered to be mainly interpersonal, as they construe the relation between text producers and readers.

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We propose a distinction between 'agency' and 'dynamism', because 'agency' appears to be subject to different interpretations in multimodal studies (O'Toole 1994; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; Liu 2011; O'Sullivan 2013). In this paper, 'agent' refers to any represented participant who functions as an external cause in a narrative process; whereas 'dynamism' refers to the semantic quality of any represented participant in their 'quality of being able to affect the world around us' (Hasan 1985).

The interpersonal metafunction concerns the constituting and maintaining of interaction between text/image producer and readers, and between represented participants and readers. Relevant sub-systems include:

1. Author's and translator's names: how are the author and the translator positioned in relation to readers?
2. Modality (through representational detail, colour, brightness etc.): stridency²⁵ and commitment to certainty
3. The visual speech functions (through gaze and posture): are the represented participants making a command or offer to readers?
4. Involvement (through horizontal angle): are the represented participants part of the same world with readers?
5. Symbolic power (through vertical angle): who have more symbolic power between the represented participant & readers?

The textual metafunction relates the first two and integrates them into a meaningful whole. This paper will analyse:

1. Book size: the typicality of book size in different markets and any significance;
2. Information value ("Western" conventions): are participants represented as Given/New information, Ideal/Real entities?
 - a) Horizontal:
 - i. Left: Given
 - ii. Right: New
 - b) Vertical:
 - i. Top: Ideal
 - ii. Bottom: Real

²⁵ We consider that 'modality' in visual grammar incorporates the concept of 'intensity' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 189), in that sub-systems such as colour saturation and brightness affect not just the commitment to certainty and reality but also the degree of stridency.

3. Salience (through image and font size, choice of colours)
4. Framing: is individuality emphasized or diminished?

The second stage analyses the signified – the meaning – by bridging text and context; text here refers to both verbal and visual elements. We propose two senses of context: 1) the inner context construed within the book; 2) the situational and cultural context.

In the first sense, clues within the text proper will be useful for a more accurate determination of the meaning of front-cover signs. A concordance tool, SysConc²⁶, developed by Wu (2000), will be used to locate certain front-cover verbal elements within the full text of the book, to examine whether the cover is a reliable indicator of the book.

In the second sense, it is important to understand the meaning of signifiers in relation to their situational and cultural context. The situational context includes the production, distribution and consumption of the text. The cultural context includes relevant world history and the author's/translator's known life journey up to the time of the book creation; they influence the way culture-specific signs are selected and received. For instance, to determine the contemporary denotations and connotations of the verbal and visual elements on the cover, we searched for relevant visual clues in 'Google Images', and for verbal clues in parallel external corpora, namely FLOB Corpus of British English (Mair 1999), and LCMC Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (McEnery and Xiao 2004). This incorporation of quantitative methods seeks to tackle a criticism of MCDA for being potentially selective (Garzone and Santulli 2004; Stubbs 1997).

The third stage analyses the wider significance of the covers. Findings from the first two stages will be linked to the prior linguistic analysis for a discussion of how ideologies in the contexts may have influenced verbal and visual choices in translation, and how ideologies expressed through these texts may actively impact on the context.

With these three stages, we aim to analyse ideology in two directions, echoing the views of many CDA scholars that the ideological stance of a volume/translation is not merely influenced by the context but also actively feeds back to the context.

To start with, the ideological investment in the American cover will be investigated in three stages. Subsequently, the three translated covers will be analysed; in each stage, any differences will be instantly made explicit. In Stage Three of the discussion of translated covers,

²⁶ Access to SysConc can be requested by emailing the developer, Canzhong Wu, at Macquarie University in Sydney: Canzhong.Wu@mq.edu.au

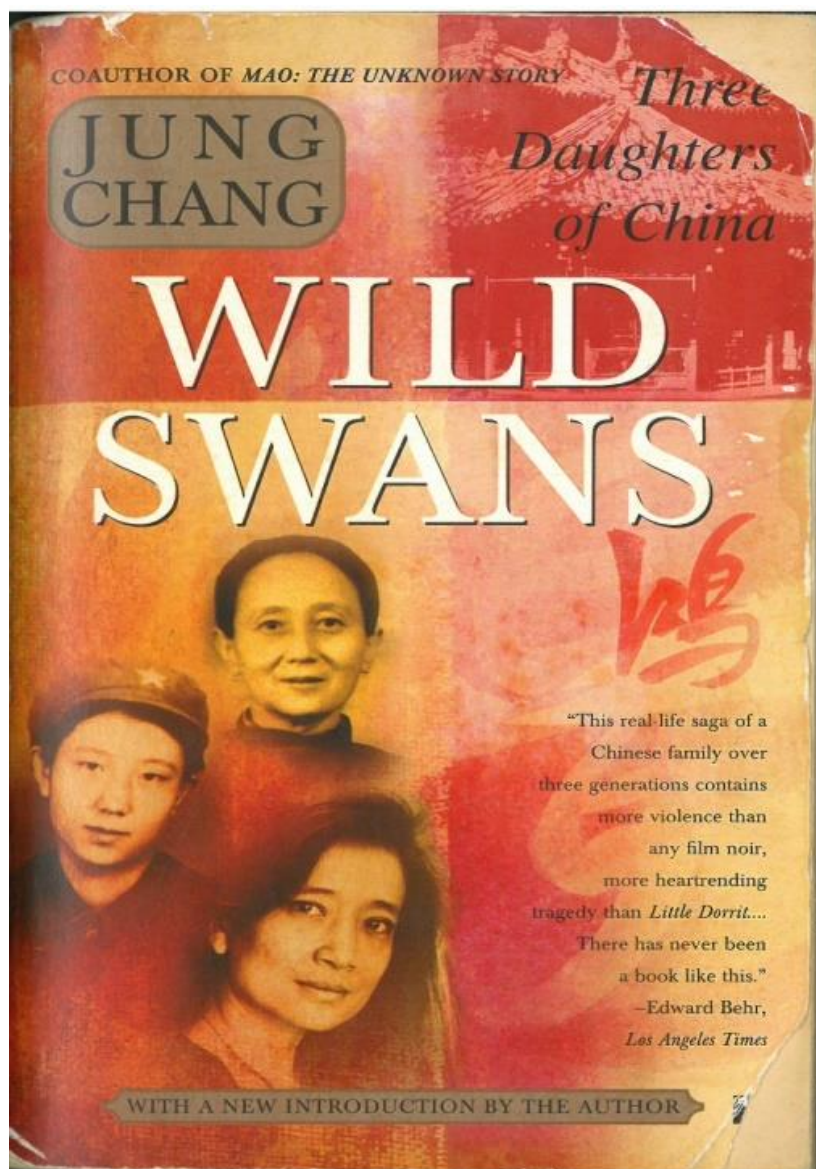
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the ensemble of ideological shifts will be explained, which not only explicates translation decision-making but also contributes to a better understanding of the source text through comparison with the translations.

7.4 Results and Interpretations

7.4.1 Source Cover: *Wild Swans* (American 2003)

Figure 7.1 The 2003 American Cover (Publisher: Touchstone)



7.4.1.1 The Overall Impression

As shown in Figure 1, this cover strikes readers with its shades of red as the overall background colour, which is a strong colour commonly associated with stop, blood and danger; additionally, it is commonly associated with communism; it is also associated with Chinese culture as a lucky colour. In addition, the size of this pocket-size paperback, 4.1" x 6.7" (10.5cm

x 17cm), smaller than a typical duodecimo of 5.5" x 7.5", hints its popular nature and entry into the pantheon of contemporary English classics (Genette 1997).

7.4.1.2 Stage One: Visual Grammar

There are four distinct rectangular episodes. The title *Wild Swans* is in large bold white font, highlighting its significance by being placed in the centre and linking all four episodes. The small top left episode accommodates the author name in frame and the author's recent work: '*Mao: The Unknown Story*'. The top right episode, smallest of the four, shows unverifiable dark Chinese pavilions, with the black and bold sub-title, '*Three Daughters of China*', floating on top. The bottom left is the largest episode and contains three Asian female figures, whose identity can be verified from photos and captions inside the book: they are the author's grandmother and mother and herself. The slightly smaller bottom right episode contains a press blurb and a Chinese character '鴻', pronounced in Mandarin as 'hóng', in a pictorial style resembling a long-necked bird.

The largest episode lies in the bottom left with images of three female figures. Ideationally, the photos show the women's head, neck and parts of shoulders. Their mouths are closed; there is no dialogue or thought balloons suggesting explicit speech or mental processes. In addition, although the mother and Chang can be considered Actors in the way the mother tilts her head to the right and Chang turns her head towards the readers from a slightly oblique angle, neither displays agency, as is the case of the grandmother. In other words, all women are represented ideationally as non-agentive roles.

Interpersonally, all three are demand images, with direct gaze at the reader. Chang's gaze is particularly intense, perhaps due to better image quality, contemporary eye make-up and larger eyes. These women demand recognition from readers. All three are close-up shots, which suggest the attempt to create an imaginary, intimate and personal relation with readers. All photos suggest involvement between the Chinese women and "Western" readers. The photos of both the grandmother and the mother are shot from a frontal angle, which says, 'these Chinese women are part of our world, someone we are involved with'. Although the angle of Chang is slightly oblique, she turns her head towards the viewers, which suggests, 'I am making contact with you, even though I come from a slightly different place'. In addition, all photos are taken at an eye-level angle, suggesting equal symbolic power with readers. As for modality, the three figures are represented in good detail and can be taken as real photos of the represented participants, although a sense of faded history is created by the permeating background colour underneath the three figures. Furthermore, modality is also slightly reduced due to the lack of setting. These images are thus considered to have medium to high modality.

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Textually, this episode is placed in the bottom left, representing these three women as Given and Real. As the book had already sold more than ten million copies worldwide with the same images prior to this edition, this cover design expects readers to be familiar with these images. The episode with three women is salient within the whole cover due to its largest size and higher brightness than other visual elements. Within this episode, Chang is slightly more salient due to her larger image size.

To better understand the meaning of the three photos, which are taken to signify the same entities as do the title and the sub-title, it is useful to linguistically analyse the title and sub-title.

7.4.1.3 *Stage Two*

7.4.1.3.1 *Author's name*

The author's name, Jung Chang, is in bold font and framed, textually represented as Given and Ideal, signifying her status as a one-of-a-kind best-selling author. From the text proper, we know her name is 張戎 in characters, which would be romanised as Zhāng Róng, or Rong ZHANG, based on the Pinyin system developed by Mainland Chinese linguists and adopted by the Chinese government in the 1950s. Chang was clearly proficient with Pinyin when writing *Wild Swans*, as evidenced by the use of Pinyin in romanising most Chinese names in the book (Chang 1991/2003, xxxiii), except for her own; this is clearly a motivated choice. 'Jung Chang' appears to be a romanisation using the Wade–Giles system, developed by British Sinologist Thomas Wade in the late 1800s, and, although still commonly used in Taiwan, has dropped out of usage in Mainland China after the introduction of Pinyin. 'Jung Chang' is not necessarily easier to pronounce nor more precise than 'Rong Zhang', otherwise a separate page (xxxix) on how to pronounce 'Jung' would not have been necessary. Such a marked choice should be seen as a move to distance herself from the standard Mainland Chinese way and the Chinese government.

7.4.1.3.2 *The Title*

Although authors may have the artistic liberty to choose a title, this particular English title should not be taken as a free artistic creation. Instead, 'wild swans' is said to be the translation of the pictorial front-cover character 鴻 (hóng). It is explained in the text proper (Chang 1991/2003, 44) that hóng is part of her mother's name, '德鴻 Dé-Hóng', and Chang's and her sister's diminutive names, '二鴻 Èr-Hóng' and '小鴻 Xiǎo-Hóng', and that its meaning is 'wild swans'.

However, a simple evaluation of this translation presents challenges: although this translation appears plausible to the intuition of Chinese native speakers, swans are not known in contemporary Mandarin Chinese as ‘hóng’, but as ‘天鵝 tiān-é’ (literally: sky-goose). Our analysis suggests that the marked translation as ‘swan’ is motivated for romantic and aesthetic purposes, as ‘hóng’ does not mean ‘wild swan’.

First, Google Images and an external corpus of British English were used to determine the meaning and cultural association of ‘swan’ or ‘wild swan’ in English. When SysConc was used to search for ‘swan’ and ‘wild swan’ in the FLOB corpus of British English in 1991, there was no instance of ‘wild swan’. However, ‘swan’, when referring to a bird, is clearly associated with ‘whiteness’ and ‘beauty’; indeed, swans are mostly white (with the black swans less common). In addition, Google Images (2017) shows pairs of swans as a symbol of romance, commonly seen on Valentine’s Day. The epithet ‘wild’, however, does not indicate a separate (sub-) species. Google Images of ‘wild swans’ show mostly human illustrations of normal white swans, presumably related to Hans Anderson’s fairy tale, *The Wild Swans*, about a brave princess who saved her brothers. Another closely related fairy tale also by Anderson is *Ugly Duckling*, about the transformation of a duck into a beautiful swan. ‘Wild’ is taken to express the interpersonal evaluation of some swans with the quality of ‘bravery’ and ‘emancipation’.

Second, ancient Chinese dictionaries and an external corpus of Mandarin Chinese were used to determine the historical and contemporary denotation of ‘hóng’ and to examine its alignment with ‘wild swans’. Since ‘hóng’ is a morpheme but ‘wild’ is not a classifier of ‘swans’, it becomes problematic that ‘hóng’ can be translated into the species ‘swan’ plus the quality of ‘wild’.

Furthermore, ‘hóng’ is a homonym²⁷ with vague meaning on its own. Ancient dictionaries²⁸ show that ‘hóng’, in referring to birds, could mean ‘swan’ or ‘swan goose’, with the latter, ‘swan goose’, being the more recent denotation since the 6th century AD. Its meaning as ‘swan goose’ instead of ‘swan’ was once again confirmed in LCMC corpus: there are no instances of ‘hóng’ in LCMC used in a clear sense of white, or black, or untamed swans; instead, there are only instances of ‘鴻雁 hóngyàn’ – swan goose. Another indirect evidence that ‘hóng’ no longer means ‘swans’ in contemporary Mandarin is found in the 1997 simplified Chinese cover in Figure 2, with an image of a blackbird with short white neck, which does not resemble

²⁷ ‘鴻 hóng’ can mean ‘big and grand’ (宏圖 hóngtú: great ambition), ‘letter’ (來鴻 láihóng: receive a letter), and fowl (swan or grey goose).

²⁸ *Yupian* (玉篇, *Guyewang 6th century AD/1987*) in *Kangxi Dictionary* (康熙字典) (Emperor Kangxi 1716/2015) explains that ‘鴻 hóng’ is a large “雁 yàn”, which means ‘wild goose’ or ‘swan goose’ – types of goose with brown features; according to this dictionary, ‘鴻 hóng’ is not swan. However, in *Shuowenjiezi* (說文解字, Xu 2nd century BC/1963), also in *Kangxi Dictionary*, explains ‘鴻 hóng’ means “鵠 hú”, which is an ancient name for swans.

a swan. Clearly, the Mainland Chinese cover designer understood 'hóng' as a bird, but not as a swan.

In short, an unmarked translation of 'hóng' should be 'swan geese', however, 'geese' may not evoke the same positive, romantic and aesthetic (van Leeuwen 2015) associations in "Western" readers. Also, although 'hóng' meant 'swan' in ancient times, Chang's statement in the text proper that 'hóng, meaning wild swan' is clearly inaccurate, as the epithet 'wild' must be considered as an artistic, liberal addition. The conflict between such a liberal translation and the importance of truthfulness in an autobiography raises an interesting question as to whether such artistic processing can be found elsewhere in the book, which deserves further examination beyond the present scope.

7.4.1.3.3 *The sub-title and the three images*

The subtitle and the images are discussed together, as they are taken to signify the same entities. '*Three daughters of China*' serves as a genre indication (Genette 1997): this book is about three Chinese women, who are visually elaborated with the images in the bottom left. However, the signified may be considered disproportionate as they have excluded important male characters in the book.

Some detailed corpus-based studies have been carried out on the full source and Chinese target texts of *Wild Swans* in other chapters of the present thesis. However, a simplified approach can show the most frequently-occurring characters, in Table 3, based on a word frequency search in the whole book using SysConc. Although this search has counted only the five tokens listed in Table 3, and has excluded other forms to which these characters can be referred, it is considered indicative of the overall occurrences that these participants are represented in the book, as all should have equal probabilities of being represented in different forms, with an absence of counter-evidence.

Table 7.3 The most represented participants ²⁹ in *Wild Swans* (2003, total tokens: 220,399)

Token	Occurrences	Special notes
I	1,973	referring to Jung Chang
mother	856	Chang's mother
father	594	Chang's father
Mao	489	Mao Zedong
grandmother	352	Chang's grandmother

Table 3 shows that ‘father’ has around 70% more occurrences than ‘grandmother’, which clearly shows that the father is represented more than is the grandmother. However, he is not represented either textually or visually on the cover, nor is ‘Mao Zedong’. Previous transitivity analysis show that both ‘Mao’ and ‘father’ are central characters to the book, the absence of whom on the cover page is as important as the presence of the three Chinese women (Fairclough 2003). Although the text proper is very interested in representing Mao as a highly dynamic agent, such a motif is concealed on the cover. The only clue of the author’s interest in Mao is the small line in the top left saying she has co-authored a biography of Mao, which is known for a disproportionate representation of Mao as a monstrous tyrant (cf. Goodman 2006).

More significantly, ‘father’ is completely left out from the book cover and title. In fact, he is frequently represented in chapter titles: a quick scan of the 28 chapter titles (including sub-titles) shows two instances of ‘father’, two of ‘mother’, and three of ‘my parents’, which shows the father’s status as a major character comparable to that of ‘mother’. We also know that ‘father’ is significant rhetorically as the ultimate victim of the Cultural Revolution, whose tragic death in 1975 forms the linchpin chapter (27th) of the book. The choice to include ‘father’ in the title was not taken up although it was clearly sensible. What are the possible reasons for the lack of his representation on the cover?

7.4.1.4 Ideological investments in the source cover

It appears that the cover has been designed not only with exotic Chinese elements to shock and attract readers, such as a pictorial Chinese character and unverifiable pavilions, but

²⁹ Chang does not use diminutive variants such as ‘mum’ or ‘mummy’. Except for ‘I’, this simple count does not consider personal pronouns or ellipses; however, it has effectively omitted instances indicating possession such as mother’s, Mao’s, of Mao; it also omits instances of someone else’s mother/father/grandmother, and Madame Mao (Jiang Qing)

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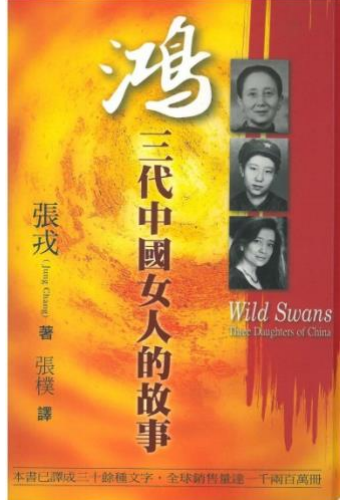
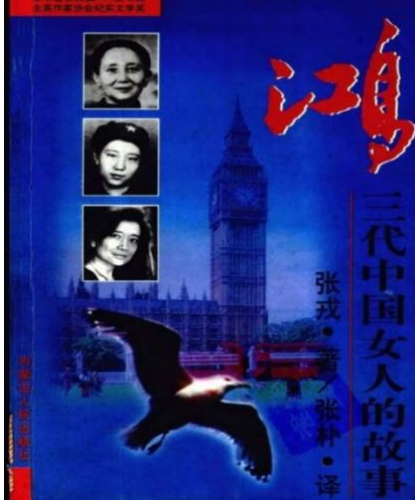
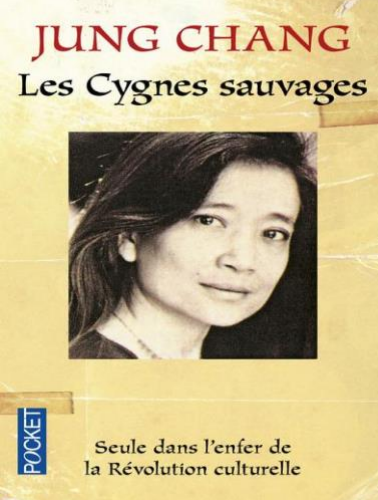
also with elements suggesting the permeating ideology of Orientalism. Orientalism views Asia as cultural 'others' that are irrational and feminine, as compared to the rational and masculine "West" (Said 1979; Woo 1997). Although the "East" is viewed as 'others', its historical conquest by the "West" and the long-lasting "East-West" power imbalance have led the "Eastern" female to become the object of the "Western" male-power fantasy (Bernstein 2009). Thus, Asian likeability is usually associated with Asian women (Mayuzumi 2015). This may explain the absence of 'father' in the front cover: although the three all-female photos may not be overtly sexual, they may be considered to evoke more positive associations, and consequently boost the marketability.

The majority of images of Asian women in the "West" represent them as petite, cute, submissive, dependent, and non-threatening (Chang 2000; Mayuzumi 2015). This cover has perpetuated some of these stereotypes, despite the overall theme of women's resilience. Ideationally, the women display neither agency nor much dynamism. Interpersonally, they are friendly and likeable, but do not have symbolic power over readers. In fact, despite the eye-level shot, there is a sense of lowered power of these women due to their placement at the bottom of the cover, especially of Chang. Textually, their individualities are somewhat diminished by the lack of framing: despite representing different generations, they are likely to be seen as a collective group of 'daughters of China', like siblings.

It appears that in order to increase the likeability of the book, the cover design has partially compromised with the Orientalism ideology in visually and textually representing only Chinese female characters, and concealing the representation of some equally, if not more important Chinese male characters, especially the father. The stereotype of Asians as cultural 'others' has been challenged, but only to the extent of Asian women, who are represented hereby as likeable figures: beautiful, friendly and approachable, although lacking agency; which perpetuates some gendered racial stereotypes. In addition, its success may have encouraged intimation in the cover design of subsequent English books by Chinese migrant writers: for example, the pictorial calligraphy on the cover of *Mao's Last Dancer* (C. Li 2003/2009); the suggestive image of a Chinese woman on the cover of *Death of a Red Heroine* (Qiu 2000). Furthermore, the likeable images of (Chinese) women and the female perspectives expressed through the cover do not empower women in a real sense; rather, they appear to be packaging tools to increase the product likeability and in fact, to frame the book not as politically charged but as autobiographical and personal.

7.4.2 Translated Covers in Comparison to the Source Cover

Figures 7.2-7.4 Different translated Covers

The 2006/2011 Taiwanese Cover (Publisher: Heliopolis/Clio Culture)	The 1997 Simplified Chinese translation of Wild Swans (Pirated version; publisher is said to be Neimenggu People's Press)	The 2011 French Cover (Publisher: Pocket)
		

7.4.2.1 The Overall Impression

Contrary to the status of canonisation suggested by the pocket-size paperback of the American book, the paperback size of the Taiwanese translation, 14.8cm×21cm, is standard in Taiwan (Editors 2016), carrying no significance. Although the Taiwanese cover resembles the American cover in the red background, it shows higher modality and stridency, with considerably fuller saturation of red, yellow and orange colours as the background. Semantically, this high stridency is also reflected in the choice of raging flame as the background, and the red stripes in a swirling pattern perhaps suggestive of bloody revolution. This is congruent with previous analysis of verbal text (Li 2017) that the Chinese translation displays higher percentage and high density of intensity of total degree than the source text.

In contrast, the French cover displays lower stridency with the choice of a mellow yellow as background, with no red colour except for the author's name; this strongly contrasts with the strident American and Taiwanese covers.

7.4.2.2 Stage One: Visual Grammar

Ideationally, the overall design of the Taiwanese cover appears simpler, removing Chinese elements such as the pavilions and the pictorial character. The same three photos are used; although, unlike the photos on the American cover, they are black and white with finer representational details on the Chinese cover.

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Interpersonally, all photos are smaller than those on the American cover, even though the Chinese cover is larger; this enlarges the social distance between the women and Chinese readers, as if the photos are taken from a longer shot.

Textually, as the orthography of traditional Chinese characters is mostly vertical in this book, from top to bottom, right to left, supplemented with only a few horizontal lines, we consider right as Given and left as New for vertically arranged information, and the opposite for the horizontally arranged information. The cover has represented the three women as Given, but Ideal, which symbolises their beauty and social status, but results in enlarged social distance, especially in combination with their smaller represented sizes.

Another key difference is framing: unlike the American cover, these three images are strongly framed³⁰ in the Taiwanese cover, and their black-and-white colours sharply contrast with the bright-coloured background, highlighting their individuality. On the Taiwanese cover, the three women are less likely to be seen as belonging to one group. Lastly, regional salience amongst the three figures has shifted from Chang to the grandmother: due to the equal size of photos but slightly longer shot in Chang's photo, Chang's face becomes noticeably smaller than that of both the mother and the grandmother. In comparison, the grandmother is more salient due to her top right position and adjacency to the highly salient title. This does not mean the grandmother has been represented as more important; it may well be a consideration of the Chinese family hierarchy, which discourages the salience of younger generations over ancestors.

Similar to the Taiwanese cover, the French cover shows no Chinese elements such as the pavilions and the character. However, sharply contrasting with both the American and Taiwanese cover, the French represents only a large photo of Chang in the centre, as if this book represents her as the heroine figure.

7.4.2.3 *Stage Two*

7.4.2.3.1 *Author's & Translator's Name*

Chang's name in Chinese characters, 張戎 (Chang Jung), is shown on the Taiwanese cover, in a modest size that is smaller than that of the sub-title. In addition, the author's Romanised name, 'Jung Chang', is also included, as is the line '張樸 譯' (literally: ZHANG Pu translate); together with the English title and subtitle, they convey a sense of foreignness.

³⁰ The Taiwanese cover appears to resemble the 1991 British cover rather than the U.S. edition in this particular aspect.

Although such foreignness may attract readers, it nevertheless enlarges the social distance between represented participants and readers.

In contrast, the name ‘Jung Chang’ is highly salient on the French cover, like on the American Cover, suggesting stardom. The modest size on the Taiwanese cover may suggest adherence to humility in Chinese culture, but potentially also Chang’s lesser fame in Taiwan than in Anglophone and Francophone countries.

In addition, the translator is ‘invisible’ (Venuti 2008) on the French cover, which may reduce distance between the author – Chang and readers.

7.4.2.3.2 Title and sub-title

The Chinese title is ‘鴻’ (hóng) due to Chang’s claim that the English title is translated from this character. However, due to ‘Hóng’ being a vague morpheme, the Chinese sub-title becomes more important semantically, and is made textually salient with large font.

The Chinese sub-title, ‘*story of three generations of Chinese women*’ indicates that these women are not an undifferentiated group, but belong to different generations.

In contrast, although the French title is a literal rendition of ‘wild swans’ with the additional plural definite articles ‘*les*’, it has omitted the sub-title, ‘Three Daughters of China’, which is congruent with its visual spotlight on Chang. Interestingly, it appears that decision-makers for the French translation, like those for the Chinese translation, refused to literally render the sensational English sub-title, ‘three daughters of China’, which suggests close relationship and undifferentiated family hierarchy.

7.4.2.4 Ideological Shifts in Translations

Comparisons of the chosen covers show that earlier English-language source covers have clearly impacted on the design of later editions: for example, the 1991 British cover on the 2003 American cover; English-language covers have also impacted on translated covers: for example, both French and Taiwanese covers use the same photo of Chang from the English source cover, and neither has attempted to add the image of ‘father’ or ‘Mao’.

Although translated covers are nevertheless influenced by the source covers, the comparisons above highlight the choices of translation decision-makers to achieve certain functions. We find that, despite some marked differences between the American cover and French cover, the French cover largely resembles the ideologies on the American cover,

whereas the Taiwanese cover shows more ideological differences. Table 4 lists the main similarities and differences amongst the three covers.

Table 7.4 Main areas of translation shift on the Taiwanese and French Cover

Items	“Western” 1: American 2003	“Western” 2: French 2011	Sinophone: Taiwanese 2006
Foreignness	using Chinese visual elements	de-emphasizing foreignness	highlighting the translation status
Relation between the women and readers	the women are intimate and approachable	Jung Chang is intimate and approachable; translator invisible	wider distance between the women and readers; translator explicit
Relation amongst the three women	Close relations, the three belong to one group	Chang is singled out	more individualised and hierarchical
Anti-Mao motif	hinted with the book ‘Mao: the unknown story’	hinted with the additional verbal mentioning of ‘ <i>Révolution culturelle</i> ’	invisible

This contrastive study shows that the French cover, despite displaying lower stridency and less Chinese visual elements, largely resembles the American cover in terms of the Orientalism and anti-Mao ideologies. However, such ideologies are clearly diminished in the Taiwanese cover in comparison to the American cover. Although some clear resemblance can be detected between the Taiwanese and the American covers: the strident red background and the title in large white font, the same choices on the American cover to represent the three Chinese women as intimate, approachable, and belonging to one category were not taken up when creating the Taiwanese cover. Likewise, the choice of including one hint of the anti-Mao motif on the American cover, which is otherwise designed to tone down its political agenda with images of demure Chinese women, was not taken in the Taiwanese cover. This is congruent with previous linguistic results that the Taiwanese version is less interested in representing Mao and his agency.

7.5 Conclusion

This study has explored not only the intersemiotic interactions within the front covers but also the ideological interaction between front cover and text proper. Within a front cover, although verbal and visual elements may be complementary (i.e. images provide additional

information about the era of the three women, and verbal texts mention additional volumes by the same author), they are overwhelmingly aligned (i.e. the visualisation of the title with a pictorial character, subtitle with photos, and China with pavilions). As to the interaction between the cover and the text proper, the front source cover ‘backgrounds’ the anti-Mao motif that is strongly expressed in the text proper, and foregrounds an Orientalism ideology that has not been easily detected in linguistic analysis. This shows that a front cover can be both informative and misleading in relation to the text proper.

The visual-verbal interaction on the translated covers is also overwhelmingly aligned. The French cover largely resembles the anti-Mao and Orientalist ideologies on the American cover, despite considerable differences in design. The Taiwanese cover, however, diminishes the Orientalist ideology and omits the anti-Mao motif; the latter is congruent with the overall ideological stance expressed through the text proper. This suggests that cover design of the translated volumes is influenced, whether consciously or unconsciously, by the ideological stance expressed through the translated text proper.

The significance of this paper is four-fold. First, this paper has proposed a social-semiotic approach, developed based on Kress and van Leeuwen, but with additional consideration of rank and context, to multimodal translation studies, specifically to the analysis of book covers. The analyses show that visual grammar can be an empowering tool for a more rigorous and systematic study of multimodal elements in translation. Second, it contributes to a better understanding of interactions between visual and verbal elements and between cover and text proper. Third, it shows the potential of translation in revealing ideological investment in the source text. Lastly, despite focusing exclusively on a corpus of one translated volume, it raises awareness of the importance of paratext in translation teaching and practice.

This paper has some limitations. Without an ethnographic approach (Widdowson 1998), it does not measure or claim reader reaction to a given cover, which may be a future topic. Neither has it incorporated interviews with decision-makers (Bateman, Delin, and Henschel 2004; Machin and Mayr 2007) such as the author and the Chinese translator, due to a lack of their availability. Moreover, complete objectivity cannot be guaranteed, especially in analysis of the signified and context. However, we aim to show that a more accurate determination of the signifier and signified can be achieved with a combination of visual grammar, SFL, corpus tool, and adequate consideration of the context and culture-specific meaning-making.

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A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF A TRANSLATED VOLUME'S COVER

Yu, Hailing, and Zhongwei Song. 2016. "Picture–text Congruence in Translation: Images of the Zen Master on Book Covers and in Verbal Texts." *Social Semiotics*: 1-20, DOI: 10.1080/10350330.2016.1251104.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Overview of the Dissertation

As set out in Chapter 1, the present dissertation has included four journal articles in the form of Chapters 4 to 7, which have been prepared for specialised journals in translation studies, linguistics, and multimodal studies. Chapter 4 investigates the shifts of ideology within the experiential and the logical metafunctions, and has been prepared for an indexed journal in linguistics, *Language and Literature*. Chapter 5 explores ideological shifts in translation through choices in MODALITY, and has been published by an emerging journal in Systemic Functional Linguistics, *Journal of World Languages*. Chapter 6 is a quantitative-based investigation of the interpersonal system of DEGREE OF INTENSITY, and has been prepared for another journal in Linguistics, *Functional Linguistics*. Chapter 7 explores ideological shifts in the multimodal translation of book covers, and has been published in a well-known journal in multimodal studies, *Social Semiotics*. The four journal articles contain separate reference lists, and have been included in the present thesis as they were last submitted to the journals, except that the page numbers, headings, figures and tables have been rearranged for the consistency of the present thesis.

Preceding the four chapters of journal articles are two other chapters: Chapter 2 proposes a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach to the study of ideology in Translation, which forms the overarching theoretical basis for the four analytical chapters. Chapter 2 mainly consists of a review of literature in SFL, SFL-based approaches to translation studies, and studies of ideology. Although each of the four journal articles contains a separate literature review section, the repetition of literature review is minimal: Chapter 2 mainly concerns the overarching framework; the reviews in the four journal articles focus on studies and concepts that are directly relevant to their specific data analysis.

Following the main literature review chapter is Chapter 3: an impressionistic description and qualitative analysis of key claims and supporting elaborations, and key represented participants in the two books under investigation. This chapter serves as an important complement to the four journal articles, as the former generalises across the whole books, whereas the latter focuses on specific linguistic phenomena. For instance, whereas Chapter 6 also analyses the whole books using a corpus linguistics tool, it focuses on a specific interpersonal system: the DEGREE OF INTENSITY. In comparison, Chapter 3 not only summaries

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the overall structuring of the books and their key claims but also considers their validity and proportionality, by investigating the actualisation of events depicted, and by proposing horizontal comparisons between China and the “West” at the same temporal locations.

Following the five analytical chapters, Chapter 8 summarises key findings, provides answers to the research questions set out in Chapter 1, discusses the significance and limitations of the present study, and makes suggestions for future study.

8.2 Key Findings and Answering the Research Questions

A combination of in-depth analysis in Chapters 4 to 7 and the impressionistic descriptions and analysis in Chapter 3 provides some answers to the research questions set out in Section 1.5.

8.2.1 Question One

Can the political ideologies expressed through the source texts and target texts be analysed within a Systemic Functional Linguistics framework, and compared in a systematic manner, to confirm or dismiss the possibility of ideological shifts in translation?

The answer is yes. Systemic Functional Linguistics has provided a generalisable framework for grammatical description in which the ideological resources of speakers are represented by alignments of meanings created through various semantic and lexicogrammatical systems. Utilising key concepts such as stratification, instantiation, metafunction and system, SFL has been used to trace the decision-making of writers and translators in relation to the systems of choices that are available to them. Their decision-making is, consciously or unconsciously, guided by ideological criteria within the context of creation, and subsequently makes an impact on the context of reception. Consistent foregrounding of certain linguistic and visual choices is semantically meaningful, and may have significant ideological consequences. For example, the consistent linguistic ‘backgrounding’ of Mao and the representation of him as being less agentive and less realis in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* are highly motivated decisions, as they diminish and, to certain extent, correct the over-simplification of the representation of Mao, which has been tolerated in the source text. The various systems in SFL make it possible to conduct in-depth linguistic analysis, which allows translation scholars to choose the level of delicacy that is necessary to understand ideology in translation, especially in relation to its context.

In addition, the present thesis shows that semantics of grammatical choices in Chinese can be compared systematically with relevant systems in English, provided that adequate consideration is given to typological differences.

Lastly, a combination of SFL with corpus tools such as *SysFan* and *SysConc* generates quantitative results to complement the qualitative analysis. This effectively enhances the objectivity of translation evaluation and representativeness when drawing conclusions on the ideological shifts.

8.2.2 Question Two

If so, how can these ideological shifts be categorised linguistically, in terms of different metafunctions and modes within SFL? What is the ensemble of shifts in meaning and particularly in ideology?

Translation shifts within the present thesis that are indicative of an ideological shift have been observed and examined from four perspectives: 1) TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSE STATUS, 2) the interpersonal judgement of MOOD and MODALITY, 3) the interpersonal judgment of the DEGREE OF INTENSITY, 4) the visual grammar in cover design.

Table 8.1 presents a summary of key findings from the five analytical chapters. As shown in Table 8.1, in the case of *Wild Swans*, patterns of shifts in the Chinese translation identified in different chapters tend to echo one another, and create an ensemble of ideological consequences.

The Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* shows considerably less political investment regarding the evaluation of Mao and the Communist Party of China, but more strident personal judgement when it comes to matters that personally concern the source text author. These show that the Chinese translation is less political and more personal than the English source text. To begin with, Mao's overall representation and represented agency are greatly reduced. In addition, the evaluations of other communist officials are found to have been modified to an extent that appears closer to the general opinion of them in Mainland China, despite the fact that this translation is published in Taiwan rather than in the Chinese Mainland. For example, the Chinese translation shows a more favourable evaluation of ZHOU Enlai, but a harsher criticism of Madame Mao (JIANG Qing). On the other hand, the author and her peers are represented more and with higher agency in the Chinese translation, and the author, overall, expresses stronger resentment toward the societal expectations on women in China. These show that, whereas the Chinese translation displays higher stridency in the overall interpersonal

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judgement, especially toward matters that personally concern the author, it has in fact greatly toned down the anti-Mao sentiments that characterise the English source text.

Table 8.1 Summary of key findings in Chapters 4-7

Chap.	Linguistic areas under investigation	Findings from the Chinese translation of <i>Wild Swans</i> (WS)	Findings from the Chinese translation of <i>Mao's Last Dancer</i> (MLD)
4	TRANSITIVITY and clause status	<p>Mao is represented less, as less agentive, and as less dynamic in the Chinese translation; his represented agency is less likely to be seen as realis and actualized.</p> <p>General Students and Red Guards are represented more, more dynamic with more agency in the Chinese; their represented agency his represented agency is more likely to be seen as realis and actualized.</p>	Not analysed as mentioned in Section 1.7
5	Interpersonal: MODALITY	<p>More instances and higher degrees of MODALITY in Chinese;</p> <p>More instances of obligation in Chinese;</p> <p>Chinese translations display higher stridency in modality.</p>	
		<p>Shifts are much more dramatic in the translation of <i>WS</i> than in <i>MLD</i>;</p> <p>The most dramatic increase is found in high obligation;</p> <p>Less negative evaluation of ZHOU Enlai;</p> <p>More negative evaluation of Madame Mao.</p>	<p>The translation of modality in <i>MLD</i> is more faithful than that in the translation of <i>WS</i>;</p> <p>No overall shifts in ideology is identified.</p>
6	Interpersonal: DEGREE OF INTENSITY (DOI)	<p>More instances and higher degree of DOI in Chinese;</p> <p>Chinese translations display higher stridency in intensity.</p>	
		<p>The most dramatic shift lies in the intensity of total degree.</p> <p>Shifts in the degree of intensity, especially in the total degree, have shown less negative evaluation of Mao and Zhou, but harsher criticism of Madame Mao, in Chinese.</p>	<p>The most dramatic shift lies in the intensity of high degree, which is largely influenced by the addition of ‘很 <i>hěn</i>’ (very) in Chinese.</p>
7	Multimodality	<p>Exotic Chinese symbols in the STs to attract reader attention are reduced in both translations;</p> <p>Elements that suggest the Orientalism ideology are reduced in both translations.</p>	
		The translated cover shows enlarged distance between the represented participants – the three women – and readers. The translated cover is also less political, with a deletion of any clue of an anti-Mao motif;	The translated cover shows reduced distance between the represented participant – Li Cunxin – and readers.

In the case of *Mao's Last Dancer*, however, investigation into various metafunctions and modes show that the Chinese translation is relatively faithful, and that no overall shifts in

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the evaluation of Mao and the communist regime can be concluded. Admittedly, isolated instances of harsher evaluation of certain low-to-middle level communist officials have been found, but their effects tend to be dynamically counterbalanced with some other instances that create the opposite effects. Therefore, the Chinese translation of *Mao's Last Dancer* is considered, overall, to be faithful to the English version in its expression of ideological stance.

8.2.3 Question Three

What similarities and differences do different translations show in terms of ideological shifts, if there is any?

The two Chinese translations of politically volatile English works do not show a similar trend of ideological shifts. However, they show some similarities in the linguistic patterns of translation. For instance, both show more instances and higher degree of MODALITY and DEGREE OF INTENSITY, which shows that both Chinese translations are interpersonally more strident than the English texts, especially in the case of *Mao's Last Dancer*, which largely result from typological differences between English and Chinese, as explained in Chapter 6. In addition, both translated covers show a reduction of exotic Chinese elements, such as pictorial Chinese calligraphy, and of elements that suggest the gendered ideology of Orientalism – “Oriental” women tend to be represented as likeable but passive in the “West”, whereas “Oriental” men tend to be invisible or represented as cultural others.

As mentioned in the answer to Question Two, there are striking differences between the two translations in terms of the translation of ideology. Whereas translation shifts found in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* show a trend to produce a TT that is less interested in Mao and more personal than the ST, linguistic shifts found in the Chinese translation of *Mao's Last Dancer* tend to be largely influenced by language typology, and hence do not create noticeable divergence from the source text in the ideological stance.

8.2.4 Question Four

What contextual factors may have contributed to the ideological shifts in the translation? Consequently, how do the TTs differ from the STs in its ideological stance and functional characteristics?

Despite some similar linguistics patterns of shifts in the Chinese translations of both *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*, noticeable overall shifts in ideology have been found only in the Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*. This can be explained both from the nature of the source

texts and the context of situation for the translation. Whereas the successes of the two books show that the Anglophone market appears to favour writings by Chinese migrant writers who take a critical view of Mao and the communist regime, *Wild Swans* is more politically motivated than *Mao's Last Dancer*. Despite being an autobiography, *Wild Swans* sets out to be historically aware by presenting a particular interpretation of Chinese history that actively exposes and denounces Mao, attributing tragedies in the author's family to Mao's agency. In comparison, *Mao's Last Dancer* is less interpretative of history, as it focuses more on the personal experience of Li, his motivation to become a world-class dancer, and his success in climbing the social ladder. When the two books are translated into Chinese, the strong ideological investments in *Wild Swans* have been toned down, resulting in a more personalised account in Chinese, whereas no significant ideological shifts have been identified in the Chinese translation of *Mao's Last Dancer*.

The two translations also show considerable differences in the context of situation, especially in tenor – the relationship of the translator in relation to the ST author and the inner context of the books. *Wild Swans* was translated by the younger brother of the ST author, ZHANG Pu, who was Xiao Hei, a represented participant in this family chronicle. As previously mentioned, the writing of *Wild Swans* was influenced by a number of “Western” intellectuals and publishing professionals; in addition, as a UK-based Chinese writer, Chang has been consciously or unconsciously influenced by the Orientalist ideology in the process of self-orientalisation. In other words, *Wild Swans* is not purely an autobiography by a Chinese female writer; rather, it is a product of its source context, having been deeply influenced by the dominant ideologies of the U.K./Anglophone countries. These “Western” influences, whether exerted by “Western” orientalists or self-imposed, could present problems when translated *back* to Chinese. As the brother who has been chosen to translate the book, Zhang also bears witness to much of the family story underpinning her sister's book, therefore he is entitled, to an unusually high degree, agree or disagree with the accounts in the book. He is also able to communicate with his sister more conveniently should he decide that some anti-Mao sentiments may be unsuitable, or some elements of exoticising the “East” may be irrelevant, to the TT context of Taiwan. The high degree of personal access to the inner context and the presumably convenient communication with the ST author set Zhang apart from ordinary translators, and have enabled him to produce a liberal, domesticated Chinese translation that reads as if it was originally written in Chinese. In comparison, *Mao's Last Dancer* was translated by WANG Xiaoyu, a Melbourne-based Chinese language writer, who not only shares Li's experience of being a peasant during the Cultural Revolution but also had interviewed Li. Nevertheless, Wang would not have had the same authority to deliberately make changes in

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the translation process, as he does not bear witness to the personal events unfolding in the inner context of the book; nor did Wang have close-knit familial relationship with the ST author. Hence, Wang would have needed to closely adhere to the source text unless there is explicit instruction from the ST author to make changes, resulting in a relatively faithful translation both overall and in terms of political ideology albeit some features of exotic, foreignising *translationese* in the Chinese translation.

In all, whereas many English works by Chinese migrant writers that are successful in the “West” tend to take a critical stance on Mao and the communist regime, they should not be considered homogenous, and no generalisation can be made at this stage as to whether common ideological shifts can be found in the Chinese translations of these English works. The only clear evidence is the case of *Wild Swans*, the Chinese translation of which is found to be less ideologically invested.

The Chinese translation of *Wild Swans* differs considerably from the source text in its function. The source text is as interested in exposing Mao as in sharing the personal stories of the three generations of Chinese women. It may even be said that, when it comes to the function of the book, the personal stories are subsidiary in that they serve the purpose of building the overarching anti-Mao motif. Considering that the initial publication was in 1991, the main purpose of this book is a condemnation of communism, specifically Chinese communism, achieved through a differentiation between Chinese communism and “Western” democracy, with an underlying dichotomy of an idealised “West” and harsh China. However, this highly politically charged book is packaged as the personal stories of beautiful but oppressed “Oriental” women. This misrepresentation of text type is clearly significant. In doing so, the book has disproportionately focused on the negative aspects of contemporary China and the positive aspects of the “West”. Despite the disproportionality, its success in the “West” shows the continued Sino-Western frictions in the post-Cold War world. In stark contrast, whereas the Chinese translation loosely continues the anti-Mao and anti-communist theme, which is not uncommon in Taiwan, its main function is to share the personal stories of the author’s extraordinary family, rather than trying to provide an interpretation of the history and an evaluation of Mao and the Communist Party of China. Although Taiwan is a close strategic ally with the U.S. and has maintained an anti-communist stance since 1949, it is not considered part of the “West”, and power imbalance continues to exist between Taiwan and its close ally – the United States. The Chinese translation shows that anti-Communist and anti-Mao sentiments in Taiwan in early 1990s were, at least to some extent, less critical and less

penetrating than in the Anglophone countries. Furthermore, exoticising and orientalising “China” perhaps would not appeal to the Taiwanese context.

Considering the direct contribution of the source text author to the Chinese translation, the dramatic ideological shifts in translation also open up questions regarding the veracity and proportionality of the source text.

8.2.5 The Central Question

Do Chinese translators of English works by Chinese migrant writers, in general, introduce changes in their translation based on their assumed authority over the subject matter and, more importantly, based on the differences of political ideology individually and contextually?

Although both source texts share some similarities in the overall claims of anti-Mao and anti-Communist sentiments, and both translations share some similar linguistic trends, no convincing conclusion can be drawn so far with regards to the ideological shifts in the Chinese translation of politically sensitive English works by Chinese migrant writers. In the case of the more politically invested *Wild Swans*, the political investment has been diminished in translation. In the case of the less politically invested *Mao’s Last Dancer*, the translation is relatively faithful. The translation of *Mao’s Last Dancer* also shows that translators of English works by Chinese migrant writers do not necessarily assume authority in creating a liberal or free translation because of their presumed familiarity with the inner context in China. Rather, translator’s interventions may considerably differ from one case to another, depending on the political nature of the source text, and the relationship between the translator and the ST author.

8.3 Significance of the Present Thesis

The key significance of the present thesis is its pioneering investigation of the influence of political ideology in English to Chinese translation from the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

8.3.1 For Translation Studies

With *Wild Swans* and *Mao’s Last Dancer* as the domains of study, the present thesis has explored a unique but understudied translation phenomenon, in which books are translated into the source text author’s native language, with direct contribution of the ST authors to the translation decision-making. Findings show that, whereas no generalisation can be made on this type of translation, at least in one case, the translation shows dramatic and deliberate

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selections of linguistic choices, which result in significant shifts in political ideology. Differences between the ST context of situation and TT context of situation, such as the dominant political ideology at the time of the text creation and publication in different countries, and the role of the translator in relation to other interactive and represented participants, have both contributed to the shifts.

The present thesis also calls for SFL in combination with tools of corpus linguistics as an empowering tool for translation studies to enhance the objectivity in translation evaluation through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Certain systems, such as the DEGREE OF INTENSITY, have been usefully investigated using corpus tools, which have provided not only the instances of lexicogrammatical features under investigation but also a visual representation of the distribution of these consistencies. In this way, the implicit order of the DEGREE OF INTENSITY has been explicated, the method of which is applicable to future translation studies, especially those between English and Chinese.

The present thesis has also expanded the scope of translation studies on ideology to the translation of multimodal elements on book covers. Non-linguistic sign systems such as cover design have long been neglected in translation studies. The present thesis has shown how the visual grammar can be usefully adapted to analyse the translated book covers in a more systematic and generalisable manner, and how multimodal studies can greatly complement the analysis of verbal text by providing new perspectives.

Lastly, the present thesis offers some practical methods to distinguish motivated selections in translation from those that primarily result from typological differences between two languages.

It is hoped that the present thesis will inspire more researchers in translation studies to address the issue of subjectivity with systematic linguistic analysis, corpus-based studies, and multimodal studies.

8.3.2 For Linguistics

The present thesis has not merely applied theories and methodologies from linguistics to translation studies; instead, it has made two important contributions to the fields of language typology and contrastive linguistics.

Firstly, although the typology of Chinese from an SFL perspective has been described first and directly by Halliday, existing descriptions are often found to be insufficient to address

specific questions in translation studies. Therefore, in the writing of each of the four journal articles, great effort was made to enrich typological descriptions and comparisons of both English and Chinese, especially of Chinese. Consequently, the present thesis offers more delicate descriptions of typological differences in the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, and of visual design of book cover, all of which are useful to future translation studies and contrastive linguistics between English and Chinese. For instance, Chapter 4 has proposed an elaborated version of Hasan's Cline of Dynamism, which is useful in a quantitative visualisation of the representation of participants in verbal art. In addition, the present thesis has proposed detailed lists of MODALITY and DEGREE OF INTENSITY items in English and Chinese, which are applicable to future studies.

The present thesis also calls for attention into the ensemble effect of the latent patterning in localised lexicogrammatical choices. Although some isolated choices may be insignificant and dismissed as merely random, together, they can create powerful ensemble effect that impacts on the readers, especially on a subliminal level. The present thesis has shown ways to explicate such latent patterning in various systems and modes, including proposing new taxonomies such as the elaborated Cline of Dynamism, generating quantitative results based on in-depth qualitative analysis, such as the instances and the categorisation of MODALITY, and using corpus tools to visualise the distribution of lexicogrammatical patterns, such as the distribution of the DEGREE OF INTENSITY.

8.3.3 For the General Public

The present thesis has three key messages for the general public.

Firstly, in translation, ideological considerations infiltrate the creation of both the source texts and the target texts. In the absence of successful works suggesting more positive or neutral evaluation of contemporary China, the two successful but politically charged English works by Chinese migrant writers reinforce the view that the "West" welcomes or at least does not object to a negative representation and evaluation of Mao, the communist regime of China, and contemporary China. Nevertheless, the considerable differences in the political investment between *Wild Swans* (1991) and *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003) suggest that it was possible for a somewhat less negative portrayal of Mao and China to achieve success in a major Anglophone country, which seems to suggest that the anti-communist sentiments in the "West" may have abated to some extent, from 1991 to 2003. This sets up an interesting question as to whether such a decreasing trend will maintain its momentum: whether any English work by a Chinese migrant writer may achieve mainstream success in the Anglophone sphere in the near future

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by taking a more neutral and balanced attitude towards contemporary China and its government and leaders.

Secondly, as the study of the different cover designs in Chapter 7 suggests, the Orientalism ideology has influenced the creation and reception of the source texts in the “West”, which views Asia as the cultural other; this is reflected in the inclusion of exotic Chinese elements in covers to attract reader attention and to represent China as somehow fundamentally different from the “West”. Although both books have challenged the gendered cultural bias about the “East” to a certain extent, they have nevertheless largely compromised with the Orientalism ideology through a process of self-orientalisation, by representing China as backward, weak, irrational, and oppressed; this is particularly the case of *Wild Swans*. This permeation of the Orientalism ideology has, not unexpectedly, been toned down in both Taiwanese translations. This calls for more awareness of and resistance against the Orientalist lens amongst the general public in Anglophone countries such as Australia, and challenges “Western” readers to extend their perspectives on China and the “East” to avoid believing only what they already believe. This also calls for Chinese migrant writers to challenge the status quo and show resistance against the tendency of self-orientalisation.

Lastly, translation is never a simple word-for-word rendition of the source text, but is a highly complex process that involves numerous stake-holders, including the translator, publisher, editor, the intended readers, and in some cases even the ST author. Depending on the nature of the source texts and the relation between the translator and the source author, the different levels of information in the new readership may result in dramatic translation shifts from the source texts.

8.4 Limitations

As anticipated in Chapter 1, the present thesis has proposed a Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to the study of political ideology in translation, which is used to investigate and systematically compare the linguistic manifestation of ideology expressed through the two chosen English source texts and their Chinese target texts. Whereas Sections 8.2 and 8.3 have discussed the usefulness of this approach in producing more objective evaluation of ideological shifts in translation, the present thesis has four main limitations.

To begin with, whereas objectivity is a key objective of an SFL-corpus approach to translation studies, complete objectivity remains an ideal goal. To take the analysis of TRANSITIVITY for example, there are small instances where a participant can potentially be

considered as more than one participant type because of certain grammatical indeterminacy. The issue of indeterminacy has been addressed by giving clear definitions, repeated review of data analysis, reference to available authoritative books, and consultancy with the supervisors and colleagues of the present author to minimise errors/controversies. Nevertheless, complete objectivity and accuracy of data analysis cannot be guaranteed, especially in the qualitative descriptions and analysis in Chapter 3.

In addition, due to a lack of delicate description of the two languages under investigation from an SFL perspective, much effort has been made to provide richer descriptions of the highlighted sub-systems in English, and especially in Chinese. An inevitable problem that arises out of providing new typological descriptions is the potential error and lack of comprehensiveness. For instance, Chapter 6 proposes a list of DEGREE OF INTENSITY items in Chinese, which has not been previously described from an SFL perspective. Whereas great effort has been made to create this list based on the works of some of the most authoritative Chinese grammarians, especially Lü Shuxiang (1982), there is the possibility that this list may not be comprehensive, or that some degrees are not accurately determined, both of which will affect the quantitative results. Nevertheless, although the new typological descriptions are open to potential criticism, any potential negligence and errors are expected not to significantly affect the results and their interpretations presented in the present thesis.

Furthermore, although the present thesis has investigated the ideology in translation from the ideational, interpersonal metafunctions, and multimodality, some other systems that are potentially indicative of ideological investment have not been dealt with: for example, systems within the textual metafunction, and the evaluative system of ENGAGEMENT within the interpersonal metafunction, both of which may be of interest for future research.

Lastly, due to constraints in time and effort, the present thesis has taken two of the most successful English works by Chinese migrant writers and their Chinese translation as domains of study, but has not analysed the translations of other books of a similar kind to create a potential corpus or ‘register’, and to draw more generalised conclusions.

Despite the limitations, the existing analyses of the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions and multimodality have clearly pointed to cruxes where foregrounded patterns in different metafunctions and modes converge. Hence, a conclusion on the ideological shifts in translation can be drawn with confidence. In addition, the two case studies show significant differences between the two translations, which suggests that popular English works by Chinese migrant writers, even those of autobiographies, cannot be mechanically classified as

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one text type, despite some shared similarities. The same differentiation should apply to their Chinese translations: despite some common patterns of translation shifts, the two translations greatly differ in the translation of ideology.

8.5 Suggestions for Future Studies

A number of linguistic systems within SFL that are potentially indicative of ideology have not been accommodated in the present thesis due to constraints in time and space.

Firstly, ideology can be further explored within the textual metafunction, especially regarding the thematic and information structure: within the present thesis, some limited attention has been paid to the textual metafunction within the visual grammar, but not to that in the verbal text. Choices of THEME/RHEME and GIVEN/NEW, and the predication of Theme can be potentially indicative of the expression of ideology, as they may reflect what the writer/translator assumes as given or new information to the readers, which may reflect some deeply rooted and unchallenged biases of the readers that the writer can manipulate.

Secondly, cohesive chains may also provide new opportunities to explicate the implicit and latent patterning in the source texts and the translations; they may also impact on the readers on a subliminal level. The present thesis has briefly touched upon cohesive chains with the corpus-based approaches in Chapters 5 and 6: for example, the distribution of high modality and total degree of intensity. However, the great potential of cohesive chains deserves further exploration. For example, it will be interesting and meaningful to trace the cohesive chain of ‘poverty’ in *Mao’s Last Dancer*, and compare the chains between the source text and the target text to examine whether the Chinese translation is more tightly or loosely woven in representing poverty in Mao’s China. Many potential lexical chains that are meaningful to the key claims of the books can be explored further.

Thirdly, within the interpersonal metafunction, the system of ENGAGEMENT (Martin and White 2005) also deserves further attention, which explores the speaker’s interaction with different viewpoints presented in the book. The system of ENGAGEMENT opens up interesting questions in this type of translation, as it is an unusual situation where target readers presumably have higher levels of information with the inner context – China in the 20th century – due to the geographical adjacency and being part of the Sinophone sphere, hence the protagonist in the Chinese translation may interact with certain viewpoints differently. One challenge of analysing ENGAGEMENT is that, because its efficacy to the Chinese language is

still in question, much effort will be needed to address typological differences to ensure commensurability in the analyses.

Fourthly, further incorporation of corpus tools will be helpful in explicating the implicit order of lexicogrammatical choices, especially in terms of the word association and colligation of certain volatile lexical items, such as high modality, total intensity, and people's names.

Lastly, the analytical approaches developed in the present thesis can be applied both to larger corpora of the Chinese translations of well-known English works by Chinese migrant writers. The present study of the influence of political ideology in translation can also be extended to corpora of the English translations of the Chinese works by some Nobel Prize-winning Chinese writers.

8.6 Coda

Starting from a somewhat painful and arduous beginning, the writing of the present thesis has progressed to an exciting and fulfilling destination. My dream of describing and examining translation equivalence and shifts with rigorous linguistic methods, corpus tools and critical perspectives has come true. It is hoped that the present thesis will inspire more researchers in translation studies to adopt linguistic theories, especially those of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as empowering tools for more systematic and retroductable translation studies. It is also hoped that it will stimulate further mutual interest and collaboration amongst translation studies, contrastive linguistics, and multimodal studies. For me, the coda is a new page one.

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APPENDICES

Pages in the appendices will be numbered separately.

APPENDICES

Components the Appendices:

- The full data that were analysed in each chapter (except for Chapter 7, where full texts of the books were the domains of study);
- Additional theoretical framework discussed or proposed in the present thesis, which are relevant to but have not been included in Chapters 4-7;
- Additional review of literature on typological differences that are broadly relevant to the data analysis in Chapters 4-7;
- Additional Data Analysis;
- Additional results.

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Appendix 4 for Chapter 4

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Appendix 4.1 Data

Appendix 4.1.1 Data for Chapter 4: Chapter 15 & 16 in *Wild Swans* (Source Text)

Pages 7-26 ("Appendix 4.1.1 Data for Chapter 4: Chapter 15 & 16 in *Wild Swans* (Source Text)") of this thesis has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Appendix 4.1.2 Data for Chapter 4: Chapter 15 & 16 in *Wild Swans* (Target Text)

Pages 28-38 ("Appendix 4.1.2 Data for Chapter 4: Chapter 15 & 16 in *Wild Swans* (Target Text)") of this thesis has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Appendix 4.2 Additional review of literature review on TRANSITIVITY and typological differences between English and Chinese in terms of TRANSITIVITY

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Appendix 4.2.1 Definitions and Examples of Key Concepts in TRANSITIVITY and TAXIS

A clause is “the central processing unit in the lexicogrammar” where “meanings of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure” (Halliday & Mattiessen, 2014, p. 10) and will be the basic units for the analysis of TRANSITIVITY and finiteness.

A clause consists of ‘a process unfolding through time and of participants being directly involved in this process in some way; and in addition there may be circumstances of time, space, cause, manner or one of a few other types. These circumstances are not directly involved in the process’ (213).

Appendix 4.2.2 Examples of different process types from Wild Swans (ST) (**process** in bold; process +participants underlined; *circumstances* in italic)

Process Type	Definition	Examples
Material	processing of doing and happening (p.224). Can be transitive or intransitive.	<i>In April 1963, <u>Mao</u> banned <u>all “Ghost Dramas,”</u></i>
Behavioural	processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behaviour (p.301) grammatically halfway between material and mental processes) (Toolan, 1988)	<i><u>She</u> wept <i>with me</i></i>
Mental	processes of ‘sensing’ (p.245)	<i><u>Mao</u> understood <u>the latent violence of the young</u></i>
Verbal	processes of saying (p.302)	<i>But <u>he</u> warned, “This is much below your ability.”</i>
Relational	process of being and having	<i>because <u>the Red Guard</u> was <u>a loose organization</u></i>
Existential	processes that represent that something exists or happens (p.307)	<i>There was <u>a girl</u> <i>[[named Ai-ling]]</i> <i>in my year.</i></i>

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Appendix 4.2.3 All Participant Types and their corresponding process types in the Transitive Model

Process Type	Participant Type	Definition	Example
Material:	<u>Actor</u>	the source of energy bringing about the change (p.224)	<u>Mao</u> tore up <u>the February resolution</u> .
	<u>Goal</u>	the entity that is ‘directed at’ by the action (p.226)	
	<u>Initiator</u>	a participant who brings about the action performed by the Actor (p.579)	If <u>he</u> was to get the population to act,
	<u>Recipient</u>	one that goods are given to (p. 237)	Only they could give <u>Mao</u> the immense force
	<u>Client</u>	one that services are done for (p. 237)	My grand-mother cut it for <u>me</u>
	<u>Scope</u>	the domain over which the process takes place or the process itself (p. 239)	After the meeting I went over to <u>her</u>
Behavioural:	<u>Behaver</u>	The participant who is ‘behaving’ (p. 301)	<u>the child</u> wept <u>copious tears</u> (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 346)
	<u>Behaviour</u>	where the behaviour is dressed up as if it was a participant, analogous to scope in a material process (p. 301)	
Mental:	<u>Senser</u>	a human-like participant that ‘senses’ – feels, thinks, wants or perceives (p.249)	and <u>some of them</u> hated <u>her</u>
	<u>Phenomenon</u>	that which is felt, thought, wanted or perceived	
	<u>Inducer</u>	the phenomenon in a ‘please’ type, where the typical Senser+Phenomenon order is reversed.	<u>a feeling of loss</u> overwhelmed me.
Verbal:	<u>Sayer</u>	anything, whether conscious or not, that puts out a signal (p. 304)	when <u>my mother</u> asked <u>them</u> to speak out
	<u>Receiver</u>	the one to whom the saying is directed (p. 306)	
	<u>Verbiage</u>	the function that corresponds to what is said, representing it as a class of thing rather than as a report or quote; it could be the content of what is said (Example	1. She did not mention <u>America</u> . 2. had we raised <u>any objection</u> .

		1) or the name of the saying (Example 2) (p.306)	
	<u>Target</u>	the entity that is targeted by the process of saying (p. 306)	Mao hailed <u>the Red Guards' actions</u> as "Very good indeed!"
	<u>Initiator*</u>	same function with the 'Initiator' in the material process, except that instead of bringing about the action, the Initiator* brings about a verbal process.	n/a
Relational (attributive):	<u>Carrier</u>	the entity to which the attribute, or some class, is ascribed (p. 267)	as <u>he</u> was <u>a man of immense optimism</u>
	<u>Attribute</u>	the class that has been ascribed or attributed to an entity (p. 267)	
	<u>Attributer</u>	a third participant representing the entity assigning the relationship of attribution (288)	I....to make them more "revolutionary."
	<u>Beneficiary</u>	the one to whom the relational process is said to take place	she was more loyal to <u>Chairman Mao</u>
Relational (identifying):	<u>Token</u>	In any 'identifying' clause, the Token and Value refer to the same thing, but are stratically distinct, with Token being the lower 'expression'	" <u>Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts!</u> "
	<u>Value</u>	Value is the higher 'content' (279)	
	<u>Assigner</u>	a third participant representing the entity assigning the relationship of identity (p. 288)	<u>the Red Guards</u> divided pupils into three categories:
Existential:	<u>Existent (d.i.)</u>	The entity or event that is being said to exist (p. 309)	There was <u>a girl</u> <u>[[named Ai-ling]]</u> in my year.

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Appendix 4.2.4 Seven Types of Characters in the Corpora

Type of character	Criteria
Mao	Mao Zedong, the supreme ruler of Mainland China in 1965-66
Mao's Assistants (MA)	Groups of high-ranking government/party officials who are portrayed as supporters of Mao's launch of the Cultural Revolution, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lin Biao's Group: Marshal Lin Biao, Xie Fuzhi etc. • Madame Mao's Group: The Gang of Four (Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan) + Chen Boda, etc. • Kang Sheng • Zhou Enlai
Red Guards (RG)	Individuals who are qualified to be and considered as 'Red Guards' at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, and their organisations
General Students (GS)	The author, Jung Chang's peers, who were students at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, excluding the author herself, and excluding those who were, in the corpus, explicitly presented as a victim or a RG. General students includes the objectified students (groups of general students), and 'we' (I + multiple other students).
The Direct Victims (DV)	Individuals and groups who are presented as the bearer of physical and verbal attack in the corpora
Parents	The mother or father or both of the author/narrator
I	The author/narrator. This type also includes a small number of cases of 'we' (I+ 'sibling[s]') and 'we' (I+ a friend).

Appendix 4.2.5 Additional descriptions of typological variation

Observation One: TRANSITIVITY between Chinese and English

1) **Tense V.S. aspect & phase.** In Chinese, TENSE is less grammaticalised than in English, whereas ASPECT and PHASE are more grammaticalised (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 299). This makes a contrastive study of finiteness (tense marker) difficult. Hence this research will only analyse the finiteness in the ST as a reference to the main contrastive study.

2) **Relational (attributive).** There are differences with the sub-categories of relational process (attributive). In English, there are three types of Relational (attributive): intensive, possessive and circumstantial (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). In Chinese, there are four: categorizing, possessive, circumstantial and ascriptive. An ascriptive process is where the Attribute is conflated with the Process, and the Carrier as a kind of setting (Halliday, 1998; Halliday & McDonald, 2004), e.g., 我太軟弱了 (Wǒ tài ruǎnrùo le: I too weak+ASP). Common in Chinese, this type of ‘adjective’ has been traditionally treated as a subclass of verb in Chinese linguistics (Chao 1948), which can be marked temporally, both for aspect and phase (Halliday & McDonald 2004). This difference does not significantly affect the participant types in this paper.

3) **Passivity.** Passive voice can be constructed in both Chinese and English, with or without an explicit agent. One difference is that agent precedes the process in Chinese passivity. In addition, in oral Chinese, a passive structure is semantically loaded with a feature of ‘undesirable’; however, in written register, it can be neutral (Halliday & McDonald, 2004).

4) **Verbal group.** In a clause where there is more than one verb, views differ as to whether the first or the second verb should be analysed as criterial (Halliday and McDonald 2004). This paper takes the in-between view of Long (1981, in Halliday and McDonald 2004, 379) that such examples be analysed as ‘complex processes’ with “double participants’. In fact, this approach has been consistently applied to the analysis of both ST and TT.

Observation Two: TAXIS between Chinese and English

Halliday (1999, 303) pointed out that the paradigmatic and syntagmatic extent of the sequences in Chinese are very similar as in English. There are some minor differences with individual clause nexus: Chinese marks the primary rather than the dependent clause; secondly, some English figures have to be reconstructed in order to go into Chinese, particularly ‘unless’ and

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‘until’. He also pointed out that there is more indeterminacy between parataxis and hypotaxis, in which case he suggested always taking it as paratactic when neither clause is marked. Again, with such minor differences, it is considered suitable to compare the ST and TT for the system of taxis.

Appendix 4.3 Data Analysis

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Appendix 4.3.1 The Analysis of TRANSITIVITY and Instantial Weight of the Seven Types of Participants that are Represented in the ST:

Mao,

the Red Guards,

General Students,

Mao's Assistants (Jiang Qing, the Gang of Four etc.),

the Parents,

and 'I'

in the English Source Text

A4.3.1.1 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao as Agent

Clause	Process	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes	Clause Status	Finiteness
In April 1963 Mao banned all “Ghost Drams,” a genre rich in ancient tales of revenge by dead victims’ spirits on those who had persecuted them.	banned	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
In 1964, Mao drew up a list of thirty-nine artists, writers, and scholars for denunciation.	drew up	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	Tense
He branded them “reactionary bourgeois authorities,” a new category of class enemies.	branded	Mao	Assigner		agent		Primary	Tense
Mao had the list circulated to officials down to my mother’s level with instructions to catch other “reactionary bourgeois authorities”	had...circulated	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent		Primary	Tense
His suspicion was confirmed when the Party newspapers refused to publish an article [[he had authorized]] denouncing Wu Han and his play about the Ming Mandarin.	had authorized	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Rankshifted	Tense
He wanted to make a preemptive strike and destroy the man he regarded as “China’s Khrushchev,” Liu Shaoqi, and his colleague Deng, as well as their followers in the Party.	destroy	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
This he deceptively termed the “Cultural Revolution. He knew his would be a lone battle, but this gave him the majestic satisfaction of feeling that he was challenging nothing less than the whole world, and maneuvering on a grand scale.	termed	Mao	Assigner		agent		Primary	Tense
There was even a tinge of self-pity as he portrayed himself as the tragic hero taking on a mighty enemy-the huge Party machine.	was challenging	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Rankshifted	Tense
On 10 November 1965, having repeatedly failed to have the article [[condemning Wu Han’s play]] published in Peking,	taking on	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Rankshifted	Tense
	having failed to have...published	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent	negative	Hypotactic	Tense
Mao was at last able to get it printed in Shanghai	was able to							
Mao had objected to this resolution, but he was ignored.	get...printed	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent		Primary	Tense
Mao tore up the February resolution and declared that all dissident scholars and their ideas must be “eliminated.”	had objected to	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent		Primary	Tense
He termed these officials “those in power following the capitalist road,” and declared war on them.	tore up	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
He knew he wanted to replace the whole of the Peking Party Committee,	termed	Mao	Assigner		agent		Primary	Tense
[[which he did]]	replace	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
	did (replace)	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypotactic	Tense
He also knew he wanted to get rid of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, and “the bourgeois headquarters in the Party.”	get rid of	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.

A4.3.1.1 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao as Agent

He calculated that if he controlled only a third of the Party	controlled	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Tense
In order not to let a single one of his enemies escape,	not to let..escape	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
he resolved to overthrow the entire Communist Party.	overthrow	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
My father and mother, like other senior Party people, could see that Mao had decided to punish some officials.	to punish	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
Meanwhile, Mao made his single most important organisational move: he set up his own personal chain of command that operated outside the Party apparatus, although – by formally claiming it was under the Pulitburo and the Central Committee – he was able to pretend it was acting on Party orders.	set up	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary	Tense
First, he picked as his deputy Marshal Lin Biao, who had succeeded Peng Dehai as defense minister in 1959 and had greatly boosted Mao's personality cult in the armed forces.	picked	Mao	Assigner		agent	Primary	Tense
Next, Mao moved in on the media, primarily the People's Daily, which carried the most authority as it was the official Party newspaper and the population had become accustomed to it being the voice of the regime.	moved in on	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	move in on some Primary	Tense
He appointed Chen Boda to take it over on 31 May, thus securing a channel through which he could speak directly to hundreds of millions of Chinese.	appointed	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
On 1 August, Mao made the unusual gesture of writing them an open letter	writing	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary	Non-finite pred.
to offer his "most warm and fiery support."	offer support	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
In the letter he subtly modified his earlier saying to ["Rebellion against reactionaries is justified."]	modified	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
Then, too, Mao had called on the population to criticize Party officials, but those who had taken up his invitation had ended up being labeled as rightists and had been damned.	had called on...	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
If he was to get the population to act,	was to get...to act	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
Mao would have to remove authority from the Party and establish absolute loyalty and obedience to himself alone.	remove	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Modality
To achieve this he needed terror - an intense terror that would block all other considerations and crush all other fears.	establish	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Modality
Mao now discarded this channel and turned directly to the masses of the youth.	to achieve	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
	discarded	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
Mao hailed the Red Guards' actions as "Very good indeed!" and ordered the nation to support them.	hailed	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	agent	Primary	Tense
	order...to support	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense

A4.3.1.1 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao as Agent

He encouraged the Red Guards to pick on a wider range of victims || (in order to increase the terror.)	encouraged ... to pick on	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
Mao and his camarilla took a number of steps calculated to increase their sense of power.	to increase	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
Mao let all this happen ||	let all this happen	Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent	Primary	Tense
in order to generate the terror and chaos	generate	Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
He was simply using them.	was using	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
As a matter of fact, Mao himself never ordered the Red Guards to kill, and his instructions regarding violence were contradictory.	never ordered...to kill	Mao	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
Through his Cultural Revolution Authority, Mao kept control over the Peking Red Guards.	kept control over	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary	Tense
He then sent them to the provinces || to tell the local young people || what to do.	sent... to tell..	Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary	Tense

A4.3.1.2 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

Clause Complex/ Clause	Process	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes	Clause Status	Finiteness
By the beginning of June a few activists from a middle school attached to one of China's most renowned universities, Qinghua in Peking, had got together several times to discuss their strategies for the forthcoming battle and had decided to call themselves "the Red Guards of Chairman Mao'	to call themselves	Red guards: a few activ	Assigner		agent		Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
Only they could give Mao the immense force that he needed to terrorize the whole society, and to create a chaos that would shake, and then shatter, the foundation of the Party. One slogan summed up the Red Guards' mission: "We vow to launch a bloody war against anyone who dares to resist the Cultural Revolution, who dares to oppose Chairman Mao!"	could give	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Modality
He made a speech calling on the Red Guards to charge out of their schools and "smash up the four olds" - defined as "old ideas, old culture. old customs. and old habits:'	to launch a war against	Red guards: we	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
They raided people's houses, ||	smash up	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
smashed their antiques, ||	raided	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
tore up paintings and works of calligraphy. He encouraged the Red Guards to pick on a wider range of victims in order to increase the terror.	smashed	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
With the help of some of these people's colleagues who hated them for various reasons, ranging from fanaticism to envy, the Red Guards began to abuse them.	tore up	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
	to pick on	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
	began to abuse	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.

A4.3.1.2 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

After saying "I'm not in favor of beating people to death," he continued: "But if some [Red Guards] hate the class enemies so much that they want to kill them, you don't have to force them to stop."

Soon, when more people from other backgrounds joined, some of the high officials' children managed to keep their own special groups, like the "Pickets."

As a result, some of them developed an outrageous "theory of the bloodline," summed up in the words of a song: "The son of a hero father is always a great man; a reactionary father produces nothing but a bastard!"

"Armed with this "theory," some high officials' children tyrannized and even tortured children from "undesirable" backgrounds. Many were able to avoid taking part because the Red Guard was a loose organization which, by and large, did not physically force its members to do evil. Those who chose to do so could not simply blame Mao. You have soundly, heartily battered the capitalist-roaders, the reactionary bourgeois authorities, the bloodsuckers and parasites. He then sent them to the provinces to tell the local young people what to do.

The Red Guards may have looted the houses which they were authorized to raid, but they rarely stole from shops. But Geng privately told me that I was considered soft and "too inactive," and must be toughened up before they could consider accepting me.

kill	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	conditional	Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
managed to keep	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
developed	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
tyrannized	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
tortured	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
did not force	Red guards: abstract	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Rankshifted	Tense
could not blame	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	agent		Primary	Modality
have battered	Red guards: you	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	in Mao's quote	Primary	Tense
to tell may have	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	sent by Mao	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
looted	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Modality
to raid	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		β in rankshifted	Non-finite pred.
accept	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.

A4.3.1.2 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

A popular Red Guard slogan went: "We can soar to heaven, and pierce the earth, because our Great Leader Chairman Mao is our supreme commander!"

While he could not prevent the general vandalism, he did manage to stop the books from being burned.

I was once called by the Red Guards in my form to attend such a meeting.

Although I was disapproved of, nobody did anything drastic, except criticize me.

At the time, the Red Guards divided pupils into three categories: "reds ' "blacks," and "grays."

In my own form a meeting was organized by the Red Guards at which we all had to give our family backgrounds so we could be categorized.

It was announced that they were to be kept under surveillance, sweep the school grounds and clean toilets, bow their heads at all times, and be prepared to be lectured by any Red Guard who cared to address them.

The "reds" slapped her and told her she was not fit to talk about her loyalty to Mao because she was a class enemy.

Stunned and scared, the Red Guards rushed her to a hospital.

pierce	Red guards: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	in quoted speech	Primary	Modality
could not prevent	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Hypotactic	Modality
did manage to stop	Red guards: s/he	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent		Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
was called	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	single receiver	Primary	Tense
critize(d)	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	single target	Hypotactic	Tense
divided	Red guards: they	Assigner		agent		Primary	Tense
was organized	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
to be lectured	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	Recipient=targ et	Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
slapped	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense
rushed	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent		Primary	Tense

A4.3.1.3 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

Clause	Process	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Clause Status	Finiteness
But the teenagers in the school, stirred up by the articles in the People's Daily, began to move against their teachers.	began to move against	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary	Non-finite pred.
One day my mother bicycled to the school to find that the pupils had rounded up the headmaster, the academic supervisor, the graded teachers, whom they understood from the official press to be "reactionary bourgeois authorities," and any other teachers they disliked.	had rounded up	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypot ²	Tense
They had shut them all up in a classroom and put a notice on the door	had shut...up	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
and put a notice on the door saying "demons' class."	put...on	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
Having set up the "prison,"	having set up	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
There was a stir among the pupils, but nobody challenged her order.	challenged	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
She went on to tell them that it was illegal to detain anyone without authorization, and that they should not ill-treat their teachers, who deserved their gratitude and respect.	should not ill-treat	students in my school	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Rankshifted	Modality
Under Mao a generation of teenagers grew up expecting to fight class enemies, and the vague calls in the press for a Cultural Revolution had stoked the feeling that a "war" was imminent.	to fight	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	β in rankshifted	Non-finite pred.
Mao understood the latent violence of the young, and said that since they were well fed and had had their lessons stopped, they could easily be stirred up and use their boundless energy to go out and wreak havoc.	use (the energy)	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted	Modality
Now the rebellious children set upon them.	set upon	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense

A4.3.1.3 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

Some schoolchildren set up prisons [[in which teachers were tortured.]]	set up	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
we ordered the traffic policemen aside	ordered	General students: we	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
and con- trolled the traffic ourselves.	controlled	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
A boy from my form snatched a corner of the paper chessboard on the nearest table	snatched	students (non-direct victim): s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
and jerked it away.	jerked away	General students (non-direct victim): s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
The boy [[who had jerked away their board]] shouted: "No more chess playing! Don't you know it is a bourgeois habit?"	jerked away	General students (non-direct victim): s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Rankshifted	Tense
He stooped to sweep up a handful of pieces	sweep up	General students (non-direct victim): s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
and threw them toward the river.	threw	General students (non-direct victim): s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
Quietly, a few started to paste rectangular slogans onto the walls of the teahouse and the trunk of the scholar tree.	started to paste	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
Some asked the manager to close down.	asked	General students: we	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
Others started pasting slogans on the walls.	started pasting	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.

A4.3.1.3 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

In my own form a meeting was organized by the Red Guards [[at which we all had to give our family backgrounds so we could be categorized.]]	had to give	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted	Modality
To humiliate her,	to humiliate	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
her classmates had shaved her beautiful black hair, leaving her head grotesquely bald.	had shaved	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
Since June, there had been an unwritten rule [[that everyone should remain in school around-the-dock to devote themselves entirely to the Cultural Revolution.]]	devote (oneself)	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	β in rankshifted	Non-finite pred.
some pupils in my school started to smash things up.	started to smash...up	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
In the back garden, pupils with big hammers and iron rods went along the sandstone bridges casually breaking the little statues ((A huge rope was tied around them, ll) and two gangs pulled.	breaking	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
They had to get some workers from outside to dig a hole around the tablets.	pulled	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
I could see that many pupils hated the whole thing, but nobody tried to stop it.	had to get	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Modality
Two students gripped the arms of each victim,	tried to stop it	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
twisting them around behind his back and pushing them up with such ferocity as almost	gripped	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
to dislocate them.	twisting	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
My philosophy teacher had been somewhat dismissive to those who had not done well in her classes, and some of them hated her and now started to accuse her of being "decadent."	pushing up	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.
	dislocate	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Hypot ²	Non-finite pred.
	started to accuse	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	agent	Hypotactic	Non-finite pred.

A4.3.1.3 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

The boys took her to an office	took	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
and "took revolutionary actions over her" - Before they started, they called for me especially and made me attend.	took action	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
A couple of classmates nudged me to (go to the front and join in the hitting.)	made...attend	General students: they	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	agent	Primary	Tense
As she cried out, begging them to stop, the boys [[who had set upon her]] said in cold voices, "Now you beg! Haven't you been ferocious? Now beg properly!"	nudged...to go and join	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
They kicked her again,	had set upon	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Rankshifted	Tense
and ordered her to kowtow to them	kicked	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
pupils from her form had raided her house, smashed all the antiques, including the snuff bottles,	ordered	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary	Tense
and beaten her parents and grandfather with the brass buckles of their belts.	had raided	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
So we covered the walls of our classroom with pictures of Mao's face beaming his most benign smile.	smashed	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
But we soon had to take them down, and quickly, too.	beaten	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
	covered	I+schoolmates	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Tense
	had to take..down	I+schoolmates	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	Primary	Modality

A4.3.1.4 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao's Assistants as Agent

Clause Complex/ Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
get the plays denounced, but when she approached the writers and ministers in charge of the arts and (he) had greatly boosted Mao's personality cult in the armed forces to take it over on 31 May, whose name Mme. Mao was using for her personal vendettas When Lin Biao called for everything that represented the old culture to be destroyed and gave them an audience in July. ordered his men || to order the "class enemies" to the Red Guards, || and to tell the Red Guards about their crimes, such as their "intention to overthrow the Communist government.' Now Xie ordered policemen "|| not to be bound by the old rules, || no matter if they had been set by the police authorities or by the state." || he continued: || "But if some [Red Guards] hate the class enemies so much || that they want to kill them, ||you don't have to force them to stop Mme. Mao made them the guards of honor in front of the Gate of Heavenly Peace	to get .. denounced	Verbal	transformative	Jiang Qing	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	agent	to attempt to influence
	approached	Material	transformative	Jiang Qing	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
	had boosted	Material	transformative	Lin Biao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
	to take it over	Material	transformative	Chen Boda	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	was using	Material	transformative	Mme. Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	HCSA
	called for...to be destroyed	Verbal	activity: targeting	Lin Biao	Sayer	Sayer (+Target)	agent	
	gave	Material	transformative	Mme. Mao	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
	ordered	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	Xie Fuzhi	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
	ordered	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	Xie Fuzhi	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
	continued	Verbal	semiosis: indicating	Xie Fuzhi	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
	made	Material	transformative	Mme. Mao	Assigner		agent	

A4.3.1.5 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the direct victims as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
who in 1959 had spoken out against Mao's disastrous policies	had spoken out against	Verbal	activity: talking	Peng De-Huai	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	agent	advocate:
to advocate birth control.	to advocate	Verbal	activity: targeting	Ma Yin-chu	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent	recommend, or speak in favour of
for showing him up (who had been protecting the dissident scholars and other class enemies.)	showing...up	Material		Ma Yin-Chu	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	in mental projection
	had been protecting	Material	transformative	Some officials in the Party	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	in mental projection
whoever opposes Chairman Mao!" for advocating "abuse of Chairman Mao."	opposes	Material	transformative	Mao's enemies	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	in quoted slogans
Mr. Chi drew our attention to a vivid description of the troops	advocating	Verbal	activity: targeting	A reporter	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent	in brackets
	drew	Mental	transformative	Mr. Chi	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
and quickly changed the subject.	changed	Material	transformative	Mr. Chi	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
and of protecting the condemned teachers.	protecting	Material	transformative	Mr. Kan	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	in accusation
as he might help me|| (join the Youth League)	might help	Material	transformative	Mr. Shan	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
He had been teaching a course on Marxist philosophy to the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds	had been teaching	Material	transformative	Mr. Shan	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
and had given them some essay-writing assignments.	had given them	Material	transformative	Mr. Shan	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
He had underlined bits of the essays	had underlined	Material	transformative	Mr. Shan	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
One evening he wrote a suicide note and then slashed his throat with a razor.	wrote	Material	creative	Mr. Kan	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
to dominate our schools anymore!" (|| said Mao.)	slashed	Material	transformative	Mr. Kan	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	reflexive
	to dominate	Material	transformative	most teachers	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	in quoted slogans

A4.3.1.5 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the direct victims as Agent

The teachers had let them do it	had let	Material	transformative	Other teachers in my mother's school	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor) Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	agent	
begging them to stop,	begging had had to	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	teacher	Sayer		Agent	
She had had to have it completely shaved.	have it shaved	Material	transformative	Student victims: s/he Student victims:	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent	reflexive
sweep the school grounds and	sweep	Material	transformative	collective Student victims:	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
clean toilets,	clean	Material	transformative	collective Student victims: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
like washing her comrades' clothes	washing	Material	transformative	Student victims: s/he General	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
and cleaning out toilets,	cleaning	Material	transformative	students: they Student victims: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
to pull grass out of the sports ground. and threw herself out.	to pull threw herself out	Material	transformative		Actor		Agent	reflexive

A4.3.1.6 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the parents as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
At the time, my father was overseeing the provincial Party newspaper, the Sichuan Daily, prepare a document in the spirit of the Politburo's February resolution	was overseeing	Material	transformative	father	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	oversee: to to supervise
	prepare	Material	creative	father	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
to guide the Cultural Revolution in Sichuan [[What he wrote]] became known as the "April Document."	wrote	Material	transformative	father	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
					Actor	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
when my mother asked them || to speak out	asked	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	mother	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
She went on to tell them ||...they should not ill-treat their teachers	went on to tell	Verbal	semiosis: indicating	mother	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent	
It had an air of indulgence of which my parents disapproved.	disapproved of	Verbal	Activity: targeting	parents	Sayer			

A4.3.1.6 Wild Swans_ST_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - ‘I’ as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
for “putting family first” and I immediately submitted my application to the Red Guard leader	putting...first submitted	Relational Material	identifying transformative	I I	Assigner Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent agent	in quoted blame
to change street names to make them more "revolutionary."	to change to make	Material Relational	transformative attributive	I I	Actor Attributor	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating) Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	agent agent	
telling cyclists to ride on the left.	telling...to	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	I	Sayer	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
I kept telling myself	kept telling	Verbal	semiosis: indicating	I	Sayer	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
that I must train my thoughts	must train	Material	transformative	I	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
I must reform myself	must reform	Material	transformative	I	Actor	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	agent	reflexive
I had to have it cut to the level of my earlobes.	had to have it cut	Material	transformative	I	Initiator	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	reflexive
In the mornings, while I hurried through my breakfast,	hurried through	Material	transformative	I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
I put patches on my trousers to to cover my eyes,	put patches on to cover my eyes	Material Material	transformative transformative	I I	Actor Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent Agent	reflexive
Hurriedly I shut the windows,	shut	Material	transformative	I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	

APPENDIX 4

Appendix 4.3.2 The Analysis of TRANSITIVITY and Instantial Weight of the Seven Types of Participants that are Represented in the TT:

Mao,

the Red Guards,

General Students,

Mao's Assistants (Jiang Qing, the Gang of Four etc.),

Direct victims,

the Parents,

and 'I'

in the Chinese Target Text

A4.3.2.1 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao as Agent

Clause	Process	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes	Clause Status	Modality
他仇恨「七十人大會」上[[迫使他改變政策的]]劉少奇、與會者，以及他們代表的中共幹部。	改變	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	forced	β in rankshifted	
毛要大換班。	大換班	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
毛搞文革剛起步，就遇到強大的抵制。	搞	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
毛要公開批評北京市副市長吳晗所著新編歷史劇「海瑞罷官」。	批評	Sayer	Sayer (+Target)	Agent		Hypotactic	
毛澤東此時在執掌軍隊的林彪元帥的配合卜占了上風，加上總理周恩來的支持，推翻了《二月提綱》。	推翻了	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
八月一日，毛做了一個頗不尋常的舉動：給清華附中紅衛兵寫了一封公開信，對他們的「造反有理」表示「最熱烈的支持」。	寫了	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
在這封信中，毛還微妙地把他早先的說法修飾成「對反動派造反有理」。	把…說法修飾成…	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
毛澤東要用紅衛兵做他的衝鋒隊。	用	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
為了叫老百姓[[按他說的]]去做，	叫	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent		Hypotactic	
他需要製造恐怖…	需要製造	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
只有用這支大軍	用	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
毛澤東才可能使整個社會陷入恐怖氣氛，[[也才可以造成一場]]	可能使…陷入	Initiator	Initiator (+Inanimate Actor)	Agent		Primary	Modality
[[足以動搖甚至摧毀共產黨基礎的]]大混亂。	造成	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	Modality
毛澤東現在撇開這條管道不用，[[直接轉向]]千萬年輕人。	撇開…不用	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	

A4.3.2.1 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao as Agent

他在北京天安門廣場第一次接見了一百多萬年輕人。	接見了	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
日後，他又如此接見過七次，共一千三百萬人。	接見過	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
毛澤東稱讚紅衛兵的行動「對待很！」，並鼓動紅衛兵擴大攻擊的目標，紅衛兵的施暴對象包括「老」階級敵人：以前的地主、資本家、與國民黨有關係的人、右派等，他們的孩子也不能倖免。	稱讚	Sayer	Sayer (+Target) Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
並鼓動紅衛兵擴大攻擊的目標，文革初期的犧牲品並不是[[他真正想要對付的]]目標，他也不特別喜歡或信任他的小紅衛兵，只不過是利用他們。	鼓勵	Sayer	Imperating)	Agent	Primary
	對付	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal) Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
只不過是利用他們。	是利用	Actor	Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
毛澤東本人並未明確下令，叫紅衛兵殺人，他的指示曖昧不清，那些選擇暴力的人不能全然把罪過推在毛澤東身上。	叫…殺人	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Hypotactic
毛澤東透過中央文革小組控制北京的紅衛兵。	透過…控制	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
他又要他們到各省去串聯，鼓動外地以北京為榜樣。	要他們	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
幾個月之前，這些成年人可能會擺擺手把這幫小孩子趕走，但現在他們知道毛澤東賦予紅衛兵無上權力。	賦予	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic

A4.3.2.2 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

Clause	Process	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes	Clause Status	Modality
六月初，一些來自清華大學附屬中學的學生舉行了幾次集會，對形勢進行分析，討論將來的對策，而且決定稱自己為「毛主席的紅衛兵」。	舉行	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
這個人是在他的狂熱個人崇拜及階級鬥爭的氣氛下成長的，具有年輕人的特質——愛造反、大膽、勇於為「正義事業」獻身，渴望冒險和行動。	稱...為	Red guards: they	Assigner		Agent		Hypotactic	
有一條口號可扼要說明紅衛兵的使命：「誰反對文化大革命，誰反對毛主席，我們就和誰血戰到底！」 ^{III}	獻身	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	reflexive	β in rankshifted	
他號召紅衛兵衝出學校大門，殺進社會，「大破一切剝削階級的舊思想、舊文化、舊風俗、舊習慣（四舊）」	和...血戰	Red guards: we	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes	Primary	
紅衛兵們按著這個含糊不清的口號指示，衝上街頭，抄家、砸古董、毀文物、撕古畫、燒書。	大破	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	in quotes	Hypotactic	
砸古董、II	抄家	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
毀文物、II	砸	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
撕古畫、II	毀	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
燒書。	撕	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
	燒	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	

A4.3.2.2 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

七澤來個頭紅衛兵的動，對待很：」，並鼓動紅衛兵擴大攻擊的目標，紅衛兵的施暴對象包括「老」階級敵人：以前的地主、資本家、與國民黨有關係的人、右派等，他們的孩子也不能倖免。	擴大	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic	
現在政策變了，公安部長謝富治是毛的親信之一，他下令把「階級敵人」交給紅衛兵處置，並把這些人的「罪行」告訴紅衛兵，如「陰謀推翻共產黨」，以激發青年人的怒火。	處置	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes	Hypotactic	
他還說：「我不贊成打死人，但如果對階級敵人恨之入骨，欲置之死地，我們也勸阻不住。」	置之死地	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes	Hypot ²	Modality
被抄家的人得跪在地上對紅衛兵磕頭，紅衛兵則揮舞銅頭皮帶連打帶踢。	揮舞	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
連打	連打	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
帶踢。	帶踢	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
在這種謬論的支配下，一些人橫行霸道，甚至在學校辦「勞改營」，折磨那些「出身不好」的孩子。	辦	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
折磨那些「出身不好」的孩子。	折磨	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
紅衛兵中，熱中抄家、拷問的人不全都忠於毛澤東，他們不過是抓住這個機會撒野，盡情享受。	抓住	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	
殺人，ll	殺人	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes	Hypot ²	
毛澤東本人並未明確下令，叫紅衛兵殺人，他的指示曖昧不清，那些選擇暴力的人不能全然把罪過推在毛澤東身上。	把...推在	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary	Modality

A4.3.2.2 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

他又要他們到各省去串聯，鼓動外地以北京為榜樣。	鼓勵	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Hypotactic
紅衛兵抄那些指定的犧牲者的家，	抄（家）	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
卻不去商店搶東西。	搶	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
他姓耿，是個十五歲的男孩子，過去他總是找機會跟我們一塊，在一起時又變得侷促不安。	找機會	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
因為我父親的級別比許多人的父親都高，所以我理應是紅衛兵的一員，但耿私下告訴我說，我「太軟弱」、「太不積極」，得經過考驗才能參加。	告訴	Red guards: s/he	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
當時男孩子都把宿舍讓給女孩子，自己睡教室，非紅衛兵成員也由紅衛兵帶著一塊兒參加各種活動。	由...帶著	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
然而，儘管費了很大的努力，我仍拚命躲避紅衛兵剪行人的長頭髮	剪	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
窄褲管、裙子	剪	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
或敲掉半高跟鞋鞋跟	敲掉	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
這些東西成了[[紅衛兵攻擊的]]目標，據說是「資產階級腐朽生活方式」。	攻擊	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
雖然他無法阻止普遍的破壞情形，	無法阻止	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
但盡力保護了書籍。	盡力保護	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
一次，我被我們班的紅衛兵叫去參加一個批鬥大會。	被...叫去	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary

A4.3.2.2 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the Red Guards as Agent

一個站在他旁邊的紅衛兵本能地伸手去扶他，但那位紅衛兵大概馬上發現自己「失態」，於是立即站直了身子，努力做出一副嚴厲的樣子，握緊拳頭，吼叫道：「滾上板凳去！」

雖然有些好鬥的紅衛兵對我不滿，但我只是挨批評，沒有人對我採取什麼「革命行動」。

紅衛兵把學生分為三大類：「紅五類」、「黑五類」、「麻灰類」。

在我們班上，紅衛兵召開會議，要大家自報家庭出身，以供分類。結果所有出身「職員」的孩子和一個父親是營業員的女孩一塊被班上的紅衛兵劃成「麻灰類」。

去扶	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic
採取革命行動	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	negative	Primary
把…分	Red guards: they	Assigner		Agent		Primary
召開	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent		Primary
要…自報	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent		Hypotactic
被劃分成	Red guards: they	Attributor		Agent		Primary
看管	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic
訓斥	Red guards: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent		Primary
甩了…（耳光）	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Primary
把…送到	Red guards: s/he	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Primary
監督	Red guards: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent		Hypotactic

幾天來，她一直和其他「黑」、「麻」學生在一起，由紅衛兵看管在操場除草。那天晚上，她班上的「紅五類」又訓斥她和其他「黑五類」、「麻灰類」，她嚥不下這口氣，反駁他們說：她更忠於毛主席。

有個男孩子甩了她一耳光，說她根本不配提忠於毛主席的話，因為她現在是階級敵人了。

紅衛兵在震驚之餘，趕緊把她送到醫院。

會上宣布將監督他們打掃學校操場、廁所，他們得隨時保持低頭狀，聽從紅衛兵的管教，還必須每天彙報思想和行動。

A4.3.2.3 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

Clause	Process	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Clause Status
但學校的學生開始被《人民日報》鼓勵起來反對老師了。 「人，找母祝啊脚踏早不到字伙，一進門就聽說學生們把校長、教導主任、級別高的教師和他們平素不喜歡的老師都當做「反動資產階級學術權威」，關進了一間教室，門上貼了張紙，寫著「鬼兒班」。	反對	學生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
關進了一間教室， 他們已辦起了「鬼兒班」，下一步該怎麼辦呢？ 我母親語氣強硬地卜令解散「鬼兒班」，這在學生當中引起一陣騷動，但沒有人站出來反對。 仕毛滓果統治卜，年輕一代總想者哪一天會與階級敵人戰鬥，而新聞媒體對「文化大革命」的號召，使人們覺得大戰即將來臨。	把...當作	學生	Attributor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
	關進	學生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
	辦起了	學生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
	反對	學生	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent	Hypotactic
	戰鬥	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
現在，青少年們又開始攻擊他們。	開始攻擊	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
有的學校裡學生私設公堂、「監獄」，	私設	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
有的甚至把老師折磨致死。 當時男孩子都把宿舍讓給女孩子，自己睡教室，非紅衛兵成員也由紅衛兵帶著一塊兒參加各種活動。	把...折磨	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
	把...讓給	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
我們要交通警察靠邊站，	要	General students: we	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
自己指揮交通。	指揮	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
成了[[同學們批評的]]目標	批評	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	Primary

A4.3.2.3 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

同年級的一位男孩子抓起就近桌子上的棋盤低一角，	抓起	General students (non-direct victim): s/l	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
猛然一扯，	扯	General students (non-direct victim): s/l	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
抓起一把棋子	抓起	General students (non-direct victim): s/l	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
就朝河裡扔。	扔	General students (non-direct victim): s/l	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
一些人默默地在茶館牆上和槐樹上張貼長方形標語。	張貼	General students (non-direct victim): s/l	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
後來我回想時，才明白好多孩子一定是因為能指揮大人而興奮	指揮	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypot ²
我和同學們一起走進茶館，有的要經理關門，有的貼標語，顧客紛紛悄然離去。	要	General students: we	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
有的貼標語	貼	General students: we	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
當林彪號召「破四舊」時，我們學校的一些學生也開始砸學校了。	砸	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
這些成了 [[狂熱分子攻擊的]]目標。	攻擊	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
學生們拿著榔頭和鐵棒	拿著	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
走上後花園的小石橋，打碎石欄杆上的小雕像尋開心。	打碎	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
現在，一根粗繩把它們拖了起來，兩隊學生使勁拉，要把它們拉倒。	拉	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
把它們拉倒。	把…拉倒	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Hypot ²
一、兩大也沒拉動，因為地基太深，紅衛兵只好從外面請來些工人沿著基座四周挖了兩個大坑，當這兩塊碑終於在歡呼聲中倒下時，後面的小路也被掀翻了。	請來	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
一些學生著了魔似地撕書	撕	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary

A4.3.2.3 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

在毛澤東親自支持下，北京大學的學生帶頭於一九六六年六月十八日批鬥了六十多位教授、系主任、校長。

批鬥時，這些人由兩名學生從後面揪住頭髮，狠狠地反扭雙臂，好像要把骨頭折斷，這叫做「坐噴氣式飛機」。

狠狠地反扭雙臂，

好像要把骨頭折斷，我的哲學老師對成績較差的學生有時有點太嚴厲，有些學生恨她，就說她「道敗敗壞」，理由是和她丈夫是在公共汽車上認識的，婚姻源自偶然一面。

男孩子們把老師帶到一間辦公室，

要對她「採取革命行動」他們動手前，特別要我到場，他們說：「當她看到你這個得意門生也來了，那才好呢！」有人用臂肘輕碰我，要我到前排去打，我沒理會。

要我到前排去打，我的老師被前排的男孩子們用腳猛踢，躺在地上痛苦地翻滾，頭髮散亂著，哭著求他們住手。

[[打她的]]男孩子則用冷冰冰的語調對她說：現在你知道求饒了，你過去不是凶得很嗎？現在好好求饒！」

批	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	Primary
鬥了	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
揪住	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
反扭	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
把…折斷	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
說	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	Primary
把…帶到	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
採取革命行動	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
要…到場	General students: they	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
碰	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
要	General students: they	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	Agent	Hypotactic
用腳猛踢	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
說	General students (non-direct victim): s/he	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	Primary
打	General Students: s/he	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted

A4.3.2.3 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - general students as Agent

他們一邊踢她，一邊令她向大家磕頭，並喊：「請革命小將們饒我一命！」	踢令…磕頭，並喊	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
一邊令她	並喊	General students: they	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	Agent	Primary
我第二天見到她時，她頭上圍著頭巾：同學給她剃了個「陰陽頭」，她只好把頭髮都剃光。	給…剃了	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
同學為了羞辱她，	羞辱	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Hypotactic
剪掉了她美麗的黑髮，	剪掉了	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
把她的頭剃成怪誕的禿子。但是在地壇上有些父親職務較高的同學向來嫌她多事，討厭她，眼下有了權，決定把她算成「黑五類」。	把…剃成	General students: they	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	Primary
馬上，我們也在教室的牆上貼滿了毛澤東的像——這樣我們也可以到處看見他的慈眉善目了。	把…算成	General students: they	Attributor		Agent	Hypotactic
但是我們馬上又得揭下來了，因為有消息說，老農民其實是用毛主席像做糊牆紙，因為毛的像使用最好的紙張印刷的，而且免費供應。	貼滿了	我+同校學生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
我對工作組要我們寫大字報揭發、批判他們十分反感。	揭下來	我+同校學生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Primary
	寫	我+同校學生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	Rankshifted
揭發	揭發	我+同校學生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	β in rankshifted
、批判他們	批判	我+同校學生	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	β in rankshifted

A4.3.2.4 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - Mao's Assistants as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
毛夫人江青找…	找	Material	transformative	毛夫人	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
寫了篇批判文章，	寫了	Material	transformative	姚文元	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	agent	
毛澤東此時在 [[執掌軍隊的林彪元帥]] 的配合]	執掌軍隊	Material	transformative	林彪	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
下占了上風，						Actor (+ Animate Goal)		
她在七月接見了他們。	接見了	Material	transformative	江青	Actor	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	agent	
他號召紅衛兵衝出學校大門，殺進社會，	號召	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	林彪	Sayer		Agent	
他下令把「階級敵人」交給紅衛兵處置，並把這些人的	下令	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	謝富治	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	HCSA
「罪行」告訴紅衛兵，如「陰謀推翻共產黨」，以激發	命令	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	謝富治	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	HCSA
青年人的怒火。	阻	Material	transformative	謝富治+公安人員	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
現在，謝命令公安人員：「不要受過去規定所約束，不	可以藉	Material	transformative	Mme. Mao	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	agent	
管是國家的，還是公安機關的。」	攻擊	Material	transformative	Mme. Mao	Initiator	Initiator (+Animate Actor)	agent	
可以藉他的名字								
來攻擊她的私敵。								

A4.3.2.5 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the direct victims as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Relational: sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
「七千人大會」上[[迫使他改變政策的]]劉少奇、與會者，以及他們代表的中共幹部。	迫使他改變	Material	transformative		劉少奇+others	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in mental projection
「誰敢反對毛主席，	反對	Material	transformative		毛的反對者	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quoted slogan
寫此則報道的記者	寫	Material	creative		記者	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	鼓勵	Verbal	semiosis: imperating		記者	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
然後他迅速改變了話題。 <small>埋由是</small>	改變了	Material	transformative		紀先生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
他重用「反動資產階級學術權威」。	重用	Material	transformative		凱先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes
「反對毛主席」	反對	Material	transformative		陝先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes
只是他可能幫助我	可能幫助	Material	transformative		陝先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
他教授高中學生馬克思主義哲學課，	教授	Material	transformative		陝先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
常在學生的作文上，用紅筆畫出	用…畫出	Material	transformative		陝先生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
據此在大字報上說||他惡意攻擊毛主席。	攻擊	Material	transformative		陝先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes
一天傍晚，他寫了一封遺書，然後用剃鬚刀片割了自己的喉嚨。	寫了	Material	creative		凱先生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	用刀	Material	transformative		凱先生	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
	割了	Material	transformative		凱先生	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
「把學生當敵人」，	把…當	Relational	identifying	circumstantial	老師	Assigner	Assigner (+Animate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
用考試	用	Material	transformative		老師	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
整他們，	整	Material	transformative		老師	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	in quotes
毒害他們的心靈，	毒害	Material	transformative		老師	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	

A4.3.2.5 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the direct victims as Agent

毛澤東宣布：「[[資產階級知識份子統治我們學校]]

的現象再也不能繼續了。」	統治	Material	transformative	資產階級知識份子	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Sayer (+Animate Target) Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating) Initiator	Agent	
是因為[[她經常讚揚我	讚揚	Verbal	activity: targeting	teacher	Sayer		Agent	
哭著求他們…	求	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	teacher	Sayer		Agent	
[[她只好把頭髮都剃光。	只好把… 剃光	Material	transformative	Student victims: s/he Student victims: collective	Initiator Actor	(+Inanimate Actor) Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
打掃學校操場、廁所，[[	打掃	Material	transformative				Agent	
為同學洗衣服、[[	洗衣服	Material	transformative	Student victims: s/he	Actor		Agent	
打掃廁所，[[	打掃	Material	transformative	Student victims: s/he Student victims: collective	Actor		Agent	
在操場除草。	除草	Material	transformative		Actor	Goal)	Agent	

A4.3.2.6 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - the parents as Agent

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
我父親當時管《四川日報》， 登這篇文章， 起草一份《四月意見》， 亂抓替罪羊。	管	Material	transformative	父親	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	negative
	登	Material	transformative	父親	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	起草	Material	creative	父親	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	亂抓	Material	transformative	母親	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal) Sayer (+Receiver:	Agent	
下命令。 解散「鬼兒班」，	下	Verbal	activity: talking	母親	Sayer	Imperating)	Agent	HCSA
	解散	Material	transformative	母親	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal) Sayer (+Receiver:	Agent	
我母親要他們	要	Verbal	semiosis: imperating	母親	Sayer	Imperating) Sayer (+Receiver:	Agent	
她告訴大家 [[他管轄的]] 單位被打招呼， 因為它有一種安閒享樂的氣氛， 是我父母不贊成的。	告訴	Verbal	semiosis: indicating	母親	Sayer	Imperating)	Agent	
	管轄	Material	transformative	父親	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	
	贊成	Verbal	activity: targeting	父母親	Sayer	Sayer (+Inanimate Target)	Agent	

A4.3.2.7 Wild Swans_TT_TRANSITIVITY Analysis - 'I'

Clause	Process	Process Type	Process sub-type	Relational: sub-type	Participant	Participant Type	Participant Subtype	Ergative role	Special Notes
引起他的注意，Ⅱ原因倒不是別的，去改換街道的名稱，使它們更革命化。	引起	Mental	perceptive		我	Phenomenon		Agent	please' type
	去改變	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	使	Relational	attributive	circumstantial	I	Attributor		Agent	
告訴騎腳踏車的人靠左騎。	告訴	Verbal	semiosis: indicating		I	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
我不斷告誡自己：得努力改造自己。我只好把它剪成齊耳根的短髮，Ⅱ但在責備自己是「小資產階級」之餘，I	告誡	Verbal	semiosis: imperating		I	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	reflexive
	得努力改造	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+ Animate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
	把…剪成	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
	責備	Verbal	activity: targeting		I	Sayer	Sayer (+Animate Target)	Agent	reflexive
我在褲子上打了補釘，Ⅱ以使自己看上去更加「無產階級化」。	打了（補丁）	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	
	使…看上去找不到話來安慰	Relational	attributive	circumstantial	I	Attributor		Agent	
找不到半句話來安慰她。	慰	Verbal	semiosis: indicating		I	Sayer	Sayer (+Receiver: Imperating)	Agent	
我下意識地用手捂住眼睛，Ⅱ我趕緊關上窗戶，	用手捂住眼睛	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	reflexive
	關上	Material	transformative		I	Actor	Actor (+Inanimate Goal)	Agent	

APPENDIX 4

Appendix 4.4 Additional Results and Discussions

Appendix 4.4.1 Results of the Participant Type (Transitive Model)

	Mao		Mao's Assistants		Parents		I		Students		Red Guards		Victims	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
Actor	35	23	8	9	12	13	49	69	74	75	60	62	44	51
Goal	6	7	1		5	1	16	12	10	6	15	10	54	63
Initiator	7	1	1	1			1		2	1	2		1	1
Recipient	1							2	1	3	5	5	2	
Client							1	2		1				1
Scope (range)	2	2	1		1	2	1	1		1	2	2	3	
Behaver														
Behaviour														
Senser	31	8	2	3	15	12	61	68	12	30	10	16	6	13
Phenomenon	4	2			1	2	8	8	2		6	4	20	16
Sayer	26	19	7	10	11	8	9	15	19	28	15	15	17	21
Target	2						4	5				3	9	5
Receiver					4	4	11	12	6	6	9	7	9	3
Verbiage	1						1						1	
Carrier	11	1	5	1	7	1	36	26	17	15	31	37	41	43
Attributor			1				1	2		2		1		
Beneficiary	7	4							1	3				2
Attribute	2						1	1		1	4	5	12	5
Token	8	3	4	4	4	4	2	1	6	1	7	2	15	12
Assigner	4		1				1				2	2		1
Value	1	1			1	1			2		2	2	7	2
Existent													4	1
Circumstances	5	5	4		3	3	5	3	8	4	4	2	13	4
Total	154	76	36	28	64	64	215	227	161	179	169	175	258	244

Appendix 5 for Chapter 5

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5.1 Data

Pages 85-126 of this thesis ("Appendix 5.1.1.1 Data for the analysis in Chapter 5: Chapter 27 in Wild Swans (Source Text)", "Appendix 5.1.1.2 Data for the analysis in Chapter 5: Chapter 27 in Wild Swans (Chinese Target Text)", "Appendix 5.1.2.1 Data for the analysis in Chapter 5: Chapter 22 in Mao's Last Dancer (Source Text)", and "Appendix 5.1.2.2 Data for the analysis in Chapter 5: Chapter 22 in Mao's Last Dancer (Chinese Target Text)") have been removed as they contain copyright material.

Appendix 5.2 Additional review of literature review on typological differences that are broadly relevant to the data analysis in Chapter 5

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5.2.1 Different MOOD types in English (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 14):

- Indicative MOOD: + Subject + Finite
 - Declarative MOOD: Subject^Finite
 - Interrogative MOOD:
 - Yes/no: Finite^Subject
 - WH-: Wh^Finite
- Imperative MOOD: +finite

Appendix 5.2.2 Table of the four speech functions and the congruent mood types in English

	Commodity exchanged	Congruent MOOD type	Examples	Clause as
role in exchange	(a) goods- &-services			
(i) giving	“offer”	indicative: interrogative (Yes/no)	would you like some help?	proposal: exchange of goods-&- services
(ii) demanding	“command”	imperative	“Bend your knees!”	
	(b) information			
(i) giving	“statement”	indicative: declarative	my father had not been rehabilitated	proposition: exchange of information
(ii) demanding	“question”	indicative: interrogative	but what difference did that make?	

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5.2.3 The realisation of commands in different moods

- A). Bend your knees! (Imperative – congruent)
- B). Can you bend your knees? (Interrogative [yes/no] – incongruent)
- C). Perhaps you should bend your knees. (Declarative – incongruent)
- D). I think you should bend your knees. (Declarative - incongruent)

Appendix 5.2.4 Comparison of the System of MOOD in Chinese and English

All major clauses select for MOOD in Chinese, as in English. There is also comparable cross-coupling between speech function and congruent mood type between the two languages. Typically, indicative clauses realise propositions, and imperatives realise commands in proposal; however, speech functions can be realised metaphorically and incongruently. In addition, positive polarity is unmarked in Chinese, as in English and most languages.

Differences

The MOOD block in English primarily includes Subject and Finite. The rest of the clause is called Residue, which can include Adjunct, Predicator, Complement, Vocatives and Expletives. For example:

Example of Mood & Residue in English

The Indians	had	originally	planned to present	the document	to the President.
Subject	Finite	Adjunct	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue			

In this example, the Mood element consists of: (1) the Subject, which is a nominal group, and (2) the Finite, which is part of a verbal group that has the function of making the proposition finite or arguable. There are two types of finite in English: primary tense and modality (144). In Chinese, however, there is no system of FINITENESS, as Chinese does not have a grammaticalised system of TENSE. Instead, time is grammaticalised as ASPECT – a process being perfective/imperfective and PHASE – a process being completive/ongoing. The Mood element in Chinese primarily consists of Subject and Predicator.

Below are the specific differences in each mood type:

Declarative:

- A Subject may be present or presumed (by ellipsis) in Chinese, however the ellipsis is usually anaphoric. Therefore, the absence of Subject can be found in both indicative and imperative clauses.

Interrogative:

There are two types of interrogative in Chinese:

- Elemental (Wh-): characterized by the presence of an interrogative word, either nominal or adverbial. Whereas interrogative expressions in English appear at the front

of the clause, those in Chinese occupy the same place in the clause as the element that is being sought

- Polar: there are the biased (adding 嗎 *ma* to the end of a declarative clause) and unbiased (A-not-A: repeating the first element in the verbal with the negative particle in between) types. “Biased” here means the speaker pre-selects the polarity and asks for it to be checked.

Imperative:

- The unmarked form of the command is realized by a verb in the simple form (unmarked for aspect or phase), which is often preceded by the personal pronouns 你 *nǐ*, 您 *nín*, 你們 *nǐmen*). This explicit addressee is not “marked” as in the English imperative “YOU bend your knees”.
- Negative imperative is realised by the modal *buyao* and *bie* in front of the verb

Huddleston (2002, 173-175) takes a broader definition of modality that includes:

- Lexical modals: adjectives (*possible, necessary, likely, probably, bound, supposed*), adverbs (*perhaps, possibly, necessarily, probably, certainly, surely*) verbs (*insist, permit, require*) and nouns (*possibility, necessity, permission*) and similar derivatives
- Verb inflection: the plain form of the verb is commonly used with a modal sense, as in "He's"“the one to do the job”.

VALUE refers to the strength of modality, which can be divided into three: median/low/high. For example, within obligation there are: median “should”, low “may” and high “must”. Conscious or unconscious change of the value of modality in translation, especially within modulation, can alter the ideological stance.

When determining the value of modality, it is also important to consider negation. A clause is either positive or negative, with the latter being the marked form in most languages, realized by some additional element (Halliday and Mattiessen 2014); this saves effort as positive works out around ten times as frequent as negative (Halliday and James 1993). In a clause with modality, negation can be placed on either the proposition/proposal itself - “direct”, or on modality - “transferred” (182). With the former, the same value of the modality is preserved, e.g., *He must be tired* (*must*=high probability)>*He must be **not tired*** (*must*= same strength). With the latter, the value of the modality in the outer rows (low & high) has to be switched,

e.g., *He is certainly tired* (certainly=high probability)>*He is **not certainly** tired* (not certainly=low probability).

MANIFESTATION refers to whether the source of conviction is explicitly stated or left implicit, e.g., explicit probability with high value “I’m sure he is innocent”, and implicit probability with high value “he must be innocent”. Explicit modality in English is usually achieved through a complex of two clauses, with the first one indicating the source of conviction. ORIENTATION refers to whether the conviction of the uncertainty rely on the speaker’s judgment, or the speaker’s judgment is grammatically objectified. For example, subjective obligation with high value “I must leave”, objective obligation with high value “I am obliged to leave”. Generally, modal auxiliaries express subjective modality. Both MANIFESTATION and ORIENTATION can be ideologically invested: generally speaking, the more objective the modality is presented as grammatically, especially objective & explicit, the harder it becomes for a hearer to resist and challenge.

Studies of Modality in Chinese Linguistics

Wang (1959:130) divided modal verbs into two categories: 可能 *kěnéng* “possibility” (ability, permission, probability, necessity) and 意志 *yìzhì* “inclination” (inclination). Lu’s (1982: 246) two-way classification is: 可能 *kěnéng* “possibility” (ability, permission, probability) and 必要 *bìyào* “necessity” (inclination, obligation, certainty). Ma (2005: 45) has proposed six categories: (1) 可能 *kěnéng* “possibility” Type A - “possibility”, (2) 必要 *bìyào* “necessity”, (3) 可能 *kěnéng* “possibility” Type B - “ability”, (4) 願望 *yuànwàng* “wish”, (5) 估價 *gūjià* “valuation”, (6) 許可 *xǔkě* “permission”.

Zhu Yongsheng’s classification of Chinese modality based on SFL:

Zhu (1996) proposed a classification of modal verbs in Chinese which correspond to the speech functions in SFL: (1) modality “probability”; (2) modulation “inclination” and “obligation”; Zhu left out “usuality”. He also listed Chinese modality in their realization forms, their strength and comparison with English. This paper will propose a list of Chinese modality based on Zhu’s classification, but with these few points departing from his:

- a) The Chinese modality type should also include usuality, as stated by Halliday & McDonald (2004). Zhu claimed that Chinese usuality are not expressed in the form of modal auxiliaries; however, it is clear that usuality can be expressed in the form of

adverbs, such as *ou'er* “occasionally”, *jingchang* “often” and *zong* “always”. Therefore, “usuality” is included.

- b) A original contribution here is the analysis of additional sub-systems of ORIENTATION and MANIFESTATION to make finer differentiation of Chinese modality. The same principles mentioned in English modality have been applied to determine the orientation and manifestation of Chinese modality.
- c) Zhu has provided a rather small set of examples of modality. To avoid missing out on expressions that are clearly modality, more entries have been added based on the given corpora; these expressions have either been included by Chinese linguists such as Lu (2002) and Ma (2005), or are added by the current author for obvious similarity to Zhu’s given examples.
- d) Zhu claimed that negative marker in Chinese must precede modal auxiliaries, e.g., the negative form of 會 *huì* “can/will” has to be 不會 *bú huì* “cannot/ will not”, not 會不 *huì bù*. This is not always true. In a yes-no interrogative, 會 *huì* can precede the negative marker, 他會不來嗎 *tā huì bù lái ma?* (*Would he not come?*) “He will not come+‘mood’ [particle for yes-no interrogative]”. As in English, negation in Chinese can be placed either on proposition/proposal or on modality, and their position may precede or follow modal expressions.

Similarities between Chinese and English modality:

- a free clause both in Chinese and English can realise one of the two speech functions: proposition or proposal
- there is a continuum of value in the modality
- the system of MANIFESTATION and ORIENTATION can be analysed to determine if the source of conviction is explicit or implicit, and if the modality is personalised or objective
- modality in both English and Chinese can be realised in a wide range of forms:
 - A. modal auxiliaries
 - B. adverbs
 - C. modal auxiliaries + adverbs
 - D. full verbs
 - E. interpersonal metaphor

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5.3 Additional Results and Discussion

Appendix 5.3.1 Quantitative results on Modality from SysFan

Corpora			WS-ST	WS-TT	MLD-ST	MLD-TT
Total clause complexes			486	425	378	232
Clauses			912	1,157	606	678
Free indicative clauses (FIC)			661	913	486	550
Imperative clause			8	8	12	11
FIC with Modality			99 [15.0%]	111 [12.2%]	90 [18.5%]	92 [16.7%]
Modalization	probability		29 [69.0%]	18 [54.5%]	25 [100%]	22 [100%]
	usuality		13 [31.0%]	14 [45.5%]	0 [0%]	0 [0%]
Modulation	inclination		26 [45.6%]	28 [35.4%]	50 [76.9%]	48 [68.6%]
	obligation		31 [54.4%]	51 [64.6%]	15 [23.1%]	22 [31.4%]
Orientation	subjective		68 [68.7%]	72 [64.9%]	86 [95.6%]	84 [91.3%]
	objective		31 [31.3%]	39 [35.1%]	4 [4.4%]	8 [8.7%]
Manifestation	explicit		9 [9.1%]	16 [14.4%]	9 [10.0%]	12 [13.0%]
	implicit		90 [90.9%]	95 [85.6%]	81 [90.0%]	80 [87.0%]
Value	median		53 [54.1%]	31 [27.9]	59 [65.6%]	46 [50.0%]
	outer	high	32 [69.6%]	63 [78.8%]	23 [74.2%]	34 [73.9%]
		low	14 [30.4%]	17 [21.3%]	8 [25.8%]	12 [26.1%]

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5.3.2 The detailed handling of modality in the translation of *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*

Text	Modality Type	Overall		C1:	C2:			C3:	Subtotal of C1-C3	C4:	
		ST	T T		U P	DO WN	Tot al			Increa sing Shift	Decre asing Shift
<i>WS</i>	Probability	29	18	10	1		1	2	13	16	5
	Usuality	13	14	6	1	2	3	1	9	4	5
	Inclination	26	28	6	1	1	2	3	11	15	20
	Obligation	31	51	21	6		6	2	29	2	24
	Total	99	111	43 [43.4 %]			12	8	62 (62.6 %)		
<i>ML D</i>	Probability	25	22	18				2	20	5	4
	Usuality	0	0						0		
	Inclination	50	48	32	3	1	4	2	38	12	12
	Obligation	15	22	9		1	1	2	12	3	12
	Total	90	92	59 [65.6 %]			5	6	70 (77.8 %)		

Appendix 5.3.3 The translation of ‘would’ into Chinese

Admittedly, typological differences exist between Chinese and English, and can have impacts on the translation of modality. An example that stands out in both translations is the translation of “will” and “would” into Chinese. A frequency search in the concordance programme SysConc (Wu 2000) shows that “would” is the most frequent modality in both *WS* and *MLD*.

Table Nine. Top five most frequent modality in the four corpora

	WS: ST		MLD: ST		WS: TT		MLD: TT	
Ranking	Modality	Instances	Mod.	Inst.	Mod.	Inst.	Mod.	Inst.
1	would	32	would	12	要 yào	14	會 huì	16
2	have to	12	will	10	會 huì	11	要 yào	15
3	never	5	couldn’t	8	得 děi	8	能 néng	7
4	must	5	want to	7	想 xiǎng	6	想 xiǎng	5
5	often	4	could	7	只得 zhǐdé	4	不想 bùxiǎng	5

“Will” and “would” can both indicate median probability/usuality/inclination, but most commonly median inclination. “Would” appear 32 times in WS-ST, 21 of which are inclination. Amongst the top five in its TT, only *huì* and *xiǎng* potentially express median inclination, whereas *yào* expresses high obligation/inclination, and *děi* & *zhǐdé* express high obligation. So how did “would” get lost in the translation of *WS*?

As previously mentioned, there is an obligatory choice between tense and modality for an English finite. In narrating habitual past events, modality expressions such as “would” are often selected to avoid the specific temporal location that past tense can indicate. Similarly, modality expressions such as “will” and “be going to do” are usually selected for future tense. A speaker’s decision to opt for modality as the finite instead of tense will result in a blurring of the actuality of the events. Consider the two pairs below:

A1: I will/am going to leave at three.

B1: I’m leaving at three.

A2: Back then I would not talk to him.

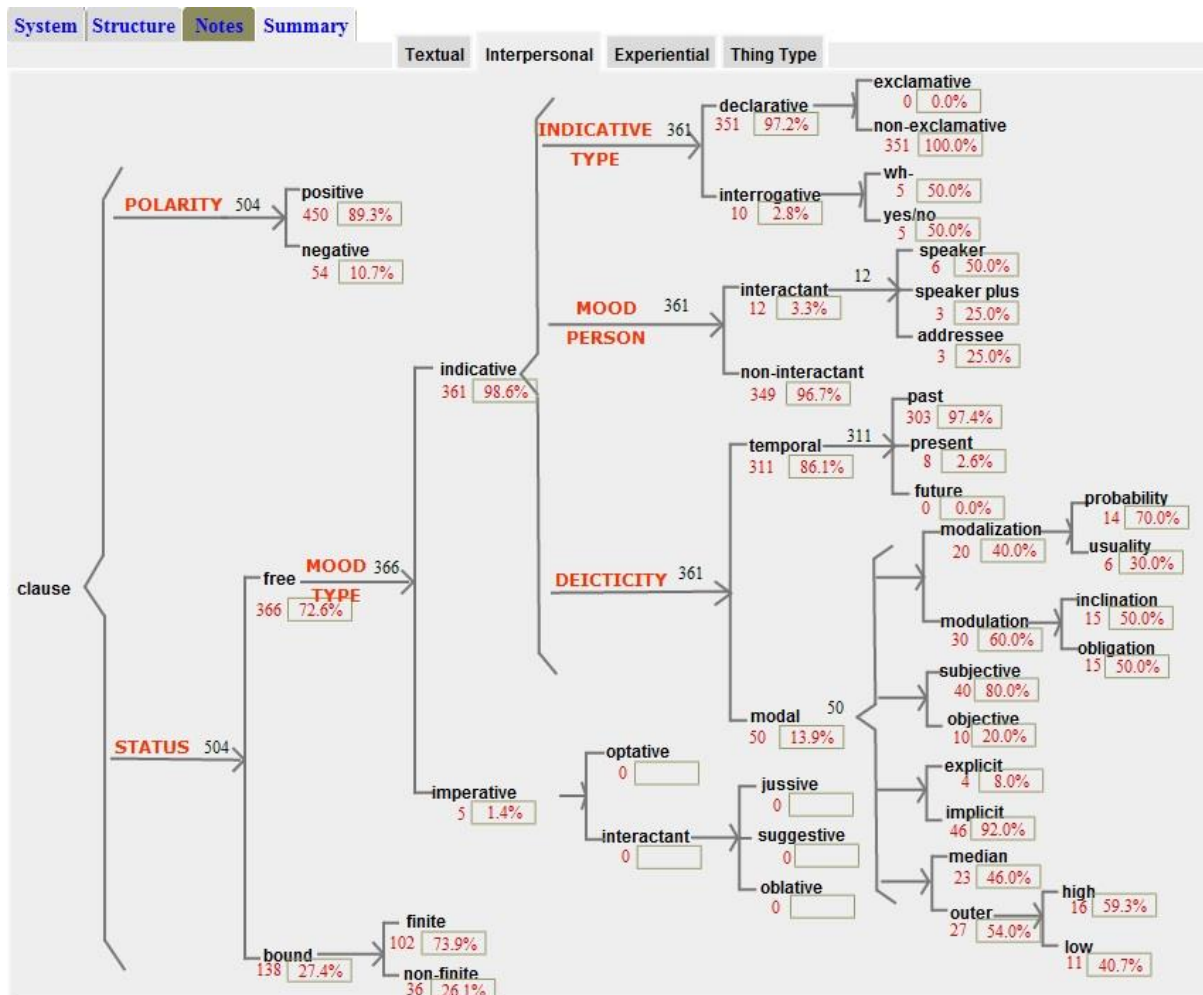
B2: Back then I did not talk to him.

The difference between As and Bs is rather subtle: the As express an inclination of the speaker, whilst Bs are more actual and concrete. In Chinese, such option between tense and modality

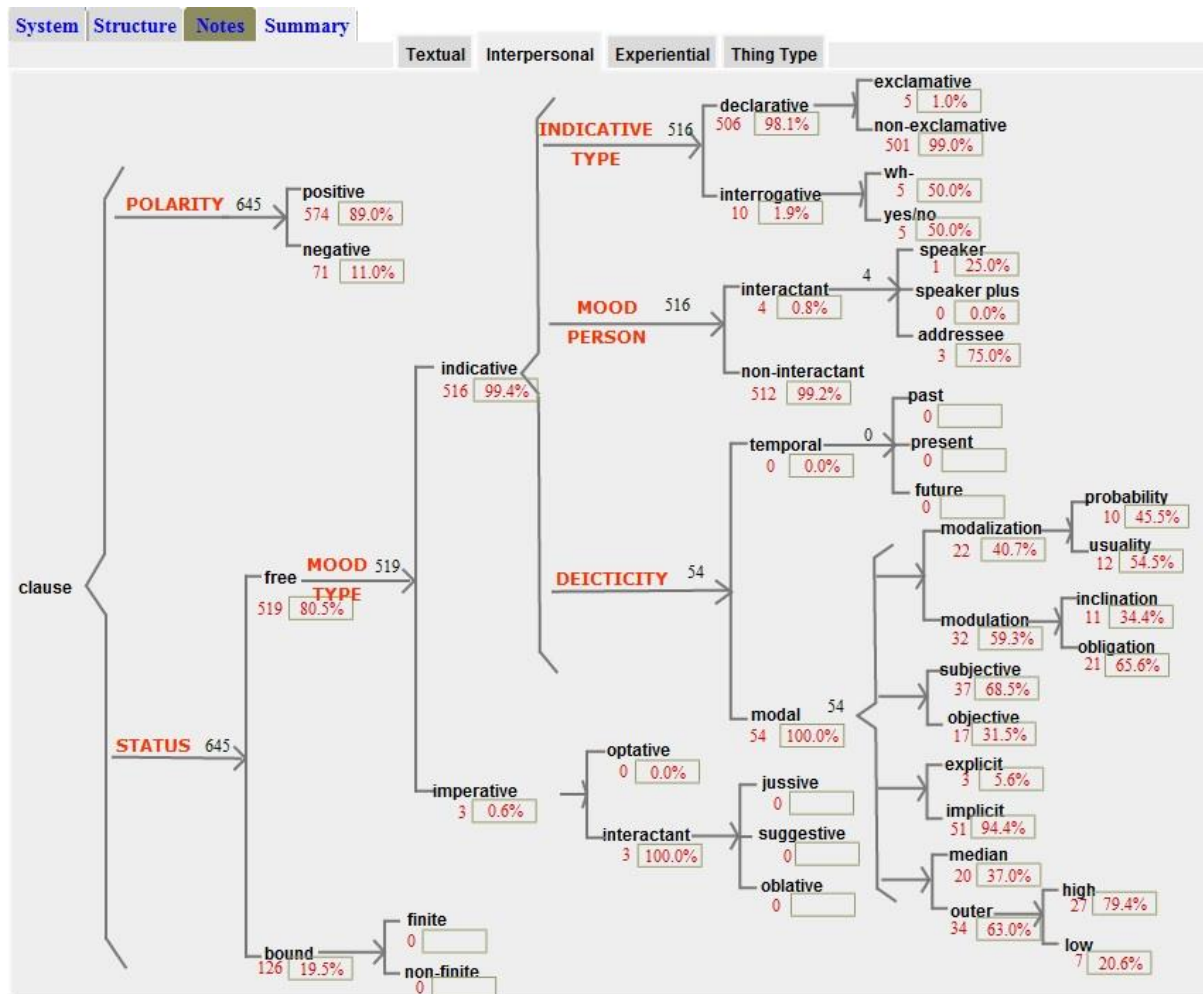
is not obligatory, due to a lack of the FINITE system. Therefore, the translation of A1 and B1 are highly likely to be the same: 我三點走 *Wǒ sān diǎn zǒu* (I [at] three leave), which takes no modality like B1, although it is possibly to use modality, as in “我三點會走 *Wǒ sān diǎn huì zǒu*” (I at three will leave). The difference between the two translations is rather subtle, and it will take the accumulation of many similar cases to have significant impact. The translations of A2 and B2 are also likely to be the same, “當時我不跟他講話 *Dāngshí wǒ bù gēn tā jiǎnghuà*” (back then, I *neg.* with him talk), in which there is neither tense nor modality, only “*dāngshí*” indicate the past temporality. However, this translation, like B2 with polar negation, would sound more definite than A2. After all, it is possible to translate “would” into a Chinese modality of the same value, “不會 *bú huì*”, “不想 *bùxiǎng*” etc., which will preserve the inclination of the speaker that is not definitive. Therefore, although typological differences exist, it ultimately comes down to the decision-making of the translator, some of whom might consciously or unconsciously consider that omitting “would” would make the translated text flow more smoothly whilst having minimal impact on the meaning. However, although such shifts from modality to polarity may seem insignificant on its own, the accumulative effect of patterns of such shifts will result in a significant shift of the translation away from the ST that are reflected in the overall quantitative shifts.

Appendix 5.3.4 Quantitative results generated in SysFan

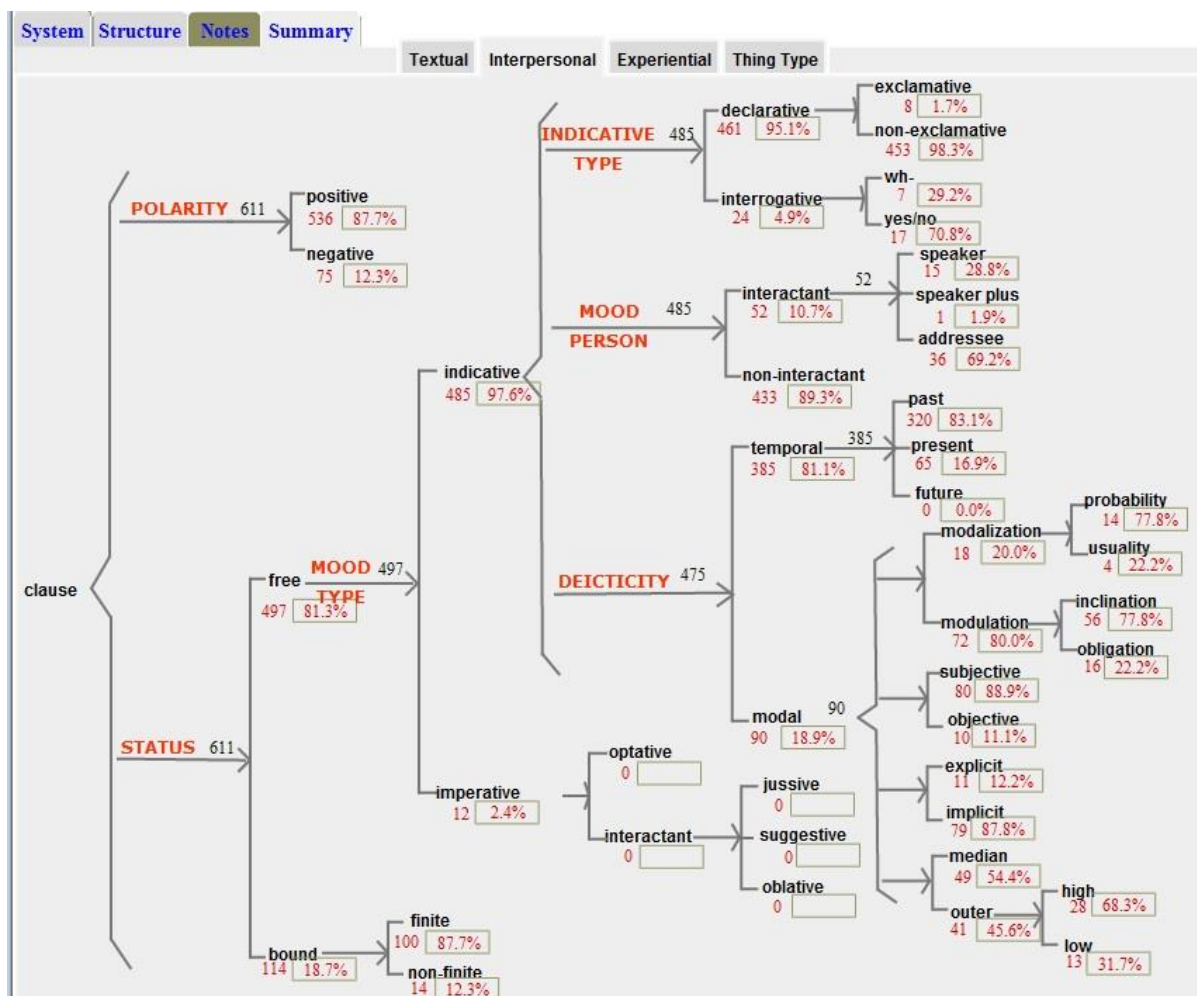
Appendix 5.3.4.1 Results of the analysis of MODALITY in Wild Swans ST in SysFan



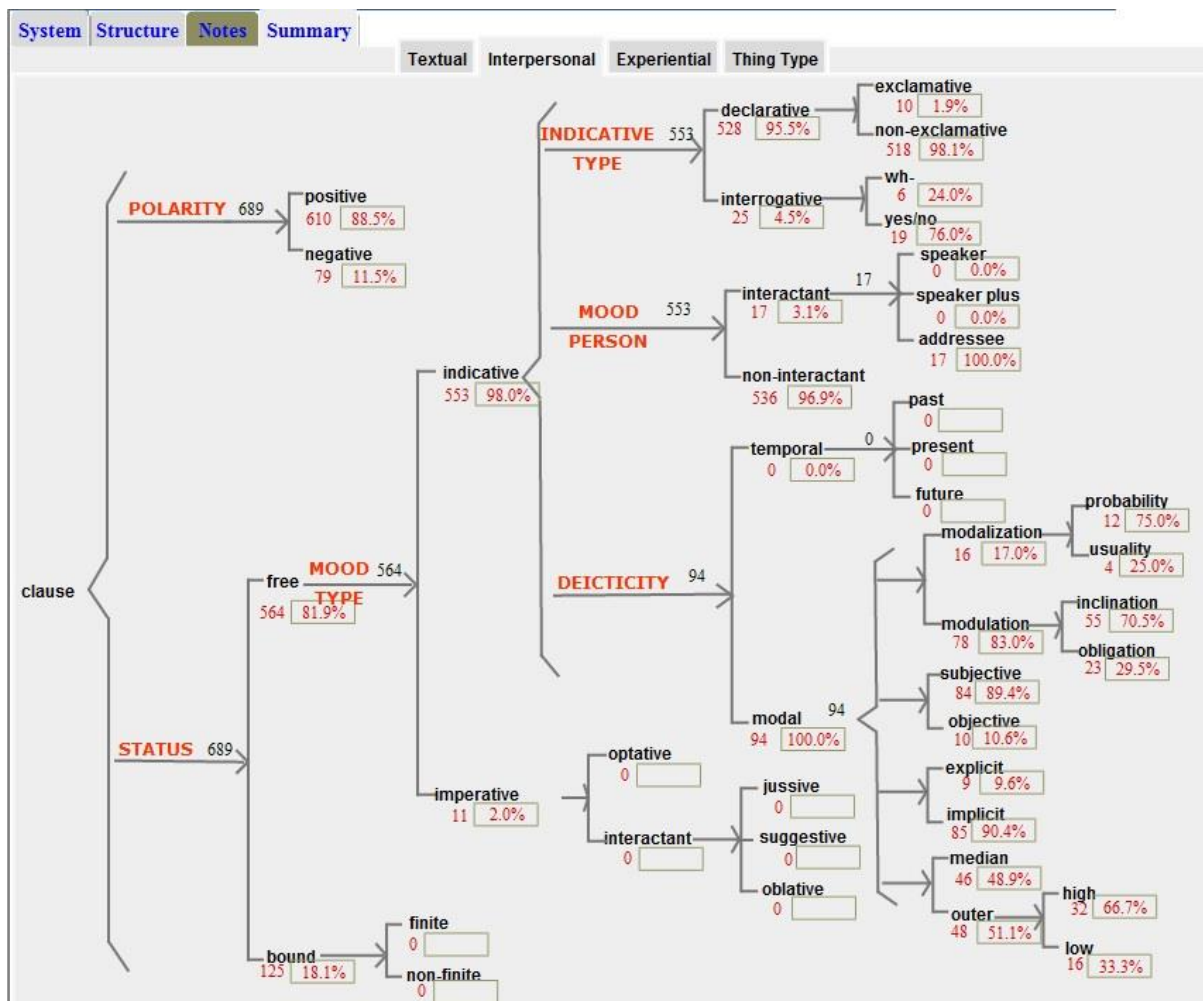
Appendix 5.3.4.2 Results of the analysis of MODALITY in Wild Swans TT in SysFan



Appendix 5.3.4.3 Results of the analysis of MODALITY in Mao's Last Dancer ST in SysFan



Appendix 5.3.4.4 Results of the analysis of MODALITY in Mao's Last Dancer TT in SysFan



Appendix 6 for Chapter 6

Appendix 6.1 Data analysis

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.1.1 Features of the Degree of Intensity in English applied in *SysConc* to *Wild Swans* (Source Text)

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>extremely</p> <p>thoroughly</p> <p>(?<!(not\s|he\s|she\s|this\s|that\s|down\s|open\s|they\s|I\s|you\s|so\s|performers\s|here\s|so\s|,s))(? =<\s)too(?=\s)(?!(\sdraws|\sinsists|\sfinds|\sare|\sin|\sthat|\sis|\shas))</p> <p>absolutely</p> <p>(?<=not\W)a bit\b</p>
High	<p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))quite(?!(\sa|\sas|\sfelt|\swork|\sanother|\sthe|\sher|\sliked|\son|\sbelieve|\swith|\s get|\slike|,))</p> <p>almost</p> <p>nearly</p> <p>\bvery\b</p> <p>(?<!(or\s|would\s))rather(?!(\sthan|,))</p> <p>(?<!(treated\s))\bfairly(?!(\streated|\sdistributed))</p> <p>greatly</p>
Low	<p>scarcely</p> <p>hardly</p> <p>slightly</p> <p>somewhat</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|so\s|with\s))a bit\b(?!(\sof))</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>(?<=not\s)too(?=\s)</p>

Appendix 6.1.2 Features of the Degree of Intensity in English applied in *SysConc* to *Mao's Last Dancer* (Source Text)

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>extremely</p> <p>thoroughly</p> <p>(?<!(not\s|he\s|she\s|this\s|that\s|down\s|open\s|they\s|I\s|you\s|so\s|performers\s|here\s|so\s|,s))\bt oo\s(?!(draws|insists|finds|are|in|that|is|has))</p> <p>absolutely</p>
High	<p>quite</p> <p>almost</p> <p>nearly</p> <p>\bvery\b</p> <p>(?<!(or\s|would\s))rather(?!(\sthan|,))</p> <p>(?<!(treated\s))\bfairly(?!(\streated|\sdistributed))</p> <p>greatly</p>
Low	<p>scarcely</p> <p>hardly</p> <p>slightly</p> <p>somewhat</p> <p>a bit\b(?!(\sof))</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>(?<=not\s)too(?=\s)</p>

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.1.3 Features of the Degree of Intensity in English applied in *SysConc* to *FLOB Corpus of British English*

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>extremely</p> <p>thoroughly</p> <p>(?<!(not\s|he\s|she\s|this\s|that\s|down\s|open\s|they\s|I\s|you\s|so\s|performers\s|here\s|so\s|,s))(?<=\s)too(?=\s)(?!(\sdraws|\sinsists|\sfinds|\sare|\sin|\sthat|\sis|\shas))</p> <p>absolutely</p> <p>(?<=not\W)a bit\b(?!(\sof))</p>
High	<p>(?<!(not\W|n't\W))quite(?!(\sa\sas|\sfelt|\swork|\sanother|\sthe|\sher|\sliked|\son|\sbelieve|\swith|\sget|\slike|,))</p> <p>almost</p> <p>nearly</p> <p>\bvery\b(?!(\sculture|\slast|\sfoundation|\sprinciple|\snight))</p> <p>(?<!(or\s|would\s|,s|;\s|much\s|'d\s|film\s|England\s|product\s|Sony\s|MPs\s|-\s|reinforce\s|scores\s|but\s|I\s|she\s|between\s|paw\s))\brather(?!(\syou|\sstay|\snot|\sovercome|\sthan|,)\s|shave|\smore|\sthe|\sas|\sto|\suse|\sbe|\sthat|\sfrom|\sa|\swhat))</p> <p>(?<!(treated\s))\bfairly(?!(\streated|\sdistributed|\sbetween|\sbe|\sand))</p> <p>greatly</p>
Low	<p>scarcely</p> <p>hardly</p> <p>slightly</p> <p>somewhat</p> <p>(?<!(not\W|so\s|with\s))a bit\b(?!(\sof|\sadded))</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))entirely</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))totally</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W))utterly</p> <p>(?<=(not\W|n't\W|not been\W))completely</p> <p>(?<=not\s)too(?=\s)</p>

Appendix 6.1.4 Features of the Degree of Intensity in Chinese applied in *SysConc* to *Wild Swans* (Target Text in traditional Chinese)

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(積|造|消|太))極(?!(枯|權|限|點|端|右|左))</p> <p>(?<!(甚))(?<=(備|慨|之|情|命|味|甚))至(?=上)</p> <p>(?<!(欲|是|的))絕(?=無|頂|不|沒|對|早)</p> <p>(?<!(太|姨|不))太(?!(太|陽|白|極|守))</p> <p>無限</p> <p>(?<!(二|三|四|天|約))十分</p> <p>十二分</p> <p>萬分</p> <p>百分之百</p> <p>完全</p> <p>全部地</p> <p>(?<=還)整個</p> <p>全然</p> <p>徹底</p> <p>完整地</p> <p>圓滿</p> <p>點(?=(也|不|兒|也|不))</p>
High	<p>很</p> <p>非常</p> <p>(?<!(「 二 直 結 西 挺))挺(?!(「 挺 個 夫 過 直 進 先 起))</p> <p>(?<!(「 稱 奇 有 責 古 不 小 見 怪 法 要))怪(?!(罪 模 樣 腔 她 他 自 我 論 病 異 調 怪 誕 狀))</p> <p>(?<!(的 不))特別(?!(是 顧 待 廣 的 會 演 日 警 要 批 授 指 寫 關 稱 在 因 為))</p> <p>(?<!(「 嚴 殘 冷))酷(?!(刑 日 熱))</p> <p>(?<=得)慌(?!(慌))</p> <p>(?<=(得 太 麼 夠))厲害</p> <p>幾乎(?!(不 沒 無))</p> <p>差不多(?!(。 ， ，))</p> <p>將近</p> <p>快要</p> <p>近乎</p> <p>相當(?!(於))</p> <p>頗</p>

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Low	<p>還(?=(不錯 算 小 年輕 好))</p> <p>稍</p> <p>(?<!(都)有點(?!(什麼 變 「 用 問題 燃 門路 時髦))</p> <p>有些(?=偏)</p> <p>(?<!(官 縣))不大</p> <p>不太</p> <p>不很</p> <p>不甚</p> <p>不特別</p> <p>(?<=(好一 高一 大一 矮一 挪一 出一 操點 說一 她一 他一 母親一 大一 沒一 好 靠近一 分開一 長一 短一 減少 搞 做))點(?!(也不 兒也不 工作 天機))</p> <p>(?<!(一 有 這 那 討 讀 做 是 某 哪 弄 前 灑了 說了 讀了 發 發了 登了 說 好 請來 帶 帶了 早 好 幹 發明 種了 講 放 花了 想 做了 取了 添 靠著 買了 找 找出 救 我們))些</p> <p>(?<=(好一)些</p> <p>幾乎(?=(不 沒 無))</p> <p>簡直(?=(不 沒 無))</p> <p>不完全</p>
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Appendix 6.1.5 Features of the Degree of Intensity in Chinese applied in SysConc to Mao's Last Dancer (Target Text in traditional Chinese)

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(積|造|消|太))極(?!(枯|權|限|點|端|右|左|品|力))</p> <p>(?<!(甚)(?<=(備|慨|之|情|命|昧|甚))至(?=上)</p> <p>(?<!(欲|是|的))絕(?=無|頂|不|沒|對|早)</p> <p>(?<!(太|姨|不))太(?!(太|陽|白|極|守))</p> <p>無限</p> <p>(?<!(二|三|四|天|約))十分(?!鐘)</p> <p>十二分</p> <p>(?<!(億)萬分</p> <p>(?<!(近)百分之百</p> <p>完全</p> <p>全部是</p> <p>整個地</p> <p>全然</p> <p>徹底</p> <p>完整地</p> <p>圓滿</p> <p>點(?=(也不|兒也不))</p>
High	<p>很</p> <p>非常</p> <p>(?<!(「 二 直 結 西 挺))挺(?!(「 挺 個 夫 過 直 進 先 起))</p> <p>(?<!(「 稱 奇 有 責 古 不 小 見 怪 法 要))怪(?!(罪 模 樣 腔 她 他 自 我 論 病 異 調 怪 誕 狀))</p> <p>(?<!(的 不 很 得 最 又 非常 要))特別(?!(是 顧 待 廣 的 會 演 日 警 要 批 授 指 寫 關 稱 在 因 為 裝 反應 注意 強調 花錢 記))</p> <p>(?<!(「 嚴 殘 冷))酷(?!(刑 日 熱))</p> <p>(?<=(得)慌(?!(慌))</p> <p>(?<=(得 太 麼 夠))厲害</p> <p>幾乎(?!(不 沒 無))</p> <p>差不多(?!(。 ， ，))</p> <p>將近</p> <p>快要</p> <p>近乎</p> <p>相當(?!於)</p> <p>頗</p>

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Low	<p>還(?=(不錯 算滿意 好。))</p> <p>稍</p> <p>(?<!都有點(?!(什麼 變 「 用 問題 燃 門路 時髦))</p> <p>有些(?=偏)</p> <p>不太</p> <p>不很</p> <p>不甚</p> <p>不特別</p> <p>(?<=(好一 高一 大一 矮一 挪一 出一 操點 說一 她一 他一 母親一 大一 沒一 好 靠近一 分開一 長一 短一 減少 搞 做))點</p> <p>(?<=(暖了 靈活 堅強 好一))些</p> <p>幾乎(?=(不 沒 無))</p> <p>簡直(?=(不 沒 無))</p> <p>不完全</p>
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Appendix 6.1.6 Features of the Degree of Intensity in Chinese applied in *SysConc* to *LCMC Corpus of Mandarin Chinese* (in simplified Chinese)

Total & Beyond	<p>(?<!(积|北))极(?=(少| 强| 有|了|度|大|力| 不|困|其| 深| 多| 易| 佳| 远| 啦| 妙| 细| 高| 简| , | 要紧| 匆| 好| 热| 富| 重| 时| 快| 短| 需| 慢| 薄| 具| 灵| 疼| 是| 美|生| 险| 普| 地| 殷勤| 爱| 羡慕))</p> <p>(?<!(甚)至(?=(关|高| 高|上|尊|多|极| 为|爱|性|情|真| 要))</p> <p>(?<=(备)至</p> <p>(?<!(拒|杜|不|自|不| 隔|中|谢|一| 凄| 断|弃| 灭|之| 太|摒| 真| 叫|痛|命| 欲|欲| 叫|称| 太))绝</p> <p>(?!(症|对|迹|技|招|缘|望|笔| , |后|经| 难|路| 活|灭|唱|情|壁| 天|顶|代|招| 尘|食| 留|恋|交|世| 了|境|句|交|活|处| 伦))</p> <p>无限(?=(好| 地| 追问| 夸大| 增强| 上| 网| (全| 遥远| 温馨| 崇敬))</p> <p>(?<!(二|二| 八| 三|四|天|约))十分(?! 之)</p> <p>十二分</p> <p>万分</p> <p>(?<!(质量)百分之百(?! 的)</p> <p>(?<!(不)完全</p> <p>全然</p> <p>彻底</p> <p>完整(?=(地| 认识))</p> <p>圆满</p> <p>一点(?=(也 不|几 也 不))</p> <p>(?<!(太|太| 姨|不|不| 亚|犹|来|老|师))太(?!(太| 说| 一半| 福|阳| 阳| 阵地| 打通|白|极|守|华| 郎|原|平|石|祖|宗|后|子|上|武| 上|常|公|液|虚|岁|行|岳| 的|生|婆|爷| 。 | , | “| 师|师|空|监| 福))</p>
High	<p>(?<!(不)很</p> <p>非常(?!(时期))</p> <p>(?<!(「|二|直|结|西|挺|坚|能| 叶| 笔|笔))挺(?!(「|挺| 开| 和| 矛|个|夫|过|直|进|先|起| 住|拔| 拔| 拿| 轻| 身|身| 的| 展| 胸|胸| 枪| 着| 腰|立| 了))</p> <p>怪(?=(可惜| 可怜| 麻烦| 难为情| 有意思| 吓人| 温馨))</p> <p>(?<!(的| 不| , | 怎样| 有))特别(?!(是| 会| 首| 国| 行政| 条款| 强调| 要| 学习| 通道| 在| 放| 警告| 的| 提| 指| 理事| 查看| , | 为| 安排| 地方| 接待| 寄| 注意| 节目| 煮| 之| 送|行| 公| 值得| 助学|行政|是|顾|待|广| 的|会|演|日|警|要|批|授|指|写|关|称|在|因|为))</p> <p>(?<!(「|严|残|冷|食| 森))酷(?!( | 厉|刑|日|热|暑))</p>

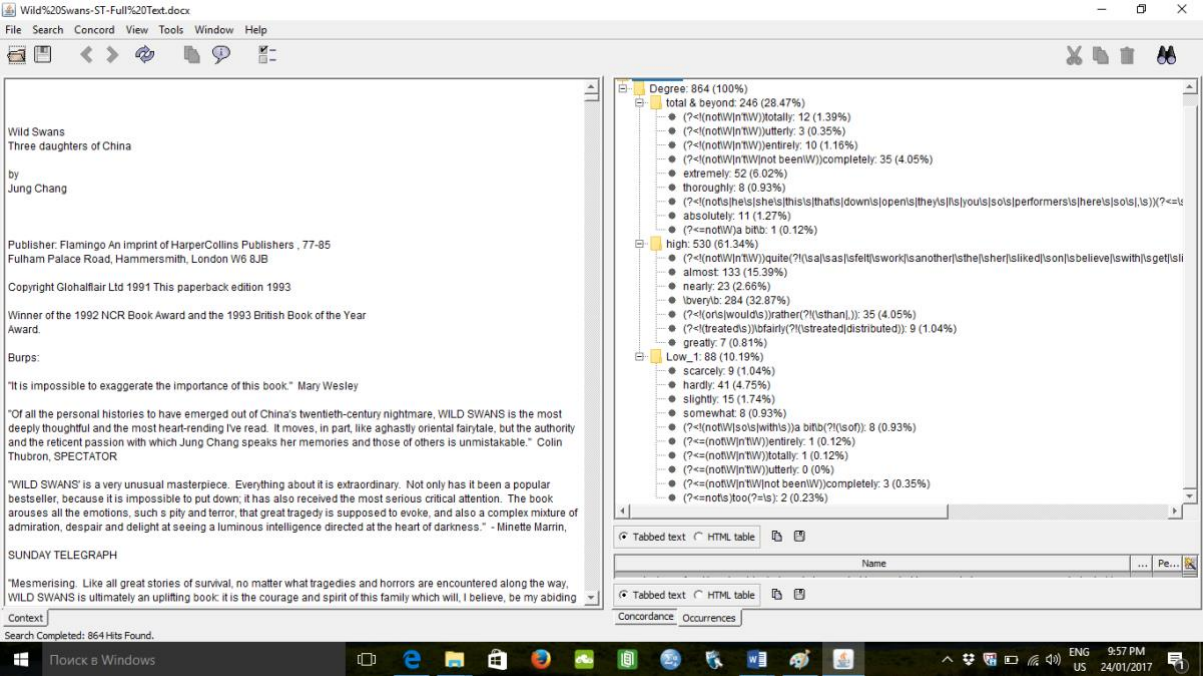
	<p>(?<!(大|着 , |如今 |年轻 |不|不 |世界|赵 |个 |无 |写 |联|重|胆|广|星球 |老|二次|升 |是 |国|回民 |也 |没有 |军事 |最 |的 |次 |绿|了 |东非 |光|更 |其 |绿))大(?=(大|有|好|肆|吃|喝|早|喊|喊| 减| 哭| 叫| 乱|叫| 起| 落| 亮| 噪|为|站| 撒手|搞|惊| 惊|骂| 咳| 发|吼|作| 受|笑|相|径|庭| 不| 睡|愉| 悔| 恨|摇|摆| 奇|战 |起来| 冷| 喝| 悦|胜| 裂|悟| 发展))</p> <p>甚(?=(广| 有| 远| 大| 多| 大| 少|少| 高| 微| 是| 众| 浓| 为| 熟))</p> <p>(?<=(幸|太 |特))甚</p> <p>(?<=得)慌</p> <p>(?<!(有 |可 |这样 |他 |更加 |一阵 |还 |没有 |道 |极 |果然 |着实 |最 |点 |虫|情 |越 |个 |虽|不))厉害</p> <p>几乎(?!(不| 没| 无))</p> <p>(?<!(我 |还))差不多(?!(的| 。| !))</p> <p>将近</p> <p>快要</p> <p>近乎</p> <p>相当(?!(于))</p> <p>(?<!(景)颇</p> <p>老(?=(远| 远|早| 早))</p>
Low	<p>还(?=(不错| 算| 小| 年轻| 好))</p> <p>稍</p> <p>(?<=(一|有))(?<!(比 一|尝 一|的 一|任何 一|这 一|这 有|何 |《 一|涂 |冒 一|, 一|。 一|十一|领 |找 |没有 一|没 一|无 一|哪 一|取 |了 |了 一|差 |差|出 一|为了 |着 一|着 一|之 一|领 |读 一|增长 一|讲 一|上 一|每 一|制造 一|到 一|讨 一|已经 一|最后 一|另 一|取 一|用 一))点(?!(经济| 满 |室|他们| 家底| 是| 很| 心得| 凉风| 描写| 需要| 遗憾| 力气| 自由| 男人| 看法| 高|儿| 也 不| 也 没| 心意| 泄愤| 不|五| 香| 水| 粉| 概| 细流| 乳| 权术| 茶| , | 。| 时间| 随| 用| 名| 责| 节| 面| 东西| 精| 小 |麻烦| 成就| 奖金| 抗| 烛| 演变| 风声))</p> <p>有些(?=(意外| 心| 凌| 犹| 寂寞| 沮丧| 颤抖| 奇怪| 担心| 不安| 相近| 伤感| 不| 陌生| 急| 疑惑| 生气| 熟悉| 发 |自| 发|愣| 害怕| 虚弱| 木然| 活泼| 滑稽| 迟钝| 混沌| 失算| 昏| 惊| 着| 欲| 疲| 迷| 欢| 魂| 责| 好笑| 狼狈| 红| 阴| 走样| 慌| 冷| 按| 喜| 神| 矜| 微| 手| 猜| 对| 惶| 阑| 迟| 烦| 旖| 出| 喧| 难以| 难为情|恍| 拥| 意外| 心| 犹| 受| 突))</p> <p>不 太(?!(平))</p> <p>不大(?!( , | 。| 、| 嘛| 的|的|的|不| 却| 而| 功夫))</p> <p>不 大会</p> <p>不 很</p> <p>不 很</p> <p>不 厉害</p>

	<p>(?<=(不|无))甚</p> <p>不特别</p> <p>(?<=(明白|远|了|快|软|早|早|了|强|多|长|宽|翘|粗|容易|高|高|了|多|慢|了|低|蚀|小|了|玲珑|了|丰富|丰满|了|落后|沉沦|合适|精明|激动|可信|晚|便宜|痛苦|松弛|大|老|充分|真实|成熟|舒畅|舒适|红火|强|险|方便))些</p> <p>(?<=(好|大|解放|多|稀|了|躁|了|落|了|好|了|宽裕|了|少|宽容|扩大|低|贵|轻松|宽|短|缓和|安|快|松|凉爽|粗|细|准确|直观|清楚|轻盈|重要))一些</p> <p>几乎(?=(不|没|无))</p> <p>简直(?=(不|没|无))</p> <p>不完全(?!(家| ( ) )</p>
--	---

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.2 Quantitative results of the degree of intensity generated by SysConc

Appendix 6.2.1 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *Wild Swans* (Source Text) generated by SysConc



APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.2.2 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *Wild Swans* (Chinese Target Text) generated by SysConc

The screenshot displays the SysConc software interface. The main window shows the text of the book 'Wild Swans' (《野火》) by Zhang Cheng (張瑛). The right-hand pane displays the concordance results for the search term '三寸金釵' (Sān Cùn Jīn Chāi). The results are organized into a table with columns for 'Name', 'C...', and 'Pe...'. The table lists various concordance hits, including '三寸金釵' (Sān Cùn Jīn Chāi) and '三寸金釵' (Sān Cùn Jīn Chāi). The bottom status bar indicates 'Search Completed: 21 Hits Found'.

Continued

This screenshot continues the SysConc software interface, showing the same text and concordance results for '三寸金釵'. The right-hand pane displays the continuation of the concordance results, including hits like '三寸金釵' (Sān Cùn Jīn Chāi) and '三寸金釵' (Sān Cùn Jīn Chāi). The bottom status bar indicates 'Search Completed: 21 Hits Found'.

Appendix 6.2.3 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* (Source Text) generated by SysConc

Contents

6. CHAIRMAN MAO'S CLASSROOM	1
7. LEAVING HOME	12
8. FEATHER IN A WHIRLWIND	20
9. THE CAGED BIRD	28
10. THAT FIRST LONELY YEAR	36
11. THE PEN	43
12. MY OWN VOICE	49
13. TEACHER XIAO'S WORDS	60
14. TURNING POINTS	69
15. THE MANGO	77
16. CHANGE 81	
17. ON THE WAY TO THE WEST	86
18. THE FILTHY CAPITALIST AMERICA	91
19. GOODBYE CHINA	97
20. RETURN TO THE LAND OF FREEDOM	107
21. ELIZABETH	113
22. DEFECTION	119

6. CHAIRMAN MAO'S CLASSROOM

The year my na-na died was the year I was supposed to start school. The compulsory age was eight, but there was no room for my group that year, so I didn't start until later.

It was February 1970. I had just turned nine. For my first day at school, my niang dressed me up in my best clothes, a new black cotton, quilted winter jacket and hand-me-down cotton pants with patches on the knees and the bottom, and a hat for winter of cotton and synthetic fur. She also made me a simple schoolbag from dark blue cloth. My dia bought me two note-books, one with pages full of squares for practising Chinese characters, and another one for maths. He made me a wooden pencil box containing one pencil, a small knife and a round rubber eraser. Of course, one of the most important requirements was Mao's Little Red Book.

'This is a special day for the Li family!' my niang jokingly declared at breakfast.

'Why?' our dia asked.

'The Li family has one more scholar today,' she tilted her chin at me. 'I hope you'll study hard. We're not sending you to school to play. I hope you'll learn more than your dia and your brothers have learned from school.'

'Mmm,' our dia said. 'It wouldn't be too hard to do better than your dia.'

'Listen to your teachers, follow their instructions, be a good student. Don't lose face for the Li family. Make us proud,' said my niang.

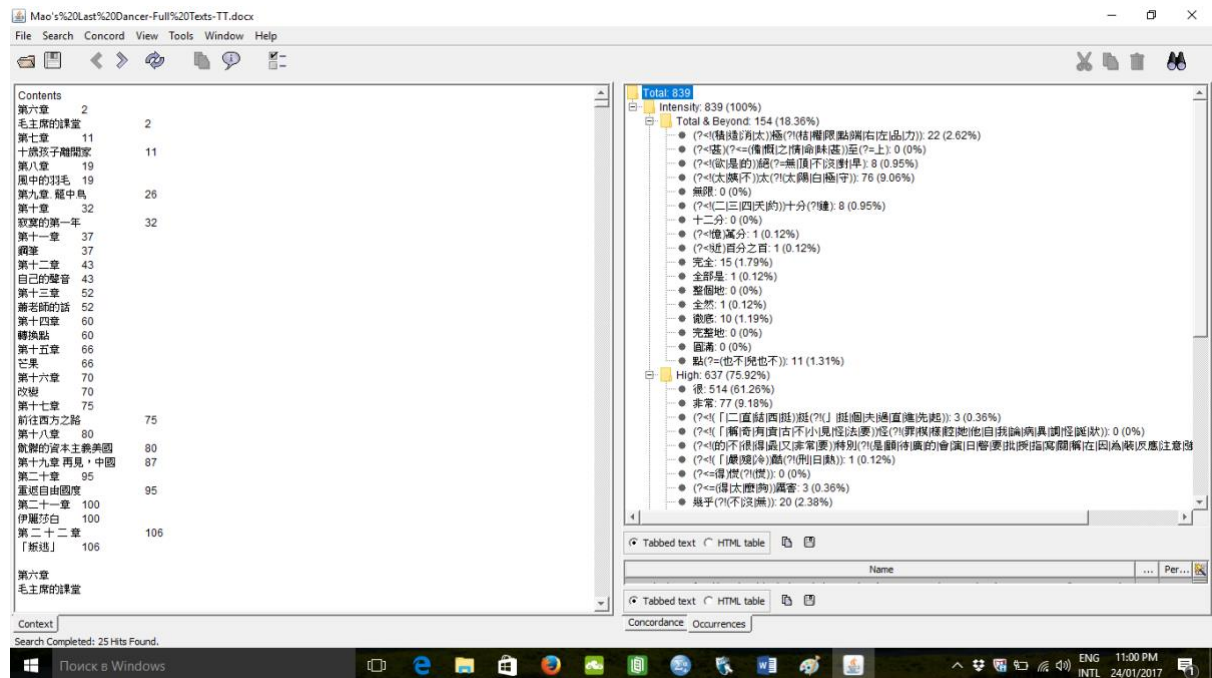
04

nsity: 304 (100%)
Total & Beyond: 115 (37.83%)
● (?<(notWintW))totally: 6 (1.97%)
● (?<(notWintW))utterly: 2 (0.66%)
● (?<(notWintW))entirely: 3 (0.99%)
● (?<(notWintW))not beenW))completely: 21 (6.91%)
● extremely: 4 (1.32%)
● thoroughly: 3 (0.99%)
● (?<(notWintW))s(she's|this's|that's|down's|open's|they's|is|you's|sols|performers's|here's|sols|s))btoos(?l(draws|ins
● absolutely: 2 (0.66%)
-High: 168 (55.26%)
● quite: 10 (3.29%)
● almost: 12 (3.95%)
● nearly: 31 (10.2%)
● lovely: 109 (35.86%)
● (?<(notWintW))rather(?l(sthan|)): 5 (1.64%)
● (?<(notWintW))fairly(?l(sreated|distributed)): 0 (0%)
● greatly: 1 (0.33%)
-Low: 21 (6.91%)
● scarcely: 0 (0%)
● hardly: 8 (2.63%)
● slightly: 7 (2.3%)
● somewhat: 0 (0%)
● a bit(?l(sad)): 1 (0.33%)
● (?<(notWintW))entirely: 0 (0%)
● (?<(notWintW))totally: 1 (0.33%)
● (?<(notWintW))utterly: 0 (0%)
● (?<(notWintW))not beenW))completely: 0 (0%)
● (?<(notWintW))s(she's|this's|that's|down's|open's|they's|is|you's|sols|performers's|here's|sols|s))btoos(?l(draws|ins): 4 (1.32%)

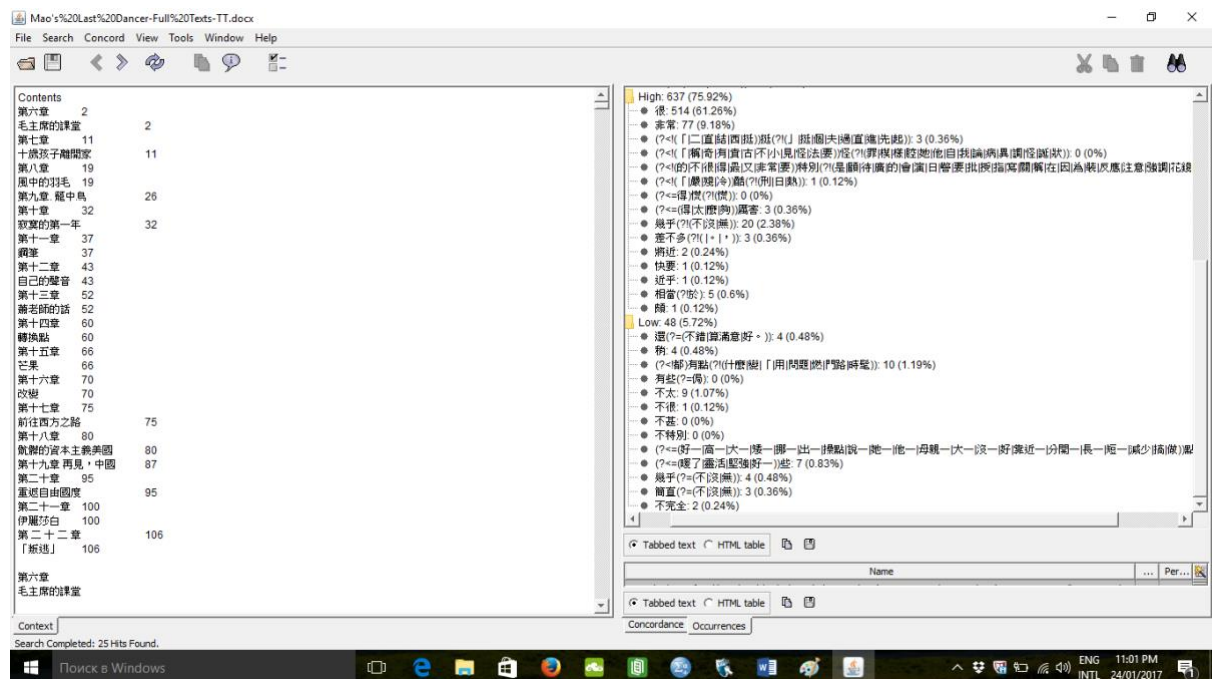
Search Completed: 304 Hits Found.

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.2.4 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* (Chinese Target Text) generated by SysConc



Continued



Appendix 6.2.5 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *FLOB Corpus of British English* generated by *SysConc*

Contents

6. CHAIRMAN MAO'S CLASSROOM	1
7. LEAVING HOME	12
8. FEATHER IN A WHIRLWIND	20
9. THE CAGED BIRD	28
10. THAT FIRST LONELY YEAR	36
11. THE PEN	43
12. MY OWN VOICE	49
13. TEACHER XIAO'S WORDS	60
14. TURNING POINTS	69
15. THE MANGO	77
16. CHANGE 81	
17. ON THE WAY TO THE WEST	86
18. THE FILTHY CAPITALIST AMERICA	91
19. GOODBYE CHINA	97
20. RETURN TO THE LAND OF FREEDOM	107
21. ELIZABETH	113
22. DEFECTION	119

6. CHAIRMAN MAO'S CLASSROOM

The year my na-na died was the year I was supposed to start school. The compulsory age was eight, but there was no room for my group that year, so I didn't start until later.

It was February 1970. I had just turned nine. For my first day at school, my niang dressed me up in my best clothes, a new black cotton, quilted winter jacket and hand-me-down cotton pants with patches on the knees and the bottom, and a hat for winter of cotton and synthetic fur. She also made me a simple schoolbag from dark blue cloth. My dia bought me two note-books, one with pages full of squares for practising Chinese characters, and another one for maths. He made me a wooden pencil box containing one pencil, a small knife and a round rubber eraser. Of course, one of the most important requirements was Mao's Little Red Book.

'This is a special day for the Li family!' my niang jokingly declared at breakfast.

'Why?' our dia asked.

'The Li family has one more scholar today,' she tilted her chin at me. 'I hope you'll study hard. We're not sending you to school to play. I hope you'll learn more than your dia and your brothers have learned from school.'

'Mmm,' our dia said. 'It wouldn't be too hard to do better than your dia.'

'Listen to your teachers, follow their instructions, be a good student. Don't lose face for the Li family. Make us proud,' said my niang.

English Mood Adjuncts_FLOB: 3,360 (100%)

Total: 878 (26.13%)

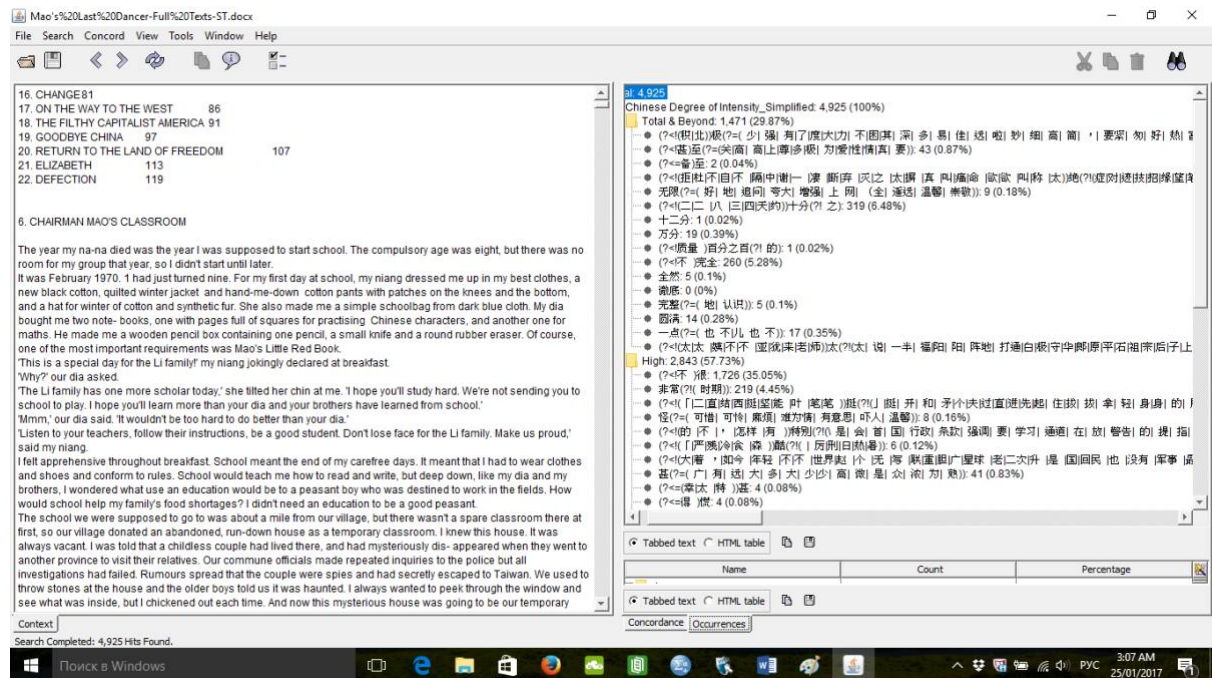
- (?<!(notW/nTW))totally: 45 (1.34%)
- (?<!(notW/nTW))utterly: 20 (0.6%)
- (?<!(notW/nTW))entirely: 82 (2.44%)
- (?<!(notW/nTW)(not beenW))completely: 90 (2.68%)
- extremely: 66 (1.96%)
- thoroughly: 29 (0.86%)
- (?<!(notW/nTW)(she/s/he/s/it/s/that/s/down/s/open/s/they/s/its/you/s/so/s/performers/s/here/s/so/s/;)(?<=is)/too(?<=is)/absolutely: 39 (1.16%)
- (?<=notW/a)bit(?<=of): 1 (0.03%)
- High: 2,044 (60.83%)
- (?<!(notW/nTW))quite(?<!(s/as/s/felt/s/work/s/another/s/the/s/her/s/like/d/s/on/s/believe/s/with/s/get/s/like/)): 25
- almost: 394 (11.73%)
- nearly: 120 (3.57%)
- lovely/b(?<!(s/culture/s/last/s/foundation/s/principle/s/night)): 1,081 (32.17%)
- (?<!(on/s/would/s/;s/s/much/s/ds/films/England/s/product/s/Sony/s/MPs/s/-s/reinforce/s/scores/s/but/s/;s/she/
- (?<!(treat/s/ds/))fairly(?<!(s/treated/s/distributed/s/between/s/be/s/and)): 58 (1.73%)
- greatly: 31 (0.92%)
- Low: 438 (13.04%)
- scarcely: 20 (0.6%)
- hardly: 109 (3.24%)
- slightly: 118 (3.51%)
- somewhat: 56 (1.67%)
- (?<!(notW/s/;s/with/s/;s)a bit/b(?<!(s/off/s/added)): 103 (3.07%)
- (?<=!(notW/nTW))entirely: 9 (0.27%)
- (?<=!(notW/nTW))totally: 5 (0.15%)
- (?<=!(notW/nTW))utterly: 0 (0%)
- (?<=!(notW/nTW)(not beenW))completely: 4 (0.12%)
- (?<=not/s/too(?<=s): 14 (0.42%)

Concordance

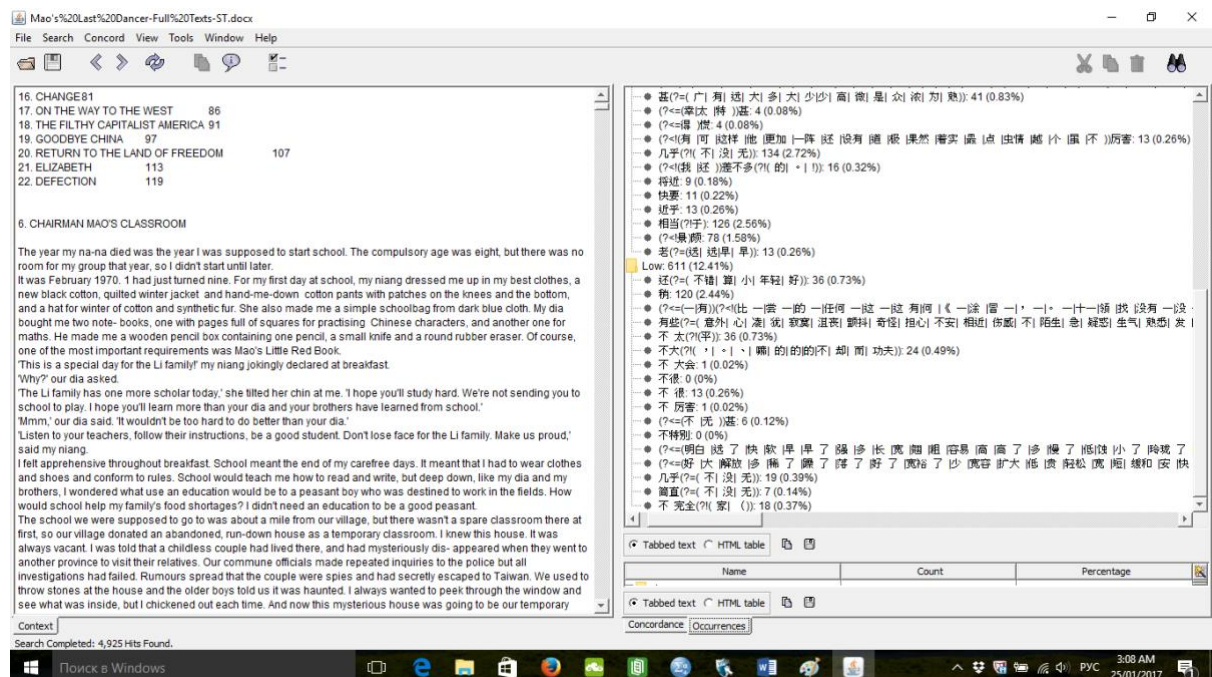
Name	Count	Percentage
Tabbed text		
HTML table		

Search Completed: 3,360 Hits Found.

Appendix 6.2.6 The quantitative results of the degree of intensity in *LCMC Corpus of Mandarin Chinese* generated by *SysConc*



Continued



Appendix 6.3 Detailed results of the Degree of Intensity

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6.3.1 Results of the Degree of Intensity in *Wild Swans* (Source Text)

Total:	1536		
English Mood Adjuncts	1,536	100%	
Modality	649	42.25%	
Probability	128	8.33%	
Median	23	1.5%	
probably	23	1.5%	
Outer: Low	92	5.99%	
possibly	12	0.78%	
perhaps	32	2.08%	
maybe	7	0.46%	
hardly	41	2.67%	
Outer: High	13	0.85%	
certainly	6	0.39%	
definitely	1	0.07%	
no way	6	0.39%	
Usuality	521	33.92%	
Median	35	2.28%	
usually	35	2.28%	
Outer: Low	121	7.88%	
Not always	5	0.33%	
-n't always	1	0.07%	
sometimes	62	4.04%	
occasionally	19	1.24%	
seldom	15	0.98%	

	rarely	19	1.24%
	Outer: High	365	23.76%
	always	118	7.68%
	never	247	16.08%
intensity		887	57.75%
Degree		887	57.75%
	total & beyond	254	16.54%
	totally	12	0.78%
	utterly	3	0.2%
	entirely	10	0.65%
	completely	35	2.28%
	extremely	52	3.39%
	thoroughly	8	0.52%
	too	123	8.01%
	absolutely	11	0.72%
	high	548	35.68%
	quite	57	3.71%
	almost	133	8.66%
	nearly	23	1.5%
	very	284	18.49%
	rather	35	2.28%
	fairly	9	0.59%
	greatly	7	0.46%
	low	85	5.53%
	scarcely	9	0.59%
	hardly	41	2.67%

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slightly	11	0.72%
somewhat	8	0.52%
a bit	9	0.59%
neg+entirely	1	0.07%
neg+totally	1	0.07%
neg+utterly	0	0%
neg+completely	3	0.2%
neg+too	2	0.13%

Appendix 6.3.2 Results of the Degree of Intensity in *Wild Swans* (Chinese Target Text)

Total:	1984		
Chinese Mood Adjuncts	1,984	100%	
Modality	656	33.06%	
Probability	94	4.74%	
Median	13	0.66%	
大概	8	0.4%	
多半	2	0.1%	
很可能	3	0.15%	
Outer: Low	26	1.31%	
或許	3	0.15%	
也許	8	0.4%	
不一定	4	0.2%	
可能	11	0.55%	
Outer: High	55	2.77%	
一定	46	2.32%	
肯定	4	0.2%	
必定	5	0.25%	
Usuality	562	28.33%	
Median	223	11.24%	
經常	51	2.57%	
平常	6	0.3%	
通常	16	0.81%	
常常	32	1.61%	
時常	6	0.3%	

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	時不時	6	0.3%
	平時	9	0.45%
	常	97	4.89%
	Outer: Low	68	3.43%
	有時	68	3.43%
	Outer: High	271	13.66%
	總	109	5.49%
	總是	86	4.33%
	從來	56	2.82%
	老	20	1.01%
Intensity		1,328	66.94%
Degree		1,328	66.94%
	Total & Beyond	433	21.82%
	極	89	4.49%
	至	4	0.2%
	絕	20	1.01%
	太	130	6.55%
	無限	1	0.05%
	十分	79	3.98%
	十二分	0	0%
	萬分	11	0.55%
	百分之百	0	0%
	完全	86	4.33%
	全部地	0	0%
	整個	1	0.05%
	全然	1	0.05%

	徹底	11	0.55%
	完整地	0	0%
	圓滿	0	0%
High		769	38.76%
	很	634	31.96%
	非常	89	4.49%
	挺	4	0.2%
	怪	0	0%
	特別	23	1.16%
	酷	2	0.1%
	慌	1	0.05%
	點	11	0.55%
	厲害	5	0.25%
Low		126	6.35%
	還	18	0.91%
	稍	30	1.51%
	有點	29	1.46%
	有些	1	0.05%
	不大	4	0.2%
	不太	7	0.35%
	不很	0	0%
	不甚	0	0%
	不特別	2	0.1%
	點	26	1.31%
	些	9	0.45%

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Appendix 6.3.3 Results of the Degree of Intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* (Source Text)

Total:	562		
English Mood Adjuncts-MLD	562	100%	
Modality	248	44.13%	
Probability	51	9.07%	
Median	8	1.42%	
probably	8	1.42%	
Low	34	6.05%	
possibly	9	1.6%	
perhaps	6	1.07%	
maybe	11	1.96%	
hardly	8	1.42%	
High	9	1.6%	
certainly	2	0.36%	
definitely	2	0.36%	
no way	5	0.89%	
Usuality	197	35.05%	
Median	4	0.71%	
usually	4	0.71%	
Low	29	5.16%	
Not always	1	0.18%	
n't always	1	0.18%	
sometimes	15	2.67%	
occasionally	10	1.78%	
seldom	0	0%	

	rarely	2	0.36%
High		164	29.18%
	always	44	7.83%
	never	120	21.35%
Intensity		314	55.87%
Total & Beyond		125	22.24%
	totally	6	1.07%
	utterly	2	0.36%
	entirely	3	0.53%
	completely	21	3.74%
	extremely	4	0.71%
	thoroughly	3	0.53%
	too	84	14.95%
	absolutely	2	0.36%
High		168	29.89%
	quite	10	1.78%
	almost	12	2.14%
	nearly	31	5.52%
	very	109	19.4%
	rather	5	0.89%
	fairly	0	0%
	greatly	1	0.18%
Low		21	3.74%
	scarcely	0	0%
	hardly	8	1.42%
	slightly	7	1.25%

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somewhat	0	0%
a bit	1	0.18%
neg+entirely	0	0%
neg+totally	1	0.18%
neg+utterly	0	0%
neg+completely	0	0%
neg+too	4	0.71%

Appendix 6.3.4 Results of the Degree of Intensity in *Mao's Last Dancer* (Chinese Target Text)

Total:	1001	
Chinese Mood Adjuncts-MLD	1,001	100%
Modality	206	20.58%
Probability	81	8.09%
Median	3	0.3%
大概	1	0.1%
多半	0	0%
很可能	2	0.2%
Low	24	2.4%
或許	5	0.5%
也許	11	1.1%
不一定	2	0.2%
可能	5	0.5%
可能	1	0.1%
High	54	5.39%
必定	16	1.6%
一定	31	3.1%
肯定	7	0.7%
Usuality	125	12.49%
Median	61	6.09%
經常	9	0.9%
平常	1	0.1%

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	通常	5	0.5%
	常常	3	0.3%
	時常	1	0.1%
	時不時	0	0%
	平時	3	0.3%
	常	39	3.9%
Low		20	2%
	有時	20	2%
High		44	4.4%
	總	5	0.5%
	總是	11	1.1%
	從來	27	2.7%
	老	1	0.1%
Intensity		795	79.42%
Total & Beyond		154	15.38%
	極	22	2.2%
	至	0	0%
	絕	8	0.8%
	太	76	7.59%
	無限	0	0%
	十分	8	0.8%
	十二分	0	0%
	萬分	1	0.1%
	百分之百	1	0.1%

	完全	15	1.5%
	全部是	1	0.1%
	整個地	0	0%
	全然	1	0.1%
	徹底	10	1%
	完整地	0	0%
	圓滿	0	0%
	點+neg	11	1.1%
High		604	60.34%
	很	514	51.35%
	非常	77	7.69%
	挺	3	0.3%
	怪	0	0%
	特別	6	0.6%
	酷	1	0.1%
	慌	0	0%
	厲害	3	0.3%
Low		37	3.7%
	還	4	0.4%
	稍	4	0.4%
	有點	10	1%
	有些	0	0%
	不太	9	0.9%
	不很	1	0.1%

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不甚	0	0%
不特別	0	0%
點	3	0.3%
些	6	0.6%

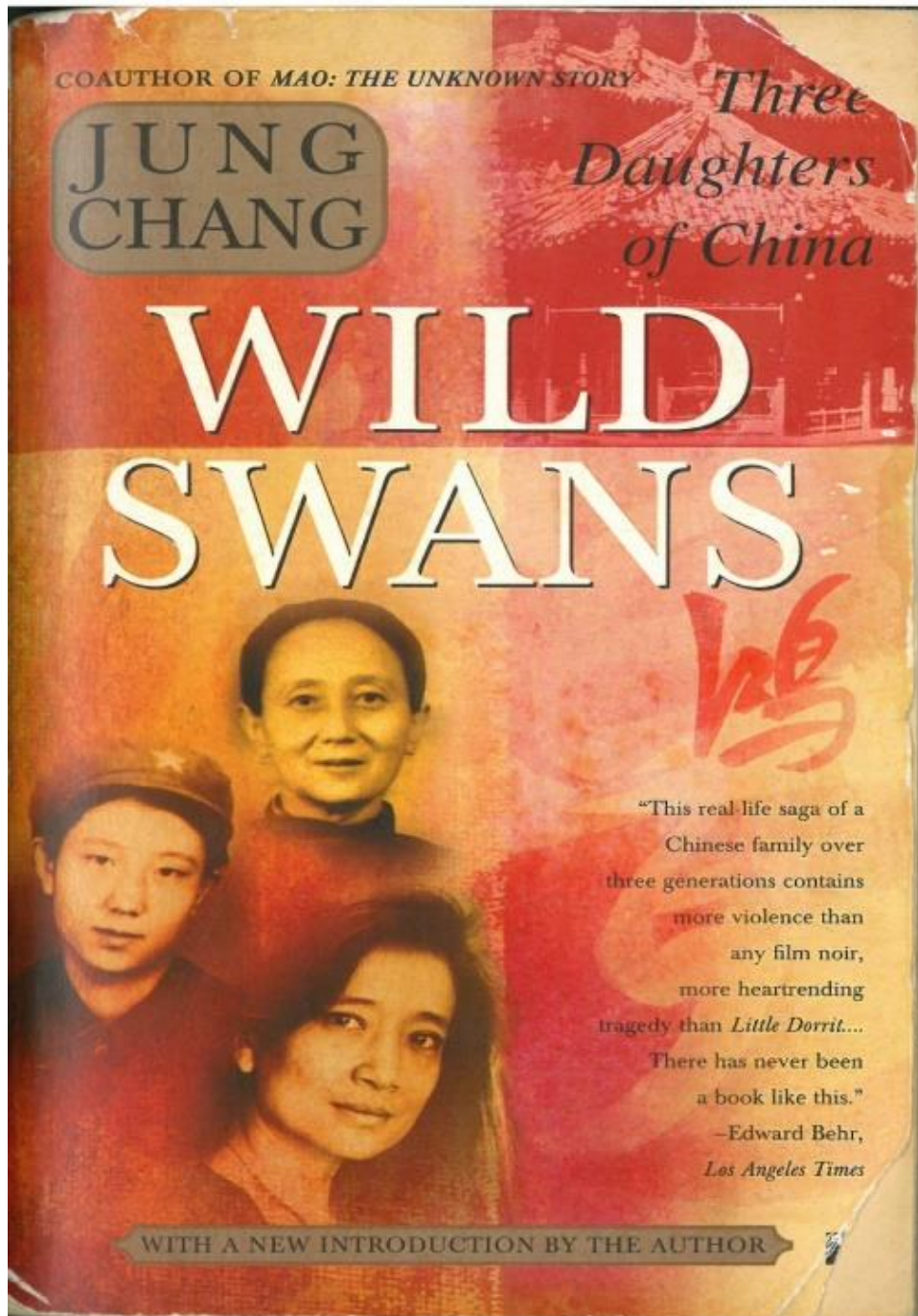
Appendix 7 for Chapter 7

Appendix 7.1 Data: Front Covers

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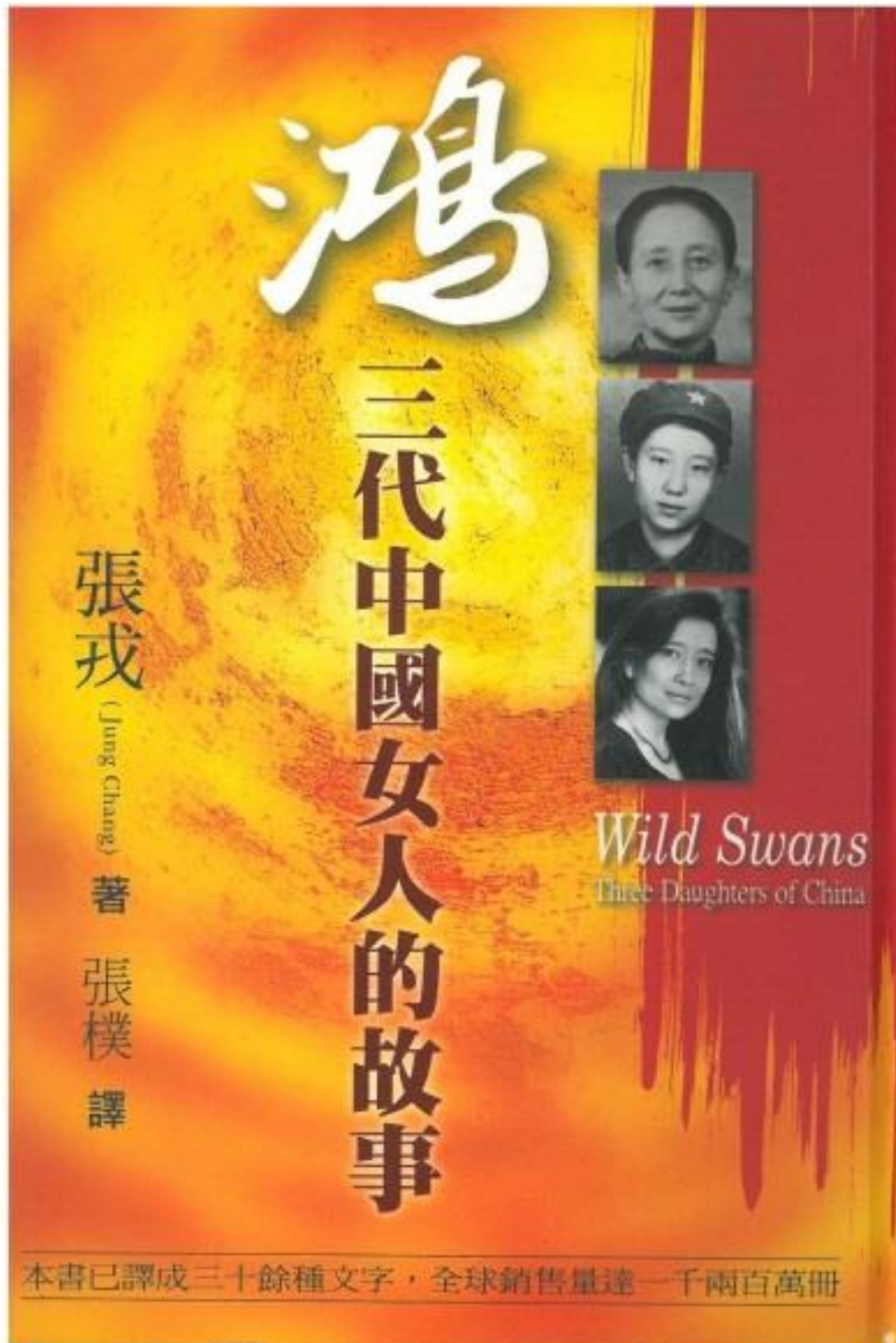
Appendix 7.1.1 Front Cover of *Wild Swans* (Source Text)

The 2003 American Cover (Publisher: Touchstone)



Appendix 7.1.2 Front Cover of *Wild Swans* (Chinese Target Text)

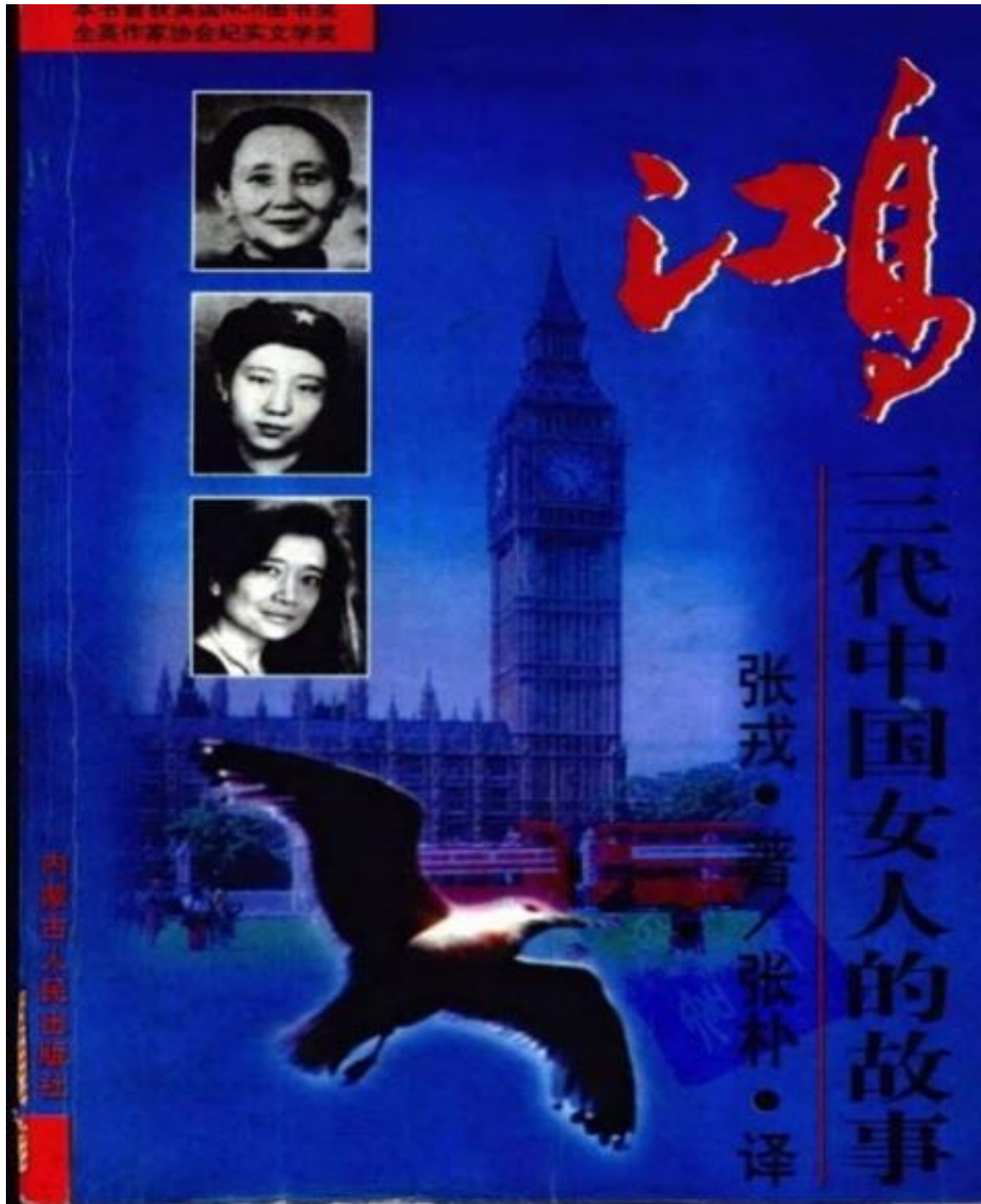
The 2006/2011 Taiwanese Cover (Publisher: Heliopolis/Clio Culture)



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Appendix 7.1.3 Front Cover of *Wild Swans* (Chinese Target Text)

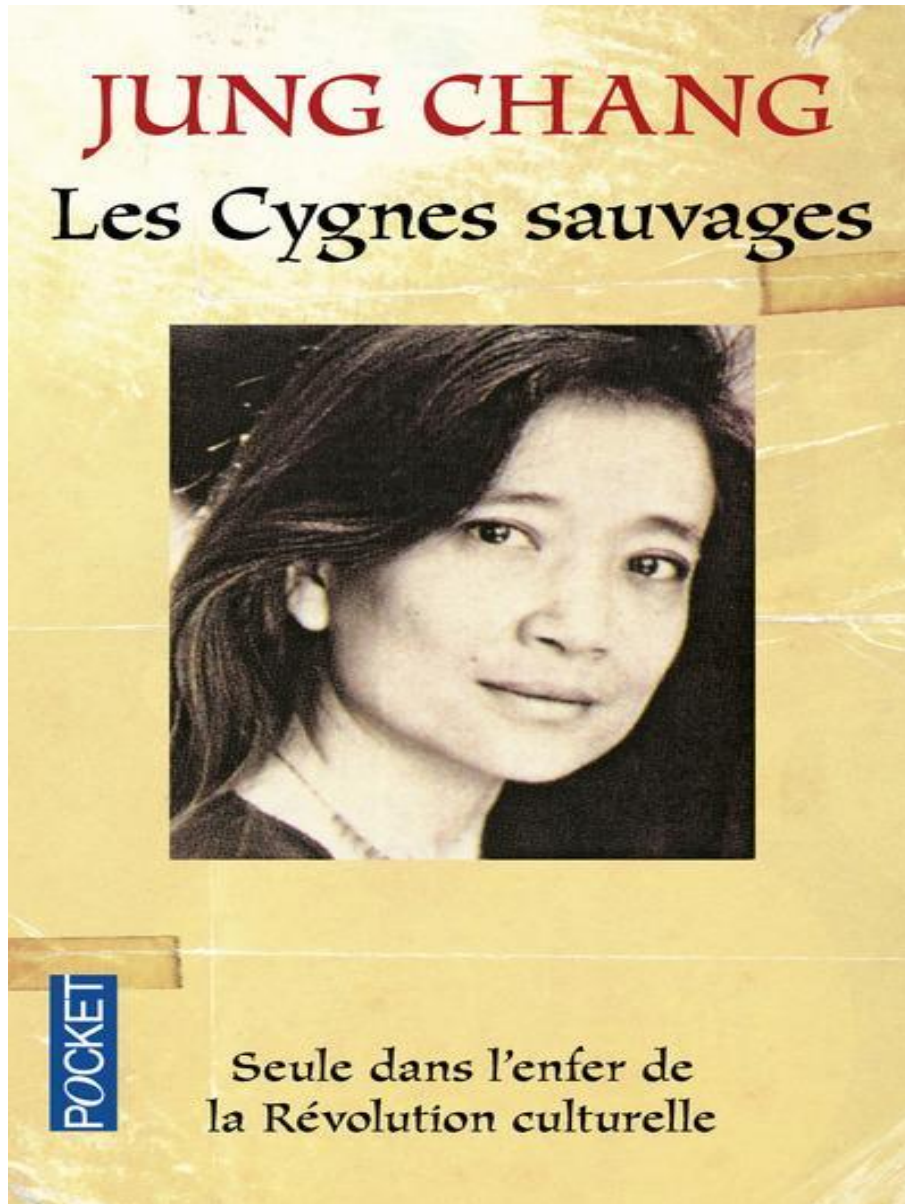
The 1997 Simplified Chinese translation of *Wild Swans*



(Pirated version; publisher is said to be Neimenggu People's Press)

Appendix 7.1.4 Front Cover of *Wild Swans* (French Target Text)

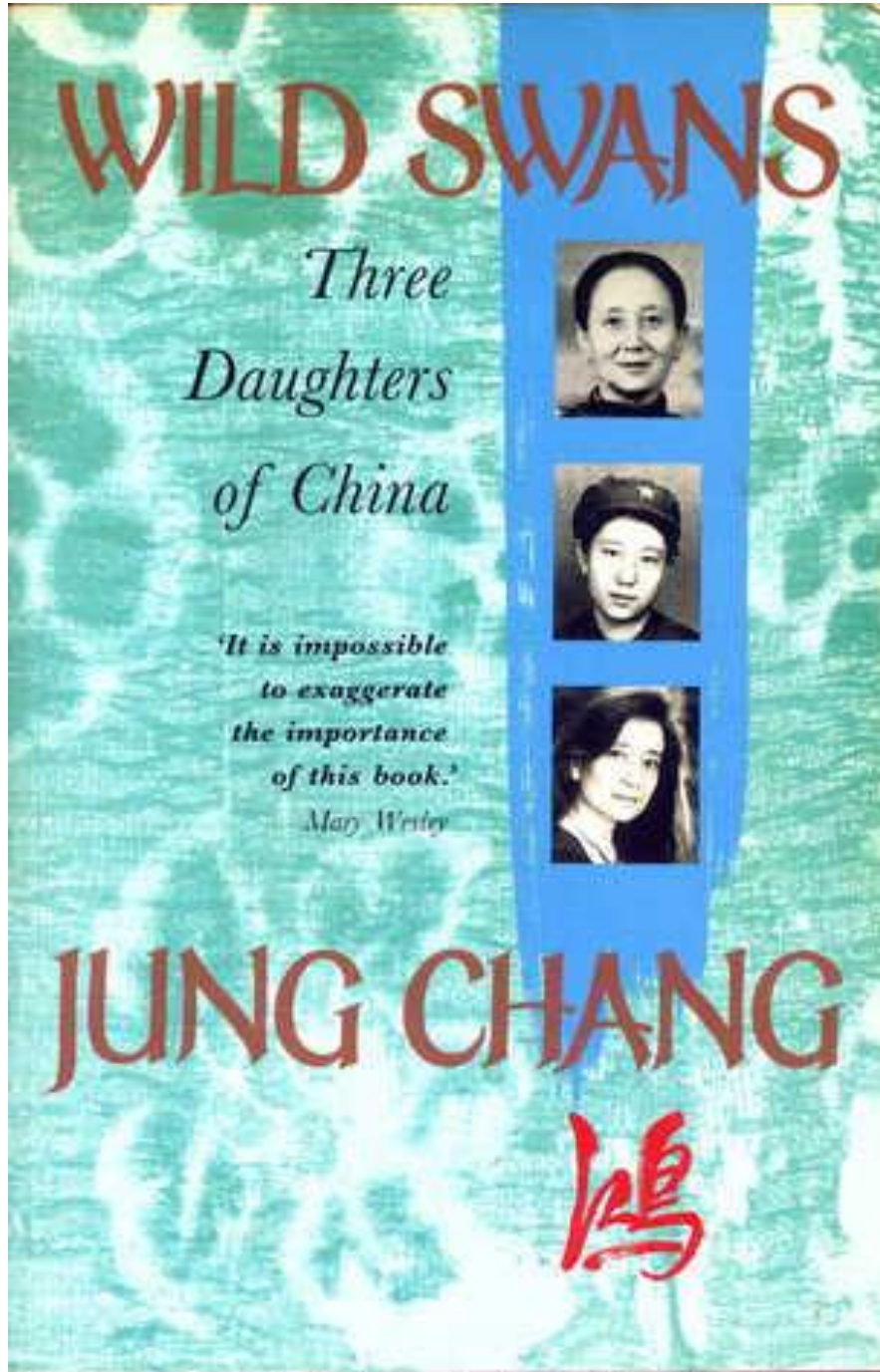
The 2011 French Cover (Publisher: Pocket)



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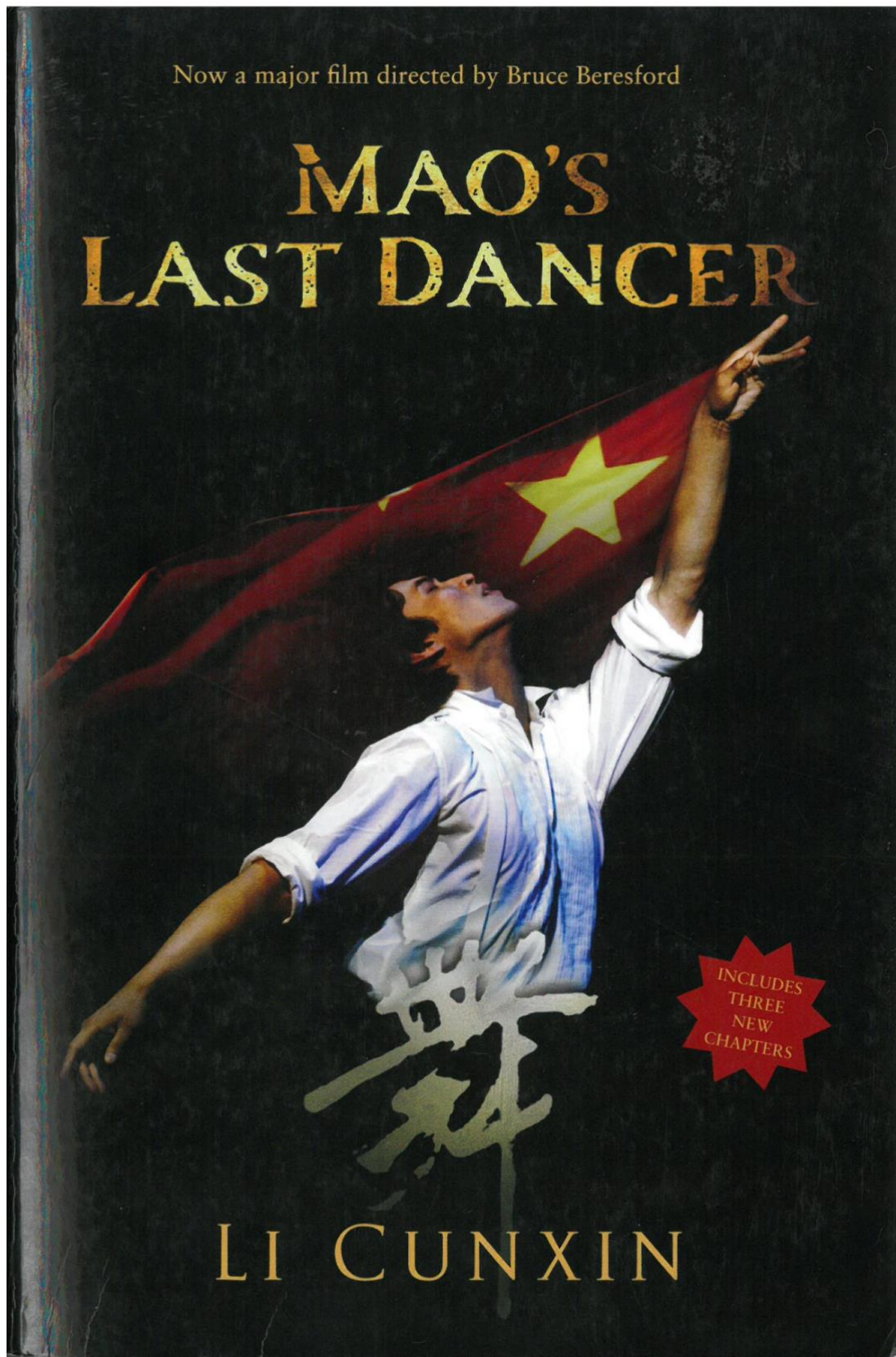
Appendix 7.1.5 Front Cover of *Wild Swans* (Source Text)

The 1991 Cover (Publisher: Harper Collins [Australia and NZ])



Appendix 7.1.6 Front Cover of *Mao's Last Dancer* (Source Text)

The 2009 Version (Publisher: Penguin Group [Australia])



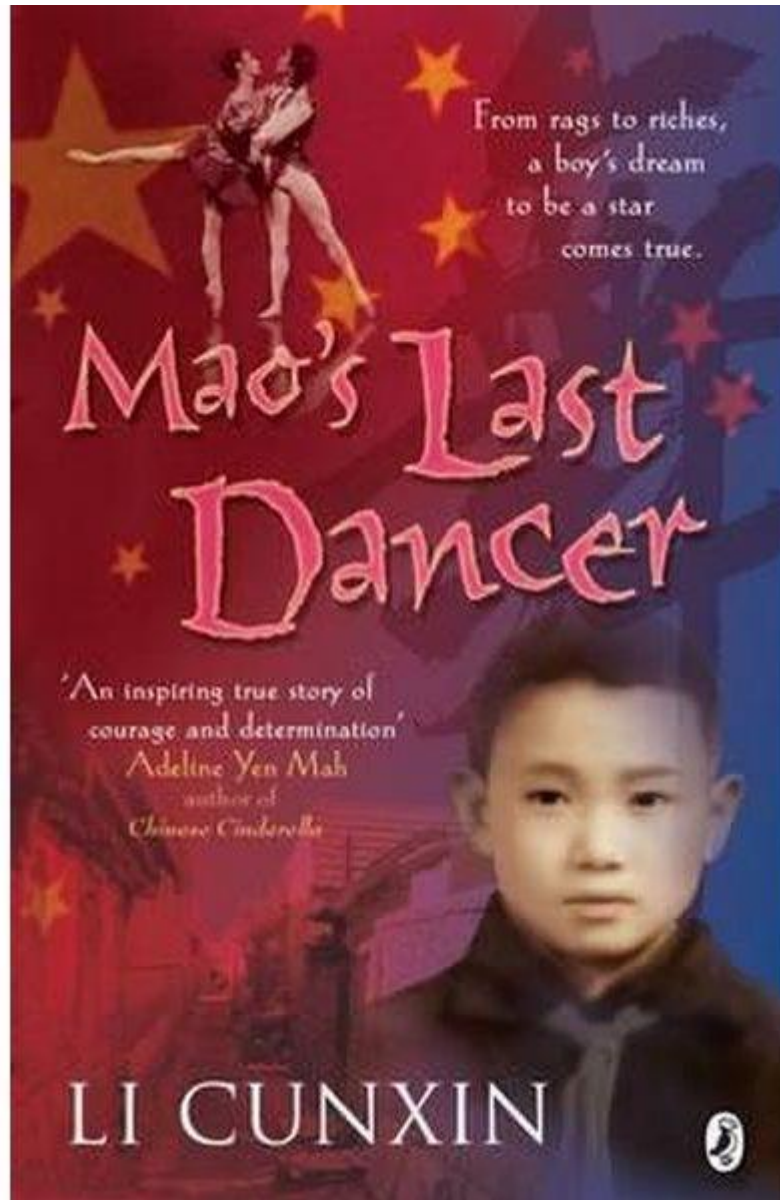
Appendix 7.1.7 Front Cover of *Mao's Last Dancer* (Chinese Target Text)

The 2009 Version (Publisher: China Times)



Appendix 7.1.8 Front Cover of *Mao's Last Dancer* – Young Readers' Edition (Source Text)

The 2003/2006 Version (Publisher: Penguin Group)



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Appendix 7.2 Additional Literature Review on Multimodality

Appendix 7.2.1 Comparison between SFL and Visual Grammar

Kress and van Leeuwen have borrowed the Hallidayan terms for the three metafunctions. The Ideational metafunction is the representation of objects and their relations, and includes the sub-systems of PARTICIPANTS, PROCESSES and CIRCUMSTANCES. A detailed comparison of the participants/processes between SFL and visual grammar shows that different labels for PROCESSES and PARTICIPANTS are used in visual grammar, due to obvious differences between the two modes. Kress and van Leeuwen distinguishes two broad categories of processes: narrative and conceptual. Narrative processes broadly correspond to different process types in SFL, whereas conceptual processes correspond to only relational and existential processes. Each process type involves participants, whose labels may be the same with the SFL terms, such as ‘Actor’ and ‘Goal’, or similar, ‘Sayer’ versus ‘Speaker’, or quite different, such as ‘superordinate’ and ‘subordinate’ in visual grammar. However, all process types and participants in visual grammar have a broad equivalence in SFL.

Another important notion in the Ideational metafunction is agency, which is closely associated with power and ideology. We think that a distinction between agency and dynamism is helpful in this paper, as Agency appears to be subject to different interpretations in Multimodal studies. Agent or Agency has been referred to the participant who initiates an action (O’Toole 1994) or narrative structure (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996), the organisations that select and distribute images (ibid.), and the people who are involved with translation decision-making (O’Sullivan 2013, Liu 2011); Agency can be signalled by depicting energy and motion (Machin and Thornborrow 2003). In a Hallidayan sense, Agent and Medium are both lexicogrammatical participants in the ergative model of TRANSITIVITY (Halliday and Mattiessen 2014, 341-342); Medium is the one through which the process is actualized, and Agent is the participant functioning as an external cause. Linguistically, if a process is self-engendering, there is no Agent. For example, Sarah in ‘Sarah is dancing energetically’ is a Medium. On the other hand, all participants have some form of ‘dynamism’, which is the semantic quality of all participants in their ‘quality of being able to affect the world around us’ (Hasan 1985). Hence, although ‘Sarah’ is not an agent, she nevertheless displays a medium level of ‘dynamism’ as a volitional actor. In this paper, Agent refers to those participants who function as an external clause to a narrative process. We also use alternative names in referring to the decision-making organisations and people in the cover design of the translated text.

The interpersonal metafunction concerns the constituting and maintaining of interaction between text/image producer and readers, between represented participants and readers, and amongst the represented participants. The major linguistic systems within the Interpersonal metafunction are MOOD, MODALITY, and MODAL ASSESSMENT. Mood choices congruently realise the speech functions of Command and Offer; they also mark the polarity. Kress and van Leeuwen link Command and Offer to the presence and absence of GAZE and POSE.

Being closely linked to MOOD in SFL, MODALITY refers to the region of uncertainty that lies between ‘yes’ and ‘no’, and is congruently realised through modal finites. However, a broader definition of modality overlaps with MODAL ASSESSMENT, which includes Modality, Temporality and Intensity (Halliday and Mattiessen 2014, 189). MODALITY in Visual Grammar differs considerably from SFL, especially the concept of highest modality. In SFL, high modality is less certain than a polar yes. However, Visual Grammar does not address POLARITY; instead, it views MODALITY on an endless cline. Furthermore, we consider that MODALITY in Visual Grammar incorporates the concept of INTENSITY, in that sub-systems such as colour saturation and brightness affect not just the commitment to truthfulness, but also the degree of intensity and stridency.

One final difference in the Interpersonal metafunction is the three sub-systems that are specific to the visual mode: PERSPECTIVE (central angle for subjectivity versus non-central angle for objectivity), INVOLVEMENT (frontal angle for involvement versus oblique angle for detachment) and VERTICAL ANGLE (high/ eye level/ low angle: the lower the angle, the more power represented participants have over interactive participants). The Interpersonal Metafunction clearly shows more differences between SFL and visual grammar.

The last metafunction, the Textual metafunction, relates the first two and integrates them into a meaningful whole. In SFL, the key systems are THEME (Theme/Rheme) and INFORMATION (Given/ New). In SFL, these two systems are closely linked semantically, and, in their unmarked relationship, the Theme falls within the Given, while the New falls within the Rheme. However, they are two separate systems: THEME is a system of the clause, and is speaker-oriented, while INFORMATION is a system not of clause, but of INFORMATION UNIT (Halliday, 1967a, 1967/8), and is listener-oriented; both are, of course, speaker-selected. Theme/ Rheme do not always align perfectly with Given/ New.

Excluding the system of THEME, visual grammar proposes a different system of INFORMATION VALUE: Left and Right respectively refer to Given and New in “Western” visual design, Top and Bottom to Ideal and Real, and Centre and Margin to Information Nucleus and

Subservient Information. Visual grammar also includes two other textual sub-systems, SALIENCE and FRAMING, which are specific to the visual mode.

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Appendix 7.2.2 PARTICIPANTS and PROCESSES in Kress & van Leeuwen's Narrative Structures and their approximate equivalence in Halliday's linguistic model

NARRATIVE PROCESSES: presenting unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements			
Process Type		Possible participants	
In Visual Grammar	Approximate equivalence in SFL	In Visual Grammar	Approximate equivalence in SFL
Action	Material & Verbal	Actor	Actor; Sayer
		Goal	Goal; Receiver/ Target
Reactional	Mental	Reacter	Senser (+Receiver/ Target) Patient; Behaver
		Phenomenon	Inducer (Li 2016)
Speech	Verbal	Speaker	Sayer
		Content	Verbiage
Mental	Mental	Thinker	Senser
		Content	Phenomenon
Conversion	Relational	Actor	Actor/ Carrier/ Attributor /Token/ Assigner
		Goal	Goal/Attribute/Value
		Relay	Actor/ Carrier/ Token
<i>Action?</i>	Behavioural	<i>Actor?</i>	Behaver
CONCEPTUAL PROCESSES: representing participants in terms of their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence			
Classificational	Relational	Superordinate	Carrier/ Attribute /Token/ Value
		Subordinate	Carrier/ Attribute /Token/ Value
Analytical	Relational	Carrier	Carrier/ Token
		Possessive Attributes	Attribute/ Value
Symbolical: Attributive	Relational	Carrier	Carrier / Token
		Symbolic Attribute	Attribute / Value /


Symbolical: Suggestive	Existential	Carrier	Existent
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As the Table shows, Kress and van Leeuwen have changed the names of some participants and processes to suit multimodality; in addition, they have identified processes in visual design that do not have an obvious equivalence in linguistics.

Appendix 7.2.3 Addressing Potential Criticisms for Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA)

Many criticisms of and suggestions for CDA (Machin and Mayr 2012) are also relevant to this study. Firstly, CDA is too selected, partial and qualitative; quantitative methods/ corpus tools should be used (Garzone and Santulli 2004, Stubbs 1997). This paper aims to tackle this criticism by analysing the meaning of the title and subtitle using a concordance programme. Secondly, some advocate a more ethnographic approach (Widdowson 1998). We hereby rely on the visual grammar, but we make no claim of reader reaction, which may be a topic for future study. Thirdly, multimodal studies should consult with image producers (Bateman, Delin, and Henschel 2004) and carry out interviews (Machin and Mayr 2007). Unfortunately, an interview with the author/translator of *Wild Swans* has not been possible to date; this is perhaps not unexpected for authors/translators of sensitive nature. We seek to make up for such limitation as much as possible with a more detailed understanding of the context.

Appendix 7.2.4 Functions, Systems and Rank in the Chosen Front Covers

	Context of Culture			Field	Tenor	Mode	
			Sociogenesis		What is happening in history at the time of the book publication?	relations between the publisher and the readers	standards of the publishing industry
			Ontogenesis		What is happening in the development of the author (two temporal locations: book publication & photoshoot)	relations between the author and the represented participants; relations between the author and other interactive participants (publisher, designer, readers, translator etc.)	author's background in and preferences of the given mode, e.g., did s/he specialise in visual design? Did s/he contribute to this design?
	Context of Situation		Logogenesis		locations of images/ paratexts within the unfolding of events in the text itself	relations between the represented participants and readers	How are specific images/ texts created? e.g., photoshoot/ illustration/ film still
					Ideational Metafunction	Interpersonal Metafunction	Textual Metafunction
			Work		title and sub-title (theme); interplay of episodes; the overall background	author name; emblem pf publisher; Publisher blurb & Press quotation modality & intensity	Book size; Salience; Information value (given/new, ideal/real, nucleus/ subservient); Framing
	Content: Semantics (The Signified)						
Content: Lexicogrammar (The Signifier)			Episode	Actor-goal; A group of people/ objects;	shot of frame; perspective; modality & intensity	Regional salience; Sub-framing	
			Figure	a character/ object; act/ gesture;	gaze & pose; Involvement; vertical angle; contrast in colour & light etc.	Local salience; size & font of blurb and quotation	
			Member	part of body/ object			
Expression: front cover of a book							

Appendix 7.3 Additional Results and Discussions

Appendix 7.3.1 Additional data analysis: mother as a Red Guard on the cover

The choices of photos and the age of the represented participants are also meaningful. The photo of mother is highly marked. Her youthfulness at the age of 18 contrasts sharply with the maturity of both grandmother and Chang. This image shows her as a young communist, possibly hinting her innocence and naive belief in Communism; it may possibly create a misunderstanding that mother was a Red Guard. But she was never a Red Guard; when the Cultural Revolution started in 1966, she was 35 years old, a Grade-16 Chinese cadre (幹部 *gàn bù*) who would give orders to the Red Guards. However, the chosen photo does not represent her as a high-level Chinese cadre, instead, it highlights her youthful innocence as a young communist whom can be easily misunderstood as a Red Guard.

Appendix 7.3.2 Additional data analysis: The analogy of the three Chinese women to the Three Graces

Textually, they are represented as images that “Western” readers should find familiar, and as “real” –approachable, ‘one of us’, despite their beauty and exoticness.

In short, they are represented as beautiful, innocent, friendly, approachable and passive. In fact, we note obvious resemblance between them and the Three Graces in Greek mythology: Love, Chastity and Beauty: The graceful and poised grandmother represents Beauty (made explicit on page 4); the mother represents Chastity, with her 18-year-old innocence and Maoist-style military uniform that tone down her femininity; Chang represents Love, who displays femininity and boldness with her intense gaze, big wavy hair and liberal low-neck clothing. These women are no ordinary Chinese women – they are from highly privileged family backgrounds. However, the frontal, close-up shots suggest that readers should see these women as being part of their world.

Appendix 7.3.3 A brief comparison between *Wild Swans* and *Mao's Last Dancer*

Due to space restriction, we are unable to discuss results from *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST and *Mao's Last Dancer*-TT (Taiwan) in great detail. We will therefore highlight one key difference between *Wild Swan*-ST & *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST, and between the two translations.

We find that the cover design of *Mao's Last Dancer*-ST also reflects the Orientalist ideology. However, contrary to *Wild Swans*-ST, which represents the adult images of the three Chinese women as desirable and intimate to the “Western” readers, Li Cunxin is represented as having greater social distance from the readers. We have collected the front covers of three young readers’ editions and two full versions, and there is an absence of gaze at the readers in all images of Li. And could it be random that the more grown-up the represented Li appears to be in the photo, the more oblique the angle appears to be, which is clearly reflected in the cover of 2009 full version, in which Li is represented from an oblique angle – he is not part of us, with his eyes closed – he is not interacting with us, but he is a performer that we can look at, and from a low angle – his status as a famous dancer makes him have power over us. Essentially, whereas the three Chinese women are represented as being part of the “Western” readers with a frontal angle and direct gaze, Li as a Chinese man is represented as a cultural ‘other’, despite his successful career in the West and his marriage to an Australian woman. His head movement and hand gesture may suggest some dynamism, but, like the Chinese women, he is not represented with any agency to impact on himself or the surrounding.

The Chinese cover has chosen one adult photo that has not appeared in any English covers, and another one on the back cover. Both photos shows greater dynamism: the front cover photo shows some form of agency of Li in supporting himself with his right arm and leg, whereas the photo on the back covers shows an extremely challenging posture which also showcases his adult masculinity in the form of incredible muscle definition. Although Li does not gaze at the viewers on the Taiwanese cover either, the frontal angle suggests that he is part of the world with the Taiwanese readers. Therefore, both Chinese translations appear to have made efforts to reduce the Orientalist elements of presenting Chinese women as being “one of us” and a Chinese man as a “cultural other” to “Western” readers, although in two opposite directions due to the differences in representing “Oriental” man and “Oriental” women in the two English-language covers. Instead of representing an adult male dancer as an “other”, as in the case of

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the source text, the Taiwanese cover represents Li as one of “us”, acknowledging his adult masculinity more and reducing his social distance with target readers.

Besides reducing Orientalism, the two translations share another similarity in that both colours depict higher modality with more vivid and life-like representational details and fuller colour saturation. This is in congruence with linguistic findings.

End of the Appendices