

## Translators' Changing Habitus: A Source Orientation in Subtitling Chinese Fifth-Generation Directors' Films?

 Xichen Sun 

University of Auckland

**Citation:** Sun, X. (2025). Translators' Changing Habitus: A Source Orientation in Subtitling Chinese Fifth-Generation Directors' Films? *Journal of Audiovisual Translation*, 8(2), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v8i8.2025.358>

**Editor(s):** D. Chiaro & L. Rossato

**Received:** November 21, 2024

**Published:** December 15, 2025

**Copyright:** ©2025 Author(s). This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License.

### Abstract

This paper examines the evolving habitus of English translators/subtitlers working on films (1984–2024) by Chinese fifth-generation directors Chen Kaige and Zhang Yimou. An analysis of 32 films shows a significant shift: initially dominated by native English speakers from the cultural industries or the Chinese studies circle, currently, the field of Chinese film translation has attracted native Chinese speakers with film industry or audiovisual translation (AVT) experience. The decreased reliance on foreign language experts and a corresponding increase in the selection of source-situated translators/subtitlers indicate a divergence from the norm of translating into one's first language. The reasons behind this divergence lie in the influence of the marketisation of China's film industry, the filmmakers' increasing focus on the domestic market—especially after the pandemic—and the professionalisation of AVT in China. Employing Bourdieu's theory, this study analyses the translators'/subtitlers' educational backgrounds and career trajectories, focusing on their experience with the Chinese language and China. It identifies three phases in the evolution of their habitus: target-culture translators/subtitlers in the early centralised era, industry-experienced translators/subtitlers after the film marketisation, and domestic translators/subtitlers since the pandemic.

**Key words:** Chinese films, film translators, film subtitlers, film subtitling, translator habitus.

## Introduction

Chinese fifth-generation directors who graduated from the Beijing Film Academy in the 1980s pioneered Chinese films on the international stage. Chen Kaige and Zhang Yimou's *The Yellow Earth* (1984) marked the start of this era, causing a sensation at the Hong Kong Film Festival in 1985. Over the past 40 years, Chen and Zhang have produced 27 and 19 films, respectively, covering diverse genres and themes. Their works, especially those exploring Chinese identity and history, have gained international recognition and prestigious awards. Subtitling remains the primary mode of audiovisual translation (AVT) for disseminating these and other Chinese films globally. An archival study of the end credits of their films (1984–2024) identified 19 individual translators/subtitlers and four translation/subtitling companies. This diachronic investigation reveals a shift in the translators'/subtitlers' habitus. The previously dominant trend of inviting native English speakers to translate/subtitle has shifted to a preference for hiring native Chinese translators/subtitlers. Additionally, the translators/subtitlers' occupational backgrounds are uncovered to transition from the cultural industries, with an interest in Chinese films, to the film industry, focused on the production and distribution of Chinese films. What remains unchanged is that the translation/subtitling of these films consistently attracts attention and involvement from academia, whether in Chinese film studies or AVT studies. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory, this paper will describe these translators'/subtitlers' changing habitus in the intersectional field of the international cultural industries, Chinese film industry, Chinese film studies overseas, and AVT studies at home. The trend from the international cultural industries to the Chinese film industry can be interpreted through the marketisation of the Chinese film industry, which invigorated the domestic box office potential and boosted the Chinese filmmakers' confidence to produce films mainly relying on their local audience. The trend from Chinese film studies overseas to AVT studies at home can be attributed to the professionalisation of the AVT practice, more specifically, subtitling service, in China, epitomised by the rise of local companies specialising in film translation/subtitling and the establishment of professional associations. It is argued that breaking the norm of translating/subtitling into one's first language is driven by the maturation of the Chinese film industry and domestic advancements in AVT practice and research. The structure of the intersectional field of Chinese film subtitling is evolving with the increasing involvement of the translators/subtitlers situated in the source culture and the gradual exit of the translators/subtitlers originating from the target culture.

## 1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has been widely applied in translation studies and other fields, notably for its focus on concepts like field, capital, and habitus. Grounded in sociology, his theory examines power relationships within various social fields. "A field, in Bourdieu's sense, is a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them" (Jenkins, 2002, p. 84). He envisions the social world as a collection of fields where individuals and institutions compete for power according to each field's

unique logic. At times, this logic is perceived as an illusion by outsiders, akin to how a spectator unfamiliar with football might struggle to understand why the 20 outfield players exert such effort to score against the opposing team on the field. “Fields are defined by the stakes which are at stake—cultural goods (life-style), housing, intellectual distinction (education), employment, land, power (politics), social class, prestige or whatever—and may be of differing degrees of specificity and concreteness” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 84). The field of power is the largest in society, encompassing smaller fields, which themselves may contain even smaller fields, each with varying degrees of autonomy.

To Bourdieu, the field of power is a meta-field, where agents from different fields struggle to determine the value of different forms of capital while at the same time establishing the principles for a division of the labour of domination. (Arnholtz, 2018, p. 587)

He notes that agents in each field constantly strive to gather the capital that their field is known to value. Such capital typically belongs to four groups: economic (financial assets), social capital (various kinds of valued relations with significant others), cultural (education, cultural knowledge), and symbolic (recognition in a group). Capital may be inherited in childhood, obtained through education, or achieved later within the field. “People who bring a lot of capital into the field have a better chance of transforming the field and creating their own function within it” (Arnholtz, 2018, p. 585). To bridge the collective concept of the field with individual trajectories, Bourdieu introduced the notion of habitus, which is “a mediating construct that helps us revoke the common-sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality” (Wacquant, 2018, p. 2). Habitus can manifest as pre-programmed dispositions instilled in an individual from a young age. However, in other cases, Bourdieu seems to be aware of this trap and avoids it by emphasising the improvisational and differential nature of habitus. In this light, translators’ habitus is regarded as an inertial yet versatile force, constraining their translation tendencies and preferences while allowing for transformations and continuous construction in accordance with the changing fields in which one plays and with one’s changing positions in a specific space.

Hermans (2014) maintains that “Bourdieu’s concept of ‘field’ bears some resemblance to the notion of system” since “field” can be perceived as a structured system with its own principles of operating and its structure is formed by the agents’ positions and relations in the field (p. 132). “Translation is deployed in the context of existing social structures, which are also structures of power, both material and what Pierre Bourdieu would call ‘symbolic’” (Hermans, 2014, p. 80). The situatedness of translation determines its relevance to the field where translators work, and their relationships with other agents are built. “In this social context, the norms and conventions of translation guide and facilitate decision-making” (Hermans, 2014, p. 80). Situated in the source culture, a translator is likely to conform to the source-culture norms, whereas a translator from the target culture tends to prioritise target-culture norms. Along the continuum between source and target, Toury (2012) proposed “two extreme orientations” “constituting an initial norm”: “adequacy” heavily leaning on the assumed original and “acceptability” sweepingly adhering to norms which originate and act in the target culture (p. 79). However, “a translation will never be either adequate or acceptable” but

“will represent a blend of both” (Toury, 2012, p. 70). Moreover, the “one-sidedness” towards the source or the target will not remain the same because of the “environmental feedback” received by the translator (Toury, 2012, p. 292), which also contributes to the development of the translator’s habitus. This dynamic is exemplified by translators originating from the target culture who, following prolonged residence in the source culture, may adopt a more source-oriented tendency. At the same time, translators’ habitus is described as “the true pivot around which systems of social order revolve,” in turn, further giving to the norms (Simeoni, 1998, p. 24). Beyond the influence of context, certain agents with a significant accumulation of specific forms of capital also play a role in shaping these norms. As Simeoni (1998) observes, “In each social and/or professional group, a small circle of operators had a monopoly of selecting and fine-tuning the norms effective in their sphere of activity” (p. 24). This conceptualisation aligns with Sela-Sheffy’s (2005) notion of a “star system” among literary translators who gain recognition (symbolic capital) beyond their profession (pp. 11–12). As public celebrities, these prominent figures act as “the translators’ spokesmen,” setting “the tone in the field” (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, pp. 11–12).

Between the 1990s and 2010s, the status of translation as an autonomous field was a subject of ongoing scholarly debate. Simeoni (1998) characterises translation as a “pseudo-” or “would-be” field, arguing that it is “much less organised than the literary field” and possesses a “far more heteronomous” structure, largely attributed to “the ingrained subservience of the translator” (p. 19). Building on this perspective, Sela-Sheffy (2005) acknowledges the ambiguity and complexity in defining translation as a distinct field but highlights how professionalisation and the emergence of translator stardom contribute to its construction and stratification. She argues that these processes reflect features “typical of autonomous fields—or of fields aspiring to autonomisation,” despite “the alleged subordinate function of translators in the book industry” (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 13). In contrast, Wolf (2011) identifies translation as an established field, providing a detailed mapping of its dynamics and emphasising the need for a robust sociology of translation. Simeoni (1995; 2007) also emphasises the importance of examining translation through a sociological lens. In his 1998 work, he introduced the concept of habitus to the study of translator competence acquisition, linking it to norm theories (Simeoni, 1998). According to Simeoni (1998), “translatorial habitus is a circumstantial byproduct, the result of years of internalisation, yet in practice never final—and it is not necessarily acquired through schooling” (p. 31). Consistent with norm theories, this perspective emphasises the critical influence of social context in shaping translators’ behaviour. Meanwhile, Gouanvic (2005) points out the explanatory power and the application potential of Bourdieusian theory with his key concepts of field, habitus, capital and illusion. “Bourdieu develops a philosophy of action by constructing a fundamental relationship between the social trajectory of the agent (based on his or her incorporated dispositions, or habitus) and the objective structures (specified under fields)” (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 148). Gouanvic (2010) claim that

Bourdieusian sociology allows for all of the characteristics of translation to be addressed: from the influences on translation in the source society to the translation as a product in the target society, translation agents (most importantly the translators, but also the publisher, series director, critic...), and translation as production. (p. 128)

Furthermore, Bourdieu's theory has also become a popular framework in AVT, especially in the discussion of non-professional or amateur subtitling, aka fansubbing (Lu, 2022; Wu, 2019; Hu, 2017; Schules, 2014; Orrego-Carmona, 2011). However, the habitus of professional English subtitlers for Chinese films remains a relatively unexplored area of research, particularly with regard to the intersectionality inherent in the field of film translation.

## 2. Methodology

Situated at the intersection of the cinematic field, which is part of the broader cultural field, the field of film translation—positioned as a subfield within the larger field of translation—displays all the defining characteristics of the latter: ambiguous boundaries with adjacent fields, relatively complex and flexible structures, and the efforts of translator-peers to establish its autonomy. The collaboration and dialogue between academia and industry, whether in film studies or translation studies, further enhance the field's dynamic and elusive nature. This study examines the English translators of Chinese films by prominent directors, who represent top-tier film translators and can be seen as agents of a "star system," setting "the tone in the field" (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, pp. 11–12) and, in doing so, shaping the norms of the field. Their habitus illustrates the establishment of the field of film translation as an autonomous domain within the Chinese context and highlights the evolution of Chinese film subtitling norms across different historical periods. To gather the data on the habitus development trajectories of the concerned translators/subtitlers, this research employs an archival study approach, concentrating on what is "in" the online documents (Prior, 2021, p. 186). Textual and multimodal documents, including film resources on streaming platforms (e.g., YouTube, Youku, iQIYI, and WeTV), and the translators'/subtitlers' published monographs, articles, interviews (print and video), and personal web pages, were analysed and coded for content. By examining the end credits of 17 films by Chen Kaige and 25 films by Zhang Yimou, as well as relevant publications, the researcher found 17 individuals involved in subtitling Chen's films and 33 in subtitling Zhang's films. With four overlapping names, a total of 46 individuals were discovered, who contributed to 13 of Chen's films and 18 of Zhang's films. Three of them were revealed from the publications rather than the films' end credits, including Bonnie McDougall (1991), Chris Berry (Cheng, 2021; Zhang & Berry, 2011), and Helen Eisenman (Rickey, 1999). Additionally, four translation/subtitling companies were discovered in the films' end credits: Special Broadcasting Service, K-nect Translation & Coproduction, Shanghai Film Dubbing Studio Co., and Boyang Translation. Through further online profile searches, nine translators/subtitlers were identified for Chen's films and 14 for Zhang's films. Given overlapping names, 19 translators/subtitlers were ascertained. They are Lucy Adori, Chris Berry, Carolyn Choa, Chengzou Chongheng, Helen Eisenman, Ellen Eliasoph, Jin Haina, Carma Hinton, Linda Jaivin, Teng Jimeng, Zhou Kexin, Sherrie Liu, Daniel Manwaring, Bonnie McDougall, Zhang Mo, Deng Ningxin, Qiao Qingshan, S. Louisa Wei, and Kong Yang. The following section examines these translators'/subtitlers' habitus, exploring how it shapes their source-target orientation and interacts with the field of film translation and its adjacent domains, while also reflecting on the types of capital they may have sought in undertaking such projects. This analysis draws on data from sources such as

LinkedIn, IMDb, Academia, their affiliated universities, and other available channels, including personal websites, newspaper articles and published interviews.

### **3. Changing Habitus of the Translators/Subtitlers for Chen Kaige's and Zhang Yimou's Films**

From 1984 to the present, the translators/subtitlers for Chen Kaige's and Zhang Yimou's films have exhibited a diverse range of habitus development trajectories. Early English translators/subtitlers who worked on Chinese films between 1984 and 2000 were predominantly native English speakers, often practitioners in the overseas cultural industries or scholars specialising in Chinese studies. After China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 and ended the state-owned studios' monopoly in 2002, most subtitling projects for their films were handled by multiple translators/subtitlers, as indicated by the various credits listed at the end of the films. Many of the translators/subtitlers involved had prior experience in the film industry. Since the COVID-19 outbreak in late 2019 that resulted in strict restrictions in China, these films have gradually come to rely on subtitling services provided by China-based translators/subtitlers. These individuals often come from the film or the language service industries, with some also possessing academic backgrounds that support their expertise in subtitling.

#### **3.1. Target-Culture Translators/Subtitlers in the Early Centralised Era**

The translators/subtitlers for Chen Kaige's and Zhang Yimou's early films (1984–2000) helped propel their works to a broader international audience when Chinese cinema remained largely unfamiliar and held an exotic allure on the global stage. In the early 1980s, following a decade in which higher education opportunities were severely disrupted due to the closure of colleges and universities during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), there was a significant shortage of qualified translation professionals within China. Consequently, the main translators/subtitlers for these films were typically foreign professionals. They were often recruited or invited to undertake the translation/subtitling of Chinese films under fixed-term or flexible contracts with organisations affiliated with the Chinese government. Their target-culture origins heavily influence their target-oriented tendencies in translation within a centralised filmmaking system constrained by a lack of domestic English translators sufficiently skilled to evaluate their work. Between 1984 and 2000, the Chinese film industry was also undergoing a gradual transformation from a state-controlled system to a comparatively open-market framework that enabled foreign coproductions.

During the production and initial screenings of *The Yellow Earth* (1984), the Chinese film industry was still under state control, specifically through the China Film Import and Export Corporation (CFIEC), an entity operating under the Ministry of Culture (Yeh & Davis, 2008). In 1985, control of the CFIEC was transferred to the newly expanded Ministry of Radio, Film and Television (MRFT) (Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation, 1986). The CFIEC promotes Chinese cinema internationally by entering top films in major festivals to generate global interest (Semsel, 1987, p. 5). Despite strict



travel restrictions, Chen Kaige and Zhang Yimou, the director and cinematographer of *The Yellow Earth* (1984), secured permission to attend the Hong Kong Film Festival showcasing their work from mainland China. While riding the subway in Hong Kong, Chen and Zhang noticed Linda Jaivin, a Hong Kong-based journalist. Jaivin (2022), with a deep fascination for Chinese history and language, had dedicated four years to studying Chinese history and acquired fluency in the language through courses at Brown University and her experiences living in Taiwan. This encounter sparked a conversation between the two young filmmakers and Jaivin, a connection that would intertwine her future career with Chinese cinema as a film subtitler (Jaivin, 2022; Jin, 2013). Jaivin, now an internationally published author, translator, essayist, and novelist specialising in China and based in Australia, has translated many of Chen's films, from his landmark work *Farewell My Concubine* (1992) to his recent mainstream release *The Volunteers: To the War 2* (2024) (also known as *The Volunteers: The Battle of Life and Death*). She has also translated several of Zhang's films, including the wuxia blockbusters *Hero* (2002) and *House of Flying Daggers* (2004). However, she was not the subtitler for *The Yellow Earth* (1984), as the CFIEC held exclusive rights to the overseas distribution and translation of all Chinese films before the industry's decentralisation. The film's creative team was not permitted to seek their own subtitler.

From 1985 to 1988, Chris Berry worked as a foreign expert at the CFIEC, a division of the China Film Corporation (CFC), translating film subtitles, magazines, and publicity materials, with English translation teams (Cheng, 2021, p. 35). During his time at the CFIEC, he contributed to the translation of approximately 80 Chinese films, including *The Yellow Earth* (1984), *The Big Parade* (1986), and *Red Sorghum* (1987) (Cheng, 2021). Berry began learning Chinese in the 1970s during his undergraduate studies in Britain. He continued his academic career in the U.S., earning a Ph.D. with a dissertation on Chinese cinema, which involved field research in China. Since the 1990s, he has become an established scholar of Chinese and East Asian cinema, with numerous influential publications and frequent interviews. Sinologist Bonnie McDougall also contributed to translating this film. She was born in Sydney, Australia and first studied Chinese at Peking University from 1958 to 1959. From 1981 to 1983, she worked as a full-time foreign expert with the translation staff in the English section of the Foreign Language Press (McDougall, 2009). During this time, she met director Chen Kaige, who invited her to translate his film script before she had seen the film itself. Following her translation of the literary and working scripts, she translated the film script from a copy provided by the director, complete with his own corrections (McDougall, 1991). Based on this project, McDougall authored a seminal work in Chinese film studies, *The Yellow Earth: A Film by Chen Kaige*, featuring extensive commentary. While maintaining a primary research interest in Chinese literature, she translated poetry, fiction, and film scripts by new writers who emerged during the period of the Cultural Revolution. In addition, she translated the film script for Chen's *The King of Children* (1987), based on Ah Cheng's eponymous novel (McDougall, 2018, p. 393). In contrast to her limited involvement with the filming of *The Yellow Earth* (1984), McDougall was intimately familiar with *The King of Children* (1987), having spent several weeks on location in Xishuangbanna, Kunming, and Xi'an during its production. However, the translation of this film script was published after substantial revisions without McDougall's knowledge, permission, or credit (McDougall, 2018, p. 393). McDougall (2024)

describes her path to becoming a translator of modern Chinese literature as somewhat unintentional, beginning with a happenstance encounter with Chinese as a university subject that blossomed into a passion and, ultimately, an obsession with translation.

The international acclaim of *The Yellow Earth* (1984) was aided by Western sinologists and film experts who promoted its inclusion in film festivals and facilitated Chen and Zhang's attendance. Notably, their presence at the 1985 Hawaii International Film Festival was secured largely due to the advocacy of festival organisers (McDougall, 1991, pp. 110–113). Subsequently, through the arrangements of Carma Hinton, an American documentary filmmaker raised in China, and Paul Clark, a specialist on Chinese film at the East-West Centre in Hawaii, Chen and Zhang travelled to the mainland U.S., where Hinton facilitated their introduction, along with the film, to the Museum of Modern Art in New York (McDougall, 1991, p. 113). Hinton was then invited to translate Chen's Chinese-French-Japanese coproduction, *The Emperor and the Assassin* (1998). A native Chinese speaker born in Beijing, Hinton lived there until age 21. She has directed 13 documentaries on various aspects of China. With a Ph.D. in Art History from Harvard, Hinton is an expert in Chinese culture, history, and film and lectures extensively at universities worldwide.

Following a brief collaboration with Chen Kaige, Zhang Yimou transitioned from cinematographer to director with his debut feature, *Red Sorghum* (1987). This film, along with his subsequent China-Japan coproduction *Ju Dou* (1990) and China-Hong Kong-Taiwan coproduction *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991), comprises his renowned "Red Trilogy".

(...) Like other industries in the 1980s and 1990s, Chinese cinema underwent a series of wrenching structural reforms, gradually transforming from a state propaganda apparatus to a market-oriented, profit-driven enterprise. (Yeh & Davis, 2008, p. 37)

In the film industry, transnational cinema activities have exponentially increased through outsourcing, coproduction, simultaneous global exhibition, and borderless film download websites (Wang, 2008, p. 9). Zhang's *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991), as well as Chen's *The Emperor and the Assassin* (1998), were created against this backdrop. Zhang's two films, nominated for the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film in 1991 and 1992, respectively, represent the first instance of Chinese films receiving such international recognition (Clark, 2019, p. 125). To accommodate the U.S. market, these two films enlisted the services of Helen Eisenman, a renowned subtitler and one of the few professionals in this field in the U.S. during this time (Italie, 1991). Eisenman is credited as "Subtitles" in *Ju Dou* (1990) and has confirmed her role as subtitler for *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991) in her interview with the film critic Carrie Ricky (1999). Born in Austria, Eisenman, of Jewish heritage, fled the oppression of Nazi Germany as a young child (Ricky, 1999). Her journey from Vienna to New York, which included periods in Italy and Portugal, led her to acquire fluency in many European languages (Ricky, 1999). Between the 1960s and 1990s, she subtitled over 300 films in languages other than English. Eisenman's interest in subtitling stemmed from her job in radio and, later, her involvement in film production (Italie, 1991). She is also highly esteemed for her ability to subtitle films in languages she does not speak, specialising in refining English translations and ensuring that subtitles meet technical constraints, including for languages such as Danish and Chinese (Ricky, 1999).



Most of these English translations/subtitlers were native English speakers, one of whom did not possess proficiency in Chinese. Except for Carma Hinton, they were all educated in countries other than China and had little or limited experience in China. Driven by their passion for Chinese culture, particularly Chinese films and literature, several have emerged as prominent scholars in Chinese studies, reflecting the increasing global recognition of Chinese cinema. Given the significant economic disparity between China and Western countries in the 1980s and 1990s, it is reasonable to assume that they were unable to accumulate substantial financial capital from translating/subtitling Chinese films. However, the cultural capital gained from engaging with early works by leading Chinese filmmakers and social capital obtained from becoming acquainted with these figures have become irreplaceable milestones in their careers. Subsequently, coproduced films with diverse funding sources allowed production teams to hire more established overseas translators/subtitlers with higher remuneration. These early translators/subtitlers, originating from the target culture, likely prioritised target orientation, refining the English translations/subtitles to conform to the reading preferences of the target audience.

### **3.2. Industry-Experienced Translators/Subtitlers After the Film Marketisation**

Between 2000 and 2020, while Linda Jaivin maintained a stable collaborative relationship with Chen Kaige and Zhang Yimou, new talents emerged, including English native speakers such as Ellen Ellasoph, as well as a growing number of native Chinese speakers such as Zhang Mo, Zhou Kexin, and Deng Ningxin. The habitus of these translators/subtitlers reflects industry-oriented trajectories, from practitioners from the film industry—such as the experienced producer Ellen Ellasoph and up-and-coming director Zhang Mo—to professionals from the language service sector, including associate producer Zhou Kexin, who is also the founder of a translation company, and localisation project manager Deng Ningxin, who has worked for ByteDance and Bilibili Group. English-speaking Jaivin remained the primary subtitler for three of Chen’s and two of Zhang’s films, and Ellasoph experimented with simultaneously producing and subtitling a film. Chinese-speaking translators/subtitlers, such as Carolyn Choa and Zhang Mo, began to assume leading roles in film subtitling projects. Some, like Teng Jimeng, were even invited to proofread the English subtitles. In a free-market economy and within a context of amiable diplomatic relations, the language proficiency of domestic translators/subtitlers is primarily enhanced by the frequent and sustained economic and cultural exchanges between China and English-speaking countries, particularly through opportunities for study or work abroad, as evidenced in their habitus analysed below. This period also witnessed the emergence of professional translators/subtitlers, alongside the involvement of translation/subtitling organisations, including Australia-based Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and Beijing-based K-nect Translation & Coproduction (KTC).

China’s accession to the WTO in 2001 increased competition from foreign film imports. “To prepare, China Film Group Corporation (CFG) was formed under the newly restructured State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT, replacing MRFT in 1998)” (Yeh & Davis, 2008, pp. 40–42). In 2002, the monopoly of state-owned studios on film production and distribution was dismantled,

allowing licensed private companies to enter the market. This deregulation spurred rapid industry growth and the emergence of many domestic companies, including Beijing New Picture Film Corporation (BNPFC), which collaborated with Zhang Yimou on several projects. The era of Chinese *dapian* (meaning “big pictures” or blockbuster films) began in response to the new competition, particularly from Hollywood blockbusters. Zhang Yimou shifted to a strategy of “using big to confront big” (Zhou, 2017, p. 37), leading to the creation of his martial arts trilogy: *Hero* (2002), *House of Flying Daggers* (2004), and *Curse of the Golden Flower* (2006).

Partly inspired and encouraged by the phenomenal success of Ang Lee’s *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) in the global market, Zhang directed *Hero* (2002), an epic martial arts costume drama, which also achieved extraordinary box-office revenue, both locally (over RMB260 million /USD 35 million in the home market) and international (over USD 53 million in the North American market alone). (Zhou, 2017, p. 37)

Chen Kaige also joined the *dapian* wave with his epic fantasy *The Promise* (2005), featuring a pan-Asian star cast (Zhou, 2017, p. 37). An examination of the closing credits of these four Chinese blockbusters reveals the name of subtitler Carolyn Choa, a multi-talented artist who is a dancer, choreographer, opera director, film producer, and translator of both films and books, as well as a book editor. Born in Hong Kong, where Cantonese was her first language, she studied English literature and drama at Hull University (Hung, 2012; Pitman, 2009). During this time, she met Anthony Minghella (Kellaway, 2005), who became her husband and a renowned British film director and playwright. As Minghella’s film career progressed, she increasingly focused on film while maintaining a parallel career translating screenplays and books (Pitman, 2009). Minghella regarded China as a source of compelling cinema, often citing Zhang Yimou and Chen Kaige as masters of the art form (Kemp, 2006), and eventually developed friendships with both directors (Shackleton, 2008). Following Minghella’s death in 2008, Choa briefly remarked on her enjoyment of a balance of mornings spent in solitary translation work and afternoons immersed in the lively, sociable world of opera (Pitman, 2009).

In *Hero* (2002), Carolyn Choa and Linda Jaivin receive separate credits for “English subtitles”. Choa’s credit placement, following the script supervisors and within the film crew listing, suggests her primary involvement was screenplay translation. Jaivin’s credit, appearing after the post-production team, likely reflects her expertise in subtitling. Notably, the post-production of *Hero* (2002) was completed by Soundfirm and Animal Logic, “two of the largest and most established Australian post-production companies” (Soh, 2017, p. 2). Most of the film’s visual effects were created at Animal Logic’s Sydney studio (Farquhar, 2010, p. 185). This connection to Sydney (Farquhar, 2010) likely facilitated the subtitling services provided by the Sydney-based Jaivin and Australia’s SBS, which has a significant reach in Sydney and Melbourne (Smail, 2002, p. 396). Launched in 1980, SBS mainly provides programming for migrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds in Australia (Smail, 2002, pp. 395–396). It was the first company specialising in subtitling services to be engaged for a Zhang Yimou film. Prior to this, WJJ Optical N.Y., from the motion picture services industry, collaborated with Helen Eisenman on *Ju Dou* (1990). Similarly, pre-2000 subtitling services for Chen’s films

involved post-production companies such as Laser Vidéo Titres in Paris, France, and Malin Post Production in Tokyo, Japan.

For Zhang's *Curse of the Golden Flower* (2006), Choa seems to have collaborated with S. Louisa Wei and Brad Metten, all credited for the English translation. While Wei's background is well-documented, Metten's remains unidentified. Wei's habitus demonstrates a blend of academic scholarship in film and practical industry experience. Born and educated in China, she relocated to Canada in 1994, where she earned a Master's degree in Comparative Literature from Carleton University and a Ph.D. in Film Studies from the University of Alberta. Following a brief period as a researcher in Japan, she joined the City University of Hong Kong in 2001. She subsequently became a professor of Creative Media and an independent documentary filmmaker, undertaking roles as writer, director, producer, cinematographer, and editor. Concurrently, she translated articles and films, including subtitle and script translation. In another film directed by Zhang, *House of Flying Daggers* (2004), Linda Jaivin and Sherrie Liu were credited for English translation. Liu, who is from Taiwan, is an experienced script supervisor, having worked on notable films such as Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000). With a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Film and Television Production from New York University and expertise in creative direction, film production, bilingual communication and storytelling, media writing, and story editing, she seeks dynamic creative opportunities in Greater China. Liu's diverse roles include translator, production assistant, second assistant director, screenwriter, assistant director, and dialogue coach. Though Liu did not contribute to the translation of Zhang Yimou's *The Flowers of War* (2011), she served as assistant director and dialogue coach for that film under contract with BNPF. Instead, Zhang's daughter, Zhang Mo, subtitled this film. After studying filmmaking at New York University, Zhang Mo served as an editor on four of her father's films, including *The Flowers of War* (2011). At the same time, she has pursued a career as a writer and director, making her directorial debut with *Suddenly Seventeen* (2016), co-directing *Snipers* (2022) with Zhang Yimou, and most recently releasing her crime thriller *Last Suspect* (2023). For *The Flowers of War* (2011), the script translation was provided by Carolyn Choa, while Zhang Mo undertook the subtitling, with her husband, Daniel Manwaring, assisting in the process. A resident of China since 2006, Manwaring is fluent in Chinese and possesses extensive experience collaborating with Chinese filmmakers, coupled with a financial background, which led to his appointment as CEO of IMAX China in 2023 (Kay, 2022). His role evolved from English subtitle assistant on *The Flowers of War* (2011) to English subtitle consultant on *Coming Home* (2014) and English subtitle proofreader on *Snipers* (2022).

Zhang Yimou's *Shadow* (2018), coproduced by Perfect Village Entertainment (Hong Kong) Limited, credits Ellen Eliasoph (U.S.) as lead producer and subtitle translator. A veteran film executive and producer with 30 years of experience fostering collaborations between China's film industry, Hollywood, and the global film market, Eliasoph founded Perfect Village Entertainment in 2017. In 1993, she became the first Hollywood executive based in China, establishing Warner Bros. Beijing office. In 2011, she founded Village Roadshow Pictures Asia, with offices in Hong Kong and Beijing. Village Roadshow, an Australian company with significant investments in Hollywood through Warner Bros., established Village Roadshow Entertainment Group Asia. This subsidiary expanded beyond production to include services like visual effects, leveraging its partnership with the Australia-based

Animal Logic (Walsh, 2012, pp. 311–312). With strong ties to the American and Australian film industries, Eliasoph is a member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Producers Guild of America, and the Australian Academy of Cinema and Television Arts. A *summa cum laude* graduate of Yale College and Yale Law School, she is fluent in Chinese and Japanese. She was among the first American students to study in China following the normalisation of U.S.–China diplomatic relations.

In 2006, Huaxia Film Distribution Co. (HFDC), Ltd. became the second authorised distributor of foreign films in China, following the CFG (Yeh & Davis, 2008, p. 42). As a state-owned enterprise directly under the Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, HFDC actively fulfilled government directives by producing films that promoted state ideology (Li, 2021, p. 130). A prominent example is *My People, My Country* (2019), with Chen Kaige as the chief director and HFDC serving as the lead presenter. The film's end credits list the Shanghai Film Dubbing Studio Co. (SFDSC), Ltd. as the provider of the English translation. Established in 1957, SFDSC was one of the first two state-owned enterprises created specifically for film translation, the other being the CFIEC (Xinhua, 2017). SFDSC, like the CFIEC, has engaged in both the import and export of films (Xinhua, 2017). The primary translation credit for this film goes to a freelance translator, Deng Ningxin, who also works as a Senior Localisation Project Manager at ByteDance. Holding a Bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature from Xiamen University and a Master's degree in Translation and Interpreting from Macquarie University in Australia, Deng freelanced as a subtitle translator for film, television, and streaming platforms. From 2022 to 2023, she served as Head of Localisation Operations at Bilibili Group. In addition to the involvement of a native English-speaking proofreader, Teng Jimeng was invited to contribute as a specialist proofreader for this film's subtitles. Based in Beijing, Teng lectures on interpreting, translation, and film studies at several universities. He was a Fulbright visiting scholar at Yale University and New York University in the U.S. Since 1991, he has translated over ten award-winning independent Chinese films and documentaries, as well as numerous scripts, song lyrics, and essays. He currently works full-time as a translator of Chinese and English. Furthermore, *My People, My Country* (2019) specifically credits Kexin Zhou and Lucy Adori from KTC for their translation of the ending credits. After earning a Master of Arts in Film Studies and Social Anthropology from the University of St. Andrews in Britain, Zhou returned to China and founded KTC in Beijing in 2018, specialising in film screenplay and subtitle translation. She also serves as an associate producer at mm2 Entertainment. For this film, Zhou's collaborator, Lucy Adori, worked as a bilingual producer, writer, and researcher from 2016 to 2019, creating content for film, television, and online platforms while specialising in bilingual teams such as this small team with Zhou. During her undergraduate studies in law, Adori received a year-abroad scholarship to study at Nanjing University in China, where she learned Chinese. Subsequently, she obtained a Confucius Institute scholarship to study written and oral Chinese at Renmin University in China. Since 2023, she has served as General Manager and Head of Creative Business at the Shanghai office of Universal Music Publishing Group.

In the market-oriented era, profit-driven film companies highly value translators'/subtitlers' film production experience and linguistic skills. Most of these professionals have backgrounds in roles

such as producers. Those without direct industry experience still demonstrate significant advantages in film translation, exemplified by Deng Ningxin, who specialises in localisation, and Teng Jimeng, who specialises in translation and interpreting. In contrast to the profiles of translators/subtitlers for Chen's or Zhang's early films, most translators/subtitlers after marketisation are native Chinese speakers with overseas study or work experience. Native English speakers like Ellen Eliasoph often have extensive experience in China. Others, such as Daniel Manwaring and Lucy Adori, who have been based in China in recent years, primarily focus on English-language proofreading. The prevailing target-oriented translation/subtitling for the early Chinese films is progressively shifting towards the source pole of the source-target continuum as the number of practitioners situated in the source culture increases. Based on the analysis of the subtitling teams for *Hero* (2002) and the habitus of Ellen Eliasoph, this section also unravels the coproduction between Chinese and overseas filmmaking companies. The rise of international film production has fostered more collaborative subtitling teams, exemplified by the partnerships of Zhou Kexin and Lucy Adori, Linda Jaivin and Sherrie Liu, and Zhang Mo and Daniel Manwaring. The normalisation of large-scale international coproductions has also facilitated the emergence of specialised language service providers, such as KTC, representing a prototype model within the Chinese AVT profession. Furthermore, the renewed involvement of the state-owned organisation (i.e., SFDSC) in subtitling mainstream cinema suggests a potential impetus for establishing national subtitling standards. Unlike the earlier generation of translators/subtitlers, who often came from academic backgrounds, this cohort demonstrates strong ties to the Chinese film industry. While S. Louisa Wei and Teng Jimeng possess scholarly backgrounds, Wei's practical filmmaking skills and Teng's translation expertise are prominent aspects of their habitus. China's rapid economic growth following its accession to the WTO has fostered a more open environment for individual entrepreneurial pursuits, and the pursuit of personal profits is no longer taboo in China, with the gradual implementation of a market-oriented economy since the 1980s. Consequently, professionals from the film or language service industries have been attracted to film translation/subtitling by the substantial economic capital generated by the success of high-profile films.

### **3.3. Domestic Translators/Subtitlers Since the Pandemic**

The COVID-19 pandemic, starting in 2020, significantly impacted the film industry, causing cinema closures and production halts that led to substantial financial losses. The rapidly changing control measures and accompanying economic slowdown have created significant turbulence within the Chinese film industry. In response, filmmakers adopted new practices to navigate these challenges. Many filmmaking activities were confined to specific enclosed locations, with production limited to crews residing within their host countries, a shift that unexpectedly encompassed translators/subtitlers as well. In the post-pandemic period, the English subtitling of the Chinese films under study has predominantly been handled by all-Chinese teams, with English speakers occasionally involved in proofreading. This development marks a complete departure from the traditional norm of translating into one's first language. However, it aligns with Wang's (2015)

critique of the “overall Westernisation” in translating Chinese literature and culture, as well as Pym’s (2021) observation of the increasing nationalistic tendencies within Chinese translation studies. Underpinning this trend is China’s broader strategy to construct its international “discourse power” or “right to speak.” This concept, which first emerged in the late 1990s, gained traction among Chinese academics between 2004 and 2010 and has been repeatedly emphasised by President Xi Jinping since 2013 (Friedman, 2022). In recent years, the discussions of translation and international communication have increasingly been elevated to the national level, despite explicit concern from some Chinese scholars, such as Cai’s (2025) scepticism regarding the feasibility of conceptualising national translation studies. Additionally, the physical closure of national borders during the pandemic set the stage for China’s contractionary approach to cultural diplomacy.

Zhang Yimou made his film *Full River Red* (2023) within an isolated courtyard, unfolding a comic mystery over a long night at an ancient Chinese military fortress. Jin Haina, a Chinese AVT scholar, Vice President, and Secretary-General of the Film and Television Translation and Distribution Committee (FTTDC) under the China Federation of Radio and Television Associations, subtitled this film as a spokesperson for the field. Since 2021, the FTTDC’s annual conferences have emphasised the establishment of industry standards, the implementation of quality evaluation methods, and the promotion of industry development within the field of film and television translation. The 2024 conference incorporated a dedicated sub-forum entitled “Quality Evaluations and Reception Studies of Film and Television Translation” (Film and Television Translation, 2024). A similar body, the Film and Television Translation Committee (FTTC) was established during the Translators Association of China’s 2023 annual conference. At this conference, the FTTC organised a film and television translation forum, stressing the importance of standards for film translation (Translators Association of China, 2023). At the inaugural 2023 meeting of the FTTC’s directors, Fu Guowen, the committee’s Vice Secretary-General and an established film subtitler, dubber, and dubbing director, presented the progress and framework of the *Standards for Film and Television Translation*, which would benefit newcomers and establish norms for practitioners in the field of film and television translation (Moze (Beijing) Technology Communication Co., Ltd., 2023). Moreover, Jin Haina subtitled Zhang’s most recent film, *Article 20* (2024), receiving credit for English subtitle translation. Zhao Wei and Zhou Quan are credited with subtitle editing. This division of labour suggests that Jin focused on the linguistic aspect, while Zhao and Zhou addressed technical issues. Jin’s involvement in Zhang’s films bridges the gap between theoretical scholarly discussions and the practical considerations valued by industry professionals, thereby focusing academic attention and efforts on formulating industry standards. In *Article 20* (2024), the female protagonist’s deafness and reliance on sign language are noteworthy, implying the director’s concern for the deaf and hard-of-hearing community and intersemiotic translation. While subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing is extensively discussed in AVT research, this community receives insufficient attention within China. This collaboration appears to have been mutually beneficial for the subtitler and the director, fostering knowledge exchange and networking and facilitating dialogue between the AVT research domain and the Chinese film industry. This interaction promoted the accumulation of cultural and social capital. The subtitler’s



credit in such a high-profile film undoubtedly enhances her reputation within the field of film translation, representing a form of symbolic capital.

Zhang Mo has continued to subtitle Zhang Yimou's films, including *Under the Light* (2023). The subtitling credits in *Under the Light* (2023) reveal a more structured model, differentiating the various phases of a complex subtitling project. These phases range from initial English subtitle translation to dialogue subtitle adjustments and final English subtitle translation, suggesting ongoing dialogue revisions throughout the filmmaking project. KTC provided English subtitling services, which marked KTC's first collaboration with Zhang Yimou. The symbolic capital KTC acquired from producing the end credits translation for Chen Kaige's *My People, My Country* (2019) likely contributed to securing this opportunity to finalise Zhang Mo's initial subtitles. Kong Yang, a freelance translator contracted by KTC, completed that film's translation work under the supervision of Zhou Kexin, KTC's founder. The separate credits for translation and supervision provide greater clarity regarding the division of labour in the subtitling process. Educated and based in China, Kong has subtitled numerous popular Chinese films into English, including *My People, My Homeland* (2020), the sequel to *My People, My Country* (2019). He also translated the screenplay for Chen's *The Volunteers: To the War* (2023) (also known as *The Volunteers: Attack the Xiongbing* and *The Great War*). However, he was not credited individually; only KTC received credit.

In addition, Chenzou Chongheng, an established film subtitler and producer, translated *Cliff Walkers* (2021), Zhang's first entry into the spy genre. As the daughter of Zou Wenhui, the founder of Golden Harvest, Chenzou previously coproduced several films with Golden Harvest (HKMDB, 2005). A Hong Kong-based film production and distribution company, it was the first Chinese film company to achieve significant success in Western markets. In 2007, Zou sold his and his daughter's stake in Golden Harvest to Orange Sky Entertainment Group from mainland China, making the latter the largest shareholder (Boshuo, 2018). *Cliff Walkers* (2021) was co-presented by CFC, Emperor Film Production Company Limited (EFPCL), Shanghai Film Group Co., Ltd., and HFDC. The investment from the Hong Kong company EFPCL likely connected Zhang Yimou with Chenzou, a Hong Kong-based professional with over 20 years of experience in film production and distribution. She holds a Bachelor's degree in English Literature from the Dominican University of California and a Master's degree in Communication and Documentary Film from Stanford University. One of the proofreaders for Chenzou's subtitle translation was Qiao Qingshan. Qiao graduated from Reed College in 1998 with a degree in Chinese Literature, having completed a two-year exchange program in Beijing. After working as a financial correspondent for Reuters in Hong Kong and Beijing, he entered the Chinese film industry in 2002. In 2005, Qiao was recruited to establish the China office of Creative Artists Agency (CAA), then the largest Hollywood talent agency, and became its managing director in 2012. In 2018, Qiao left CAA to found Salty Pictures, his own production company. His first producing credit was *Shadow* (2018). Also in 2018, Zhang Yimou's son-in-law, Daniel Manwaring, was promoted to Head of Motion Pictures at CAA China, where he had worked as an agent from 2013, later transitioning to Head of Media Finance at CAA Asia. The flow of economic capital may have played a role in such collaborations.

The pandemic seemed to have little impact on the subtitling collaborative model of Chen Kaige's films. Linda Jaivin and KTC received credits for subtitle translation and translation in Chen's *The Volunteers* film series. While somewhat ambiguous, this distinction aims to clarify their respective roles in the translation/subtitling process. In addition to KTC, another language services provider, Boyang Translation, appeared in the end credits of *The Battle at Lake Changjin* (2021), co-directed by Chen and Hong Kong filmmakers Tsui Hark and Dante Lam. Founded in 2012 and headquartered in Beijing, Boyang Translation specialises in film and television translation. While there seems to be less diversity among the translators/subtitlers for Chen's films post-pandemic, a notable similarity emerges between Chen's and Zhang's projects: Both directors have engaged in collaborations with Hong Kong practitioners, encompassing commercial or artistic cooperation to enhance their films' appeal. Additionally, both directors often cast actors who gained prominence through popular Chinese television series rather than internationally renowned movie stars. These trends suggest their prioritisation of domestic Chinese audiences over international markets, potentially explaining the increasing reliance on native Chinese-speaking translators/subtitlers. Following the pandemic, Chinese film translation has shifted further toward the source-culture orientation.

#### 4. Conclusion

This study offers a comprehensive analysis of the habitus of professional English translators/subtitlers who contributed to Chinese films directed by prominent fifth-generation filmmakers, explaining how they emerged as the most suitable candidates within specific historical contexts. The evolution of their habitus reflects a gradual shift from source-oriented to target-oriented subtitling practices, explained through China's transition to a free-market economy and its implementation of a dynamic zero-COVID policy. As Toury (2012) observes, translation is always a balancing act between adequacy (source orientation) and acceptability (target orientation). Similarly, Chinese film translation reflects a collaborative effort between native Chinese and native English translators/subtitlers diachronically, creating an intricate blend of linguistic expertise from both the source and target cultures. Across different historical periods, the translators'/subtitlers' habitus reveals distinct characteristics, illustrating how their habitus interacts with the norms of subtitling Chinese films into English and how the field of film translation intersects with other adjacent fields. In accordance with the norm of translating into one's native language, the translators/subtitlers for early films by Chen Kaige and Zhang Yimou were predominantly native English speakers. However, adherence to this norm is only part of the rationale behind the selection of English-native translators, particularly when viewed against the backdrop of the political turbulence preceding the rise of fifth-generation directors in the 1980s. During this period, a shortage of professionals proficient in Chinese meant that some translators had limited command of the language and focused primarily on refining the English text. Notably, many of these individuals were deeply interested in Chinese culture and were learners of the Chinese language, further influencing their engagement with the film translation process. Their close involvement in the subtitling projects also significantly shaped their future careers in Chinese culture and film studies. The gradual exit of this early generation of

translators/subtitlers for Chinese films, many of whom became influential sinologists and shifted their focus towards academic research or cultural enterprises—coincided with China's economic reforms, which, since the late 1970s, have facilitated greater foreign access and expanded opportunities for international exchange. China's entry into the WTO in 2001 propelled the development of its film industry to unprecedented heights, further fostering global partnerships. In film subtitling, collaboration between native English speakers and native Chinese speakers with overseas experience became a common practice, with many translators/subtitlers possessing backgrounds in filmmaking or translation. This collaborative model enabled Chinese-speaking professionals to fully leverage their expertise, drawing the target audience closer to the source culture and ultimately assuming a dominant role in the translation/subtitling process. In this context, the translators'/subtitlers' habitus influenced the norms, steering them toward a source-oriented approach. In the post-pandemic period, both the first-language norm and the collaborative model were disrupted, with native Chinese speakers occasionally undertaking English subtitling projects independently, without the involvement of native English speakers. This shift was partly driven by practitioners' adaptation to changing circumstances and the prevailing policy environment. Seemingly, intangible restrictions have persisted longer than tangible ones, further shaping the practices of the industry. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that film subtitling in China is becoming standardised, supported by increasing scholarly attention and the efforts of relevant associations in the field of film translation. Aligned with China's national initiative of raising its international discourse power to tell China's story well, these source-situated translators/subtitlers are expected to direct the subtitling of Chinese films more towards the source end, enabling Chinese culture to contribute more to global cultures and relocating global cultures (Wang, 2015). Whether the target-oriented first-language norm will be revitalised remains a subject for further investigation.

### **Acknowledgement**

I sincerely appreciate Dilini Walisundara's generous help and valuable time in proofreading my revised manuscript.

## References

- Ang, L. (Director). (2000). *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* [Film]. Sony Pictures Classics, Columbia Pictures Film Production Asia, Good Machine, Edko Films, Zoom Hunt International Productions, China Film Co-Production Corporation, & Asian Union Film & Entertainment.
- Arnholtz, J. (2018). Tensions, actors, and inventions: Bourdieu's sociology of the state as an unfinished but promising research program. In T. Medvetz, & J. J. Sallaz (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Pierre Bourdieu* (pp. 577–600).  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199357192.013.27>
- Boshuo. (2018, November 16). 享年 91 岁，挖掘李小龙、捧红成龙，开创香港动作喜剧电影先河 (He passed away at the age of 91. He discovered Bruce Lee, propelled Jackie Chan to stardom, and pioneered Hong Kong action-comedy cinema). *Baijiahao*.  
<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1616353239230139718&wfr=spider&for=pc>
- Cai, J. [Jigang], 蔡基刚 (2025). 国家翻译学和国家翻译实践的思考 [Reflections on national translation studies and national translation practices]. *Journal of Tianjin Foreign Studies University*, (1), 14–21+100.
- Chen, K. (Director). (1984). *The Yellow Earth* [Film]. Guangxi Film Studio.
- Chen, K. (Director). (1986). *The Big Parade* [Film]. Guangxi Film Studio.
- Chen, K. (Director). (1987). *The King of Children* [Film]. Xi'an Film Studio.
- Chen, K. (Director). (1992). *Farewell My Concubine* [Film]. Beijing Film Studio, China Film Co-Production Corporation, Tomson Films, & Maverick Picture Company.
- Chen, K. (Director). (1998). *The Emperor and the Assassin* [Film]. Shin Corporation, Le Studio Canal+, New Wave Company, Beijing Film Studio, China Film Co-Production Corporation, Nippon Film Development and Finance, & Pricel.
- Chen, K. (Director). (2005). *The Promise* [Film]. 21 Century Shengkai Film, Capgen Investment Group, & China Film Group Corporation.
- Chen, K., Ning, H., Xu, Z., Xue, X., Wen, M., Guan, H., & Zhang, Y. (Director). (2019). *My People, My Country* [Film]. Alibaba Pictures Group, Beijing Enlight Pictures, Bona Film Group, Dirty Monkey Films Group, Emperor Film Production, Huaxia Film Distribution, Huayi Brothers Pictures, Shanghai Real Thing Media, Tencent Pictures, Tianjin Maoyan Weying Media, & Wanda Media Co.
- Chen, K., Dante, L., & Tsui, H. (Director). (2021). *The Battle at Lake Changjin* [Film]. Bona Film Group, August 1st Film Studio, Huaxia Film Distribution, China Film Co., Ltd., China Film Group Corporation, Shanghai Film Group, Alibaba Pictures Group, Beijing Dengfeng International Culture Communications Company.
- Chen, K. (Director). (2023). *The Volunteers: To the War* [Film]. China Film Co., Ltd., China Film Creative Beijing, August 1st Film Studio, Beijing Rongyou Film & Television Culture, & Emperor Motion Pictures.
- Chen, K. (Director). (2024). *The Volunteers: To the War 2* [Film]. August 1st Film Studio, Beijing Rongyou Film & Television Culture, Bona Film Group, China Film Co., Ltd., & China Film Creative Beijing.

- Cheng, X. [Xueyan], 成雪岩 (2021). 中国电影的概念探寻、跨文化传播与文化翻译——裴开瑞 (Chris Berry) 教授访谈 (Conceptual exploration, cross-cultural communication, and cultural translation in Chinese cinema: An interview with Professor Chris Berry). *Masterpieces Review*, (3), 34–41.
- Clark, P. (2019). Chinese cinema enters the 1990s. In W. A. Joseph (Ed.), *China briefing 1992* (pp. 125–147). Taylor & Francis.
- Farquhar, M. (2010). Visual effects magic: *Hero's* Sydney connection. In G. D. Rawnsley & M. T. Rawnsley (Eds.), *Global Chinese cinema: The culture and politics of 'Hero'* (pp. 184–197). Routledge.
- Film and Television Translation. (2024). 第四届影视译制与传播论坛暨中国广播电视社会组织联合会影视译制与传播委员会 2024 年会在京召开 (*The 4<sup>th</sup> Film and Television Translation and Distribution Forum, aka the 2024 Annual Conference of China Federation of Radio and Television Associations were Held in Beijing*). Wechat Public Account. <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/kkzmrilbHdGBOMOG-fDtfQ>
- Friedman, T. (2022, March 17). *Lexicon: 'Discourse power' or the 'right to speak' (话语权, Huàyǔ Quán)*. DigiChina. <https://digichina.stanford.edu/work/lexicon-discourse-power-or-the-right-to-speak-huayu-quan/>
- Gouanvic, J. (2005). A Bourdieusian theory of translation, or the coincidence of practical instances: Field, 'habitus', capital and 'illusio'. *The Translator*, 11(2), 147–166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799196>
- Gouanvic, J. (2010). Outline of a sociology of translation informed by the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (L. Schultz, Trans.) *MonTI. Monografías de Traducción e Interpretación*, (2), 119–129.
- Hermans, T. (2014). *Translation in systems: Descriptive and system-oriented approaches explained*. Routledge.
- Hu, K. (2017). Between informal and formal cultural economy: Chinese subtitle groups and flexible accumulation in the age of online viewing. In K. Iwabuchi, E. Tsai, & C. Berry (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of East Asia popular culture* (pp. 45–54). Routledge.
- Hung, C. (2012, September 14). *In touch with Carolyn Choa*. Interlude. <https://interlude.hk/in-touch-with-carolyn-choa/>
- Italie, H. (1991, February 21). Helen Eisenman, one of the industry's leading film subtitlers, says the secret to success is clarity 'and making sure that all the nuances and all the subtitles are there' You took the words right out of my mouth. *The Globe and Mail*, D3.
- Jaivin, L. (2022, June 20). *My China story: Linda Jaivin* [Interview]. YouTube Channel: IAC WSU. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oc\\_ehBJt9Z8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oc_ehBJt9Z8)
- Jenkins, R. (2002). *Pierre Bourdieu*. Routledge.
- Jin, H. [Haina], 金海娜. (2013). 从《霸王别姬》到《一代宗师》——电影译者 Linda Jaivin 访谈录 (From *Farewell My Concubine* to *The Grandmaster*: An interview with the film subtitler Linda Jaivin). *Chinese Translators Journal*, (4), 65–67.
- Kay, J. (2002, December 12). Daniel Manwaring appointed CEO of Imax China. *Screen Daily*. <https://www.screendaily.com/news/daniel-manwaring-appointed-ceo-of-imax-china/5177353.article?referrer=RSS>

- Kellaway, K. (2005, October 23). Review: ARTS + SCREEN: OPERA: TWO FOR THE SHOW: Film director Anthony Minghella and his wife, choreographer Carolyn Choa, worked together on his films. Now they're staging his first opera, *Madam Butterfly* – though only one of them dreams of Puccini at night. *The Observer*.  
<https://ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/review>
- Kemp, S. (2006, February 5). London has its day as Chinese film fest rings in Year of the dog. *South China Morning Post (Hong Kong)*.  
[link.gale.com/apps/doc/A686206821/ITOF?u=learn&sid=bookmark-ITOF&xid=61a2fb58](http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A686206821/ITOF?u=learn&sid=bookmark-ITOF&xid=61a2fb58)
- Li, M. (2021). The development of the Chinese film production industry in 2018. In Q. Li, Y. Guan, & H. Lu (Eds.), *Development of the global film industry* (pp. 124–135). Routledge.
- Lu, S. (2022). Understanding the social dynamics of online amateur subtitling networks in China: A Bourdieusian perspective. *New Voices in Translation Studies*, 26(1).  
<https://doi.org/10.14456/nvts.2022.14>
- McDougall, B. S. (1991). *The Yellow Earth: A film by Chen Kaige with a complete translation of the film script*. The Chinese University Press.
- McDougall, B. S. (2009, March 6–8). *Authorising and authorised translation* [Paper presentation]. Translation and Authority. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.  
[https://www.academia.edu/download/34279463/McDougall\\_B\\_Authorising\\_and\\_Authorised\\_Translation\\_print\\_ok.pdf](https://www.academia.edu/download/34279463/McDougall_B_Authorising_and_Authorised_Translation_print_ok.pdf)
- McDougall, B. S. (2018). The personal narrative of a Chinese literary translator. In C. Shei & Z. Gao (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of Chinese translation* (pp. 388–400). Routledge.
- McDougall, B. S. (2024). *Translation stories from modern China*. Cambria Press.
- Moze (Beijing) Technology Communication Co., Ltd. (2023, June 9). 中国翻译协会影视译制委员会 2023 第一次主任会 (The First Meeting of the Directors of the Film and Television Translation Committee of the Translators Association of China, 2023). *Company News of Moze (Beijing) Technology Communication Co., Ltd.*  
<https://www.bjmoze.com/a/xinwendongtai/gongsixinwen/291.html>
- Ning, H., Chen, S., Deng, C., Peng, D., Shen, A., Xu, Z., Yan, F., & Yu, B. (Director). (2020). *My People, My Homeland* [Film]. Beijing Jingxi Culture & Tourism Co., Ltd., China Film Co., Ltd, & Dirty Monkey Films Group.
- Orrego-Carmona, D. (2011). *The empirical study of non-professional subtitling: A descriptive approach* (Master's thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili).  
[http://www.intercultural.urv.cat/media/upload/domain\\_317/arxiu/Minor%20dissertations/orrego\\_minordissertation.pdf](http://www.intercultural.urv.cat/media/upload/domain_317/arxiu/Minor%20dissertations/orrego_minordissertation.pdf)
- Pitman, J. (2009, June 5). The Butterfly effect; Carolyn Choa, widow of Anthony Minghella, is honouring his memory with a revival of their *Madam Butterfly* at ENO. *Times*.  
[link.gale.com/apps/doc/A201124768/AONE?u=learn&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=cb1619f0](http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A201124768/AONE?u=learn&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=cb1619f0)
- Prior, L. (2021). Using documents in social research. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research* (pp. 185–199). Sage.
- Pym, A. (2021). On recent nationalisms in translation studies. *INContext: Studies in Translation and Interculturalism*, 1(1), 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.54754/incontext.v1i1.3>



- Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation. (1986, January–March). *The China Quarterly*, 106, 375–402. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741000038856>
- Rickey, C. (1999, March 3). *Not lost in translation*. Internet Archive: Way Back Machine. [https://web.archive.org/web/20150211154700/http://articles.philly.com/1999-03-03/entertainment/25509876\\_1\\_subtitles-sonnet-shakespeare](https://web.archive.org/web/20150211154700/http://articles.philly.com/1999-03-03/entertainment/25509876_1_subtitles-sonnet-shakespeare)
- Schules, D. (2014). How to do things with fan subs: Media engagement as subcultural capital in anime fan subbing. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 17. <https://journal.transformativeworks.org/index.php/twc/article/download/512/461?inline=1>
- Sela-Sheffy, R. (2005). How to be a (recognised) translator: Rethinking habitus, norms, and the field of translation. *Target*, 17(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.17.1.02sel>
- Semsel, G. (Ed.). (1987). *Chinese film: The state of the art in the People's Republic*. Praeger Publishers.
- Shackleton, L. (2008, March 20). Shanghai film festival pays tribute to Minghella. *Screen Daily*. <https://www.screendaily.com/shanghai-film-festival-pays-tribute-to-minghella/4037887.article>
- Simeoni, D. (1995). Translating and studying translation: The view from the agent. *Meta: journal des traducteurs/Meta: Translators' Journal*, 40(3), 445–460. <https://doi.org/10.7202/004146ar>
- Simeoni, D. (1998). The pivotal status of the translator's habitus. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, 10(1), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.10.1.02sim>
- Simeoni, D. (2007). Between sociology and history: Method in context and in practice. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a sociology of translation* (pp. 188–204). John Benjamins.
- Smail, B. (2002). Narrating community: Multiculturalism and Australia's SBS television. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 26, 391–407. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019685902236898>
- Soh, K. R. (2017). Examining the Chinese-Australian post-production relationship through Chinese audiences' cinema experience. *Studies in Australasian Cinema*, 11(3), 122–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17503175.2017.1385143>
- Toury, G. (2012). *Descriptive translation studies and beyond: Revised edition*. John Benjamins.
- Translators Association of China. (2023, April 12). 中国翻译协会影视译制委员会正式成立并成功举办“影视译制主题论坛” (The Committee of Film and Television Translation of the Translators Association of China was Established and Successfully Organised “Film and Television Translation Forum”). *News of Translators Association of China*. <https://www.tac-online.org.cn/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=395&id=4594>
- Wacquant, L. (2018). A concise genealogy and anatomy of habitus. In T. Medvetz, & J. J. Sallaz (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Pierre Bourdieu*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199357192.013.24>
- Walsh, M. (2012). At the edge of Asia: The prospects for Australia-China film coproduction. *Studies in Australian Cinema*, 6(3), 301–316. [https://doi.org/10.1386/sac.6.3.301\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/sac.6.3.301_1)
- Wang, N. (2015). Translation and the relocation of global cultures: Mainly a Chinese perspective. *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, 2(1), 4–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23306343.2015.1014303>

- Wang, Y. (2008). The 'transnational' as methodology: Transnationalising Chinese film studies through the example of *The Love Parade* and its Chinese remarks. *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*, 2(1), 9–21, <https://doi.org/10.1386/jcc.2.1.9/1>
- Wolf, M. (2011). Mapping the field: Sociological perspectives on translation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (207), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.2011.001>
- Xinhua. (2017, April 10). Kept in translation: Shanghai studio's 60 years in bringing foreign films to China. *ShanghaiDaily*. <https://archive.shine.cn/feature/Kept-in-translation-Shanghai-studios-60-years-in-bringing-foreign-films-to-China/shdaily.shtml>
- Yeh, E., & Davis, D. (2008). Re-nationalising China's film industry: Case study on the China Film Group and film marketisation. *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*, 2(1), 37–51, [https://doi.org/10.1386/jcc.2.1.37\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jcc.2.1.37_1)
- Zhang, B. [Bin], & Berry, C., 张斌, & 裴开瑞 (2011). 国家/民族与公共空间——裴开瑞 (Chris Berry) 教授访谈 (Nation/Ethnicity and public space: An interview with Professor Chris Berry). *Journal of Zhejiang Institute of Media and Communications*, 18(2), 53–64.
- Zhang, M. (Director). (2016). *Suddenly Seventeen* [Film]. LETV Pictures.
- Zhang, M. (Director). (2023). *Last Suspect* [Film]. Beijing Dino Films, Dongfang Chenxiang Cultural Investment, Tianjin Maoyan Weying Media, & Zhejiang Hengdian Film Production.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (1987). *Red Sorghum* [Film]. Xi'an Film Studio.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (1990). *Ju Dou* [Film]. China Film Co-Production Corporation, China Film Release Import and Export Company, Tokuma Shoten, & Xi'an Film Studio.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (1991). *Raise the Red Lantern* [Film]. ERA International & China Film Co-Production Corporation.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2002). *Hero* [Film]. Edko Films, Zhang Yimou Studio, China Film Co-Production Corporation, Sil-Metropole Organisation, New Picture Film Corporation, & Nova Media.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2004). *House of Flying Daggers* [Film]. China Film Co-Production Corporation, Edko Films, Elite Group Enterprises, New Picture Film Corporation, & Zhang Yimou Studio.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2006). *Curse of the Golden Flower* [Film]. Film Partner International, Edko Films, New Picture Film Corporation, Elite Group Enterprises, & Standard Chartered Bank.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2011). *The Flowers of War* [Film]. New Picture Film Corporation.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2014). *Coming Home* [Film]. Le Vision Pictures, Wanda Media Co., Edko Beijing Films, He Li Chen Guang International Culture Media (Beijing), & Zhejiang Huace Film & TV.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2018). *Shadow* [Film]. Perfect Village Entertainment, Le Vision Pictures, Tencent Pictures, Bona Film Group, Tianjin Maoyan Weying Media, & Bodi Media Company.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2021). *Cliff Walkers* [Film]. Emperor Motion Pictures, China Film Co., Ltd., Shanghai Film Group, & Huaxia Film Distribution.
- Zhang, Y., & Zhang, M. (Director). (2022). *Snipers* [Film]. Beijing Enlight Media Co., Beijing Enlight Pictures, Beijing Cheering Times Culture & Entertainment, Qingdao Yuzheng Film Co., Beijing Lifeng Culture Development, iQIYI Pictures, Beijing Funshine Culture Media Co., Hooz Media, Changchun Film Studio, Youth Enlight Picture, & Twin Pictures Co.

- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2023). *Full River Red* [Film]. Huanxi Media Group, Yixie (Qingdao) Film, Beijing Lifeng Culture Development, Tianjin Maoyan Weying Media, Beijing Enlight Pictures, China Film Co., Ltd., FunAge Pictures, Beijing R.molle Culture Media, & MetaWay Art & Technology.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2023). *Under the Light* [Film]. Beijing Enlight Media Co.
- Zhang, Y. (Director). (2024). *Article 20* [Film]. Beijing Enlight Pictures, Centre for Film & Television of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, Shanghai Ruyi Entertainment Co., & China Film Co., Ltd.
- Zhou, X. (2017). *Globalisation and contemporary Chinese cinema*. Palgrave Macmillan.