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**A Sociological Approach to
the Translation of
Chinese Martial Arts Fiction into Thai**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2016

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Abstract

Despite the fact that only a handful of Chinese martial arts novels have been translated into English, this genre of fiction has been extremely popular among Thai readers since 1957. Such novels occupy a space in the Thai literary field as a genre in its own right and continue to be popular at the present time. One aspect of this genre which makes it interesting to study is the unique hybrid style of the language that is used in the translations, and its pervasiveness in everyday Thai life. The martial arts language style is archaic with the hint of Chinese-ness, making it different from translations of other genres. Yet, despite the idiosyncratic nature of the language style, the genre has been well received in Thai society. The language style has also been adopted for use in other contexts, such as in political newspaper columns. Furthermore, it also has some influence on the language style of local literature written by Thai authors.

In this study, I examine from a sociological perspective what lies behind the exceptional success of this translated literature in the target Thai society. Translation practice is looked at as a socially related activity and Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production serves as the key analytical device. The longstanding relations that pertain between China and Siam/Thailand, and the extensive immigration and assimilation of the Chinese into Siamese/Thai society that led to cultural hybridity between the two cultures, are the main factors that contribute to the acceptability of the language style and the success of such a culturally rich genre in a foreign country.

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Note on Transliteration and Referencing

For transliteration of Thai, there is no generally agreed system of representing Thai in Roman script, and all systems have some limitations because the twenty-six letters of the Roman alphabet are not sufficient to represent all the consonants, vowels, diphthongs, and tones of Thai. In this thesis, I have adopted a modified version of the Royal Institute system of romanising Thai. The system makes no distinction between long and short vowel forms; and tones are not represented. I differ slightly from the Royal Institute system in using ‘j’ for the Thai ‘jo jan’, and not ‘ch’, except in accepted spellings of royal titles, where I revert, for example, to the more widely used *chao* rather than *jao*.

I follow the Thai norm of referring to Thai authors by given names, not surnames, and all citations by Thai authors are alphabetised in the bibliography and elsewhere by given names. I follow the authors’ preferred spelling of their own names in English when known rather than romanising names in keeping with the transliteration system here.

For transliteration of Chinese, I have adopted the official romanisation system for Standard Chinese or Pinyin, without tone marks. In the case of transliteration of Teochew dialect used in Thailand, I follow the Royal Institute system of romanising Thai.

Introduction

For over half a century, Thai audiences have enjoyed reading and watching the Chinese martial arts stories that have subtly and unconsciously become a part of everyday life in Thailand. For instance, children play and pretend to be their favourite swordsmen and fight with one another, or speak together in martial arts fiction language. For me, when I was a child, every day after returning from school, I would turn on the television and watch Justice Pao¹, a court-case television series that also included elements of martial arts fiction, as well as other martial arts television series. The novels and television series boosted each other's popularity, and thus the genre captured a broad audience, as many readers became viewers and vice versa. However, in this thesis I will only focus on the written form of martial arts stories and will study the translations from a sociological aspect.

There are several reasons why Chinese martial arts fiction is important as a source of study and analysis. Not only is it valued for its broader entertainment value but also for its social and political content. This is true both in its source culture and in translation. Also, for the purposes of this thesis – which pertains to Chinese martial arts fiction in Thailand – it further functions as a device to connect the Chinese diasporic community to their home culture. This is particularly important in Thailand because of the extensive and deeply embedded Chinese diaspora and its subsequent Thai-Chinese (*lukjin*) generation.

Firstly, I point out my research rationale, research questions and methodology to indicate why and how I have conducted this research.

¹ เป้าพุ้นจีน (包青天), a 236-episode series, first aired in Thailand in 1995-1996, rerun in 2006-2007.

Research Rationale

It is always problematic yet challenging when translating a text such as a martial arts novel because it is rich in foreign history, alien culture, and a complicated philosophy, as well as containing elaborate fighting scenes and jargon. This is especially the case when there is no equivalent in the target language. A translator may have to choose between accessibility and faithfulness or the fluency and flavour of the original or whether to be creative. Finding a way to keep the balance is not an easy task, hence, in some countries the genre will inevitably be unsuccessful in capturing the reader's attention.

However, Chinese martial arts novels have been enthusiastically welcomed in Thailand since 1957 despite the unusual language used to translate them, which differs from that used in translations of other types of novel. This language has special characteristics, which readers tend to be able to recognise when seeing or hearing its stylistic features – wording and phrasing, and idiomatic expressions – in other contexts. For over a century, *Sam kok*² the Thai translation of *Sanguo yanyi*³, which is highly regarded by Thai scholars, has acted as the prototype for Chinese literature translation. However, changes have occurred over a period of time, namely, when it came to translating martial arts novels the style changed a great deal. Although still an archaic form of Thai language, it became more colloquial with obvious Chinese influences. More explicitly, some words and phrases were translated word by word, and in some sentences, the structures of Chinese language remain. Yet, in spite of this unnatural Thai in translations of martial arts novels, they enjoy enormous popularity in Thailand.

What is behind this exceptional success? What does it take for a translated literature to become popular in a target society? These questions have sparked my curiosity and led to my research questions listed in the section below.

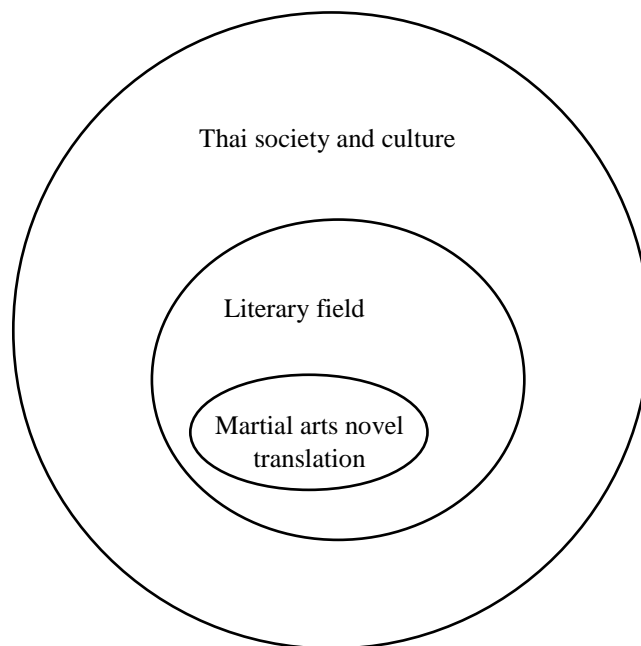
² สามก๊ก (*Sam kok*), translated in 1802

³ 三国演义 (*Sanguo yanyi*), Romance of the Three Kingdoms, a historical novel attributed to Luo Guanzhong (罗贯中) and published in the 14th century. It is one of the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese Literature

Research Questions

1. What drives a translator to follow (or break) accepted translation trends?

Due to the fact that a translation practice takes place within a broader literary system in Thai society, (see picture 1), it is unreasonable to ignore the relationship between the two. It is therefore crucial to understand literary tradition in Thailand in order to provide a possible explanation for this question. I will look into the literary tradition, the genesis of the novel, and translation norms and trends in the country, to identify factors that might influence translation strategies and the style of a translator. In addition, the socio-political and cultural contexts of translation practice will also be considered together with the literary context as it will provide perspectives that help to shed light on what has happened to the literary tradition as well as its translation practice and agents. Moreover, it will help to explain whether significant social changes have any influence on the translation production and style. This will lead to a better understanding of why a translator decides to follow or to break the trends, and of the creation of the style.



Picture 1 Martial arts novel translation in the literary field in the Thai society and culture

2. Does the translation style influence the trend? If yes, how?

Apart from examining the trends that partly determine the style of translation, in this study I will also look at the effects of the style on the trend of martial arts novel translation and how it happened. I will focus on the style of the translators *Nor*

Noppharat, and, in comparison, explore some works of other translators in the field, namely, Kittiphirun, Li Linli, Bupphahima, Joey Dongfang, and BiscuitBus. This will also show the acceptability of the style.

3. What is the relationships between translation agencies and society?

In parallel with the previous questions, the study will try to draw relations between translation agencies – translators, publishers and readers – along with the relationship between these agencies and society. Since every element is linked together, it should not be considered alone. Furthermore, the translators' background, the role of publishers and the target readers will also be discussed. This information will help add to our understanding of translation production within society.

Research Methodology

In order to find reasonable explanations for these questions, this thesis adopts a sociological approach and looks into the socio-political, cultural and literary contexts of martial arts novel translation in Thailand. First of all, the theoretical framework is set up as a device to investigate martial arts novel translation both in literary and socio-cultural contexts. Bourdieu's sociology is adopted as the main theory to analyse the information obtained from the literature review on the contexts, as well as the materials and data collected during fieldwork. Fieldwork was conducted in Thailand, during which interviews, surveys, and archival studies were carried out. The interviews with translators and publishers provided significant insights into how translators work and make decisions, their backgrounds and translation production. The survey was sent out online to readers of the genre to learn about their reading experiences, preferences and opinions towards the language styles. In addition, the archival study was carried out by studying newspapers during the 1970s and 1980s when martial arts novels were serialised, which also gives an idea of the society in that era. Finally, with Boudieu's sociology as the framework, some examples of translations of martial arts novels are analysed, which show the language styles of each translator and the influence of the trend.

This thesis is therefore divided into seven chapters. I provide the theoretical framework of my study in Chapter One. Chapter Two focuses on the development of Thai literature to understand the literary tradition and its trends. Chapter Three looks

at Thai-Chinese relations in order to understand the assimilation, adaptation, reception, absorption or rejection of Chinese people in Thai society, as well as their cultural, economic and socio-political influences in the country. Chapter Four discusses the martial arts genre in Thai literary tradition as well as martial arts novels from China to Thailand. In Chapter Five, data collected during the fieldwork, including archives, surveys and interviews is analysed. Chapter Six analyses the Thai translations of martial arts novels by Nor Noppharat to explore his translation methods and strategies. Translations by others in the field are examined in comparison to Nor Noppharat's translation style in Chapter Seven in order to see the influence of Nor Noppharat's style on other translators' works. Finally, in the Conclusion, the study is concluded and research questions are answered, which also shows the importance of the information in each chapter to be considered together to gain insights into martial arts novel translation in Thailand.

Bringing the literary, socio-political, and cultural contexts into translation studies, this research introduces new observations to the study of martial arts novel translation in Thailand. The approach helps to understand the impact of the society and culture on translation production. This thesis also offers original material and data obtained during the fieldwork to support the study. Besides this, the study of Thai-Chinese relations and the Thai literary tradition reveals the patterns of assimilation and hybridisation that occur in the society and culture, which, as this study will show, occurs in the same manner in the literary tradition as in martial arts novel translation. Hence, it allows us to see the translation and production from a different perspective, leading to a better understanding of the subject of study in the field of translation studies.

The theoretical framework that will be discussed in the following chapter is therefore crucial for this research. Not only is it a device for the analysis, but it is also a guideline for data collection and how to look for significant information. Furthermore, it is set up with the aim of enabling us to see the relations between the contexts and the translation production, which is essential for the analysis.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework

This chapter looks into a number of selected theories that shape the framework of the analysis of two key concerns in this thesis: the contexts in which martial arts novel translations are produced in Thailand; and the texts themselves. As this study examines translation practice as a socially related activity, it therefore reviews the concept of the sociology of translation to present certain theories and attempts of translation scholars to integrate translation studies with sociology. This leads to an examination of the theory of *field*, *habitus*, and *capital* of Bourdieu in translation studies. Bourdieu's concepts are then applied as a framework for investigating the Thai context in order to analyse literary tradition as well as translation practices from a sociological perspective. It should be noted that there are complexities involved in applying Western concepts to a culturally and socially different Thai context and therefore some concepts may not fit precisely for this study. This point is discussed further later in this chapter. Although Bourdieu's theory has been adopted widely in Europe and China (Hockx 2003a, 2003b), little work has been done in Thai context, apart from works of Koraya Techawongstien's (2016), this thesis will therefore include detail on Bourdieu's theory especially for future reference for Thai scholars.

Sociology of Translation

During the last decade, the shift in perspectives towards a sociological paradigm has increasingly gained more attention from translation scholars. Translation is seen as a social practice since it is conducted within a society in which various agencies and agents are involved in the process. Michaela Wolf (2007:1) asserts that it is necessary for any translation to be embedded within social contexts. Wolf (ibid) points out that:

On the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and, as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself.

In other words, to have a better understanding of a translation, it is not possible to overlook these socially driven factors and treat the product alone. The comprehension of the complex and interactive relations between the writer, the translator and other transfer agencies, the text, and the reading public in their society, therefore, provides the perspectives needed to investigate the characteristics of a translation. As a consequence of this awareness, the notion of the sociology of translation emerged as a concept.

A simple explanation of the notion is made by Moira Inghilleri (2011:279) in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* that:

The sociology of translation takes as its object of investigation questions concerning: the function of translation in the global distribution and reception of cultural goods; the influence of market forces on translation practices; the role of translation and interpreting in articulating socio political and symbolic claims of the nation state; translation and globalization; translation and activism; and translator's agency.

Sociological perspectives hence 'provide new sets of analytical concepts and explanatory procedures to theorize the social nature of translation practices' (ibid: 279). Therefore, the sociology of translation enables us to explore beyond the textual analysis within the translation process and examine factors and agents involved in the product creation. It deals with, as Wolf (2007:4) explains, 'the issues that arise when viewing translation and interpreting as social practice as well as symbolically transferred interaction'.

Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory is among the first theories that consider translated literature as functioning in a holistic literary system. It hence provides an insightful concept of a dynamic and functional system of a relational network of a literary system within broader socio-cultural and historical contexts. In his point of view, as pointed out by Wolf (ibid:7), 'systems are highly hierarchical and are determined by their struggle for the primary position in the literary canon'. Nonetheless, Wolf (ibid) argues that Even-Zohar did not clarify what the forces driving the ongoing dynamics in a system are, or integrate his factors – agents and institutions - into the frameworks of polysystem theory. Rather, he only focuses on the description of the existing relationships between them (ibid).

Another attempt to combine translation studies with sociology can be seen in Gideon Toury's notion of *Norms* which govern the relations between source and target text. Toury (1999:14) explains that:

Norm have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension.

As Jeremy Munday (2010:112) puts it, 'norms are sociocultural constraints specific to a culture, society and time. An individual is said to acquire them from the general process of education and socialization'. According to Toury (2012:286):

It may also be hypothesized that to the extent that a norm has indeed been internalized and made part of a modified translation competence, it will also be applied to the production of more spontaneous translated utterances, in situations where no sanctions are likely to be activated from without. When analysed, the behavioural varieties [...] may therefore prove a useful tool for checking not only the prevailing norms as such, but also their assimilation by individuals and, in the long run, the universals of the process of assimilation itself.

The notion of norms therefore aims to help us to understand translators' behaviour and how they develop strategies and techniques for dealing with problems encountered during the process. Further, when examining translation as a norm-governed activity, as Wolf (2007:9) asserts, 'we must take into account the status held by translators within their specific setting and the references they make to the norms they constantly create, agree upon, maintain and break, applying them to different translation situations'. However, Wolf (ibid) argues that Toury did not conceptualise his notion of norms in terms of their socially conditioned context and of the factors involved although he gives the social role of norms a crucial position.

One of the most influential frameworks for studying the sociology of translation is offered by Pierre Bourdieu. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992:149), Bourdieu asserts that 'one cannot fully understand language without placing linguistic practices within the full universe of compossible⁴ practices: eating and drinking habits, cultural consumptions, taste in matters of arts, sports, dress, furniture, politics, etc'. In other words, to fully understand language, a linguistic practice must be placed in the contexts of the particular field in which it takes place. In this way, a translation practice

⁴ Compatible or possible to coexist with another.

should also be considered along with its contexts in order to find an explanation for the nature of the production. Furthermore, the quote shows Bourdieu's intention to refuse the limitation of 'arbitrary boundaries' of disciplines as he emphasises that for scientific advance, the transgression of disciplinary boundaries is required (ibid:148). It is on these grounds that the concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *capital* and *illusio* were built up, enabling an exploration of the relationship between agents in cultural production within the field. Bourdieu (ibid:94) also stresses that 'such notions as habitus, field and capital can be defined but only within the theoretical system they constitute and not in isolation'.

Bourdieu's Sociology

Bourdieu's notion of field

In Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:97), Bourdieu defines a field as

A network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).

To put it another way, in a field of production, agents or actors struggle to gain access to dominant positions by accumulating different kinds of capital whose kind and amount determine the relations between agents.

Bourdieu (ibid:98) compares a field to a game but stresses that, unlike a game, 'a field is not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified'. There are 'stakes' which are for the most part the product of the competition between players, and 'investment in the game' or 'illusio' (ibid). Bourdieu (ibid) explains that:

players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their belief (*doxa*) in the game and its stakes; they grant these a recognition that escapes questioning. Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a "contract," that the game is worth playing, that it is "worth the candle," and this *collusion* is the very basis of their competition.

In the case of the literary field, Pascale Casanova (2007:16-17) also believes that value in the literary world is directly related to belief. She asserts that ‘When a writer becomes known, when his name has acquired value in the literary market – which is to say, once it is believed that what he has written has literary value, once he has gained acceptance as a writer – then credit is given to him’ (ibid). This collective belief or ‘doxa’ is shared by both those who hold to orthodoxy – those who pursue conservative strategies – and those who support heterodoxy – those who pursue subversive strategies (Swartz 1997:125). Those who wish to enter a field must tacitly accept the rules of the game which are specific forms of struggle that are legitimated, whereas others are excluded (ibid).

In the game, there are also ‘trump cards’ or ‘master cards’ whose force varies depending on the game: just as the relative value of cards changes with each game, the hierarchy of the different species of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) varies across the various fields’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:98). According to Bourdieu (ibid), ‘there are cards that are valid, efficacious in all fields – these are the fundamental species of capital – but their relative value as trump cards is determined by each field and even by the successive states of the same field’.

Bourdieu (ibid:98-99) further explains the tight interconnectedness between the notions of capital and field as follows:

The values of a species of capital (e.g., knowledge of Greek or of integral calculus) hinges on the existence of a game, of a field in which this competency can be employed: a species of capital is what is efficacious in a given field, both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle, that which allows its possessors to wield a power, an influence, and thus to *exist*, in the field under consideration, instead of being considered a negligible quantity. In empirical work, it is one and the same thing to determine what the field is, where its limits lie, etc., and to determine what species of capital are active in it, within what limits, and so on.

Types and amounts of capital, therefore, determine the structure of the field through the unequal distribution of relevant forms of capital. In other words, the structure of the field, at each moment, is defined by the state of the relations of force between players (ibid:99). A player’s ‘relative force in the game’, as well as ‘position’ in the space of play, and ‘strategic orientation toward the game’, which are the moves the player makes, more or less risky or cautious, subversive or conservative, depend on the volume and structure of the player’s capital (ibid). Bourdieu (ibid) asserts that:

The strategies of a “player” and everything that defines his “game” are a function not only of the volume and structure of his capital *at the moment under consideration* and of the game chances...they guarantee him, but also of the *evolution over time* of the volume and structure of this capital, that is, of his social trajectory and of the dispositions (habitus) constituted in the prolonged relation to a definite distribution of objective chances.

But this is not all: players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get it in to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game.

We can observe that this unequal distribution of capital shapes the hierarchical structure of the relations between players and agents in the field. As Swartz (1997:120) explains, ‘the concept [of field] suggests force field, wherein the distribution of capital in the market reflects a hierarchical set of power relations among the competing individuals, groups and organizations...Interactions among actors within fields are shaped by their relative location in the hierarchy of positions.’

The structure of forces in a field determines the dynamics or the functioning and transformation of the field. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:101) explains:

The principle of the dynamics of a field lies in the form of its structure and, in particular, in the distance, the gaps, the asymmetries between the various specific forces that confront one another. The forces that are active in the field – and thus selected by the analyst as pertinent because they produce the most relevant differences – are those which define the specific capital. *A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.* It confers a power over the field, over the materialized or embodied instruments of production or reproduction whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field, and over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits engendered in it.

Again, we can observe Bourdieu’s emphasis here on the interconnectedness between capital and field. Furthermore, since it is a space of potential and active forces, the field is also a ‘field of struggles’ with the aim to preserve or transform the configuration of these forces (ibid). Agents struggle to seek to improve their position in the field, and the strategies that they use depend on their current position. Bourdieu (ibid) says that:

The field as a structure of objective relations between positions of force undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position and to impose the principle of hierarchization most favorable to their own products. The strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception

that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take *on* the field as a view taken from a point *in* the field.

Those who can make it function to their advantage are those who dominate in a given field, but they must always contend with the resistance, the claims, the contention, ‘political’, or otherwise, of the dominated (ibid:102). Therefore, a field is a site of relations of force and of constant struggles aimed at transforming it, and hence of endless change (ibid:103).

As a site of endless change, it is logical to say that a field’s boundaries are unlikely to be fixed. Swartz (1997:121) points out that ‘any effort to establish precise boundaries between fields, Bourdieu argues, derives from a “positivist vision” rather than the more compelling “relational” view of the social world, for boundaries are themselves objects of struggle.’ Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:104) argues that ‘every field constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are *dynamic borders* which are the stake of struggles within the field itself.’ Furthermore, within a field, instead of parts or components, there are subfields that have their own logic, rules and regularities, and each stage in the division of a field, for example the field of literary production, entails a genuine qualitative leap, like the level of the subfield of novel or theatre that moves down from the level of the literary field (ibid).

Since structured to a significant extent by their own internal mechanisms of development, fields hold some degree of autonomy from the external environment (Swartz 1997:126). Swartz (ibid) points out that ‘Bourdieu speaks of the “relative autonomy” of fields to convey the dual character of their interconnectedness with and independence from external factors.’ We might take the relative autonomy of the literary field as an example, as Swartz (ibid:127) explains,

[It] suggests that this cultural arena is polarized by two opposing principles of organization. On the one hand, there is the tendency toward autonomy where peer reference and review assumes priority. At the extreme, this results in “art for art’s sake.” On the other hand is the tendency away from autonomy, where legitimacy and reference are sought outside the field in forms such as book sales, public appearances, honors, etc.

Furthermore, ‘Bourdieu associates the autonomy of fields with his concept of symbolic power’ (Swartz 1997:127). As autonomy from political and economic power increase in cultural fields, they gain in symbolic power, that is, in their capacity to legitimate existing social arrangements. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:105) asserts,

The external determinations that bear on agents situated in a given field (intellectuals, artists, politicians, or construction companies) never apply to them directly, but affect them only through the specific mediation of the specific forms and forces of the field, after having undergone a *re-structuring* that is all the more important the more autonomous the field, that is, the more it is capable of imposing its specific logic, the cumulative product of its particular history.

In short, in each field of production, there are forms of struggle to improve positions of agents or to gain access to dominant positions. The strategies that each agent employ depends on their position and the capital they have accumulated. There are stakes of struggle that actors or producers must agree upon. Acceptance of the rules of the game within a field is required. The degree of influence of external forces or power varies, depending on the autonomy of the field. David Swartz (1997:119) points out that ‘fields are conceptual constructions based upon the relational mode of reasoning’, and it encourages ‘the researcher to seek out underlying and invisible relations that shape action rather than properties given in commonsense categories’. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:96) stresses, ‘to think in terms of field is to *think relationally*.’ Swartz (1997:119) also states that ‘the effects of class background, milieu, or context on individual behaviour are never direct for Bourdieu; rather, they are always *mediated* through the structure of fields.’ Moreover, ‘field analysis calls attention to the social conditions of struggle that shape cultural production. Even the seemingly most neutral or ivory-tower cultural practices are, according to Bourdieu, embedded in systems of social as well as intellectual distinctions’ (ibid). Therefore, Sameh Fekry Hanna (2006:14) rightly asserts that Bourdieu’s concept of field ‘makes possible the investigation of cultural products in relation to a complex network of relations that include both institutions and human agents’. The notion of field is ‘a heuristic concept, a construct’ (ibid:15). It does not aim at ‘attaining the real but at providing a vantage point from which to view the real’ (Gouanvic 2002 cited in ibid:15).

The field of literary production

As discussed above, when looking at field, we must think relationally. Positions, occupants, forces, etc, are all related. The literary field is by no means any different. Bourdieu (1993:30) says that:

The science of the literary field is a form of *analysis situs* which establishes that each position – e.g. the one which corresponds to a genre such as the novel or, within this, to a sub-category such as the ‘society novel’ [*roman mondain*] or the ‘popular’ novel – is subjectively defined by the system of distinctive properties by which it can be situated relative to other positions; that every position, even the dominant one, depends for its very existence, and for the determinations it imposes on its occupants, on the other positions constituting the field; and that the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits (such as literary prestige) which are at stake in the field.

The ‘space of literary position-takings’ in Bourdieu’s theory is the structured set of the manifestations of the social agents involved in the field, which is not only literary works but also political acts or pronouncements, manifestos or polemics, etc (ibid:30). It is inseparable from the ‘space of literary positions’ which is ‘defined by possession of a determinate quantity of specific capital (recognition) and, at the same time, by occupation of a determinate position in the structure of the distribution of this specific capital’ (ibid:30). Therefore, in the same manner as any other fields, the literary field is a field of forces and struggles in a state of flux, as Bourdieu (ibid:30) asserts:

The literary or artistic field is a *field of forces*, but it is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces. The network of objective relations between positions subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different positions implement in their struggles to defend or improve their positions (i.e. their position-takings), strategies which depend for their force and form on the position each agent occupies in the power relations [*rapports de force*].

Furthermore, Bourdieu (ibid:30) also explains that ‘every position-taking is defined in relation to the *space of possibles* which is objectively realized as a *problematic* in the form of the actual or potential position-takings corresponding to the different positions; and it receives its distinctive *value* from its negative relationship with the coexistent position-takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by delimiting it.’ Hence, changes occur in position-takings, even when the position remains identical, whenever there is change in the universe of options that are simultaneously offered for producers and consumers to choose from (ibid:30). The meaning of a work, such as artistic, literary, philosophical, etc, also changes automatically with each change in the field within which it is situated for the spectator or reader (ibid:30-31).

In French culture, literature holds a considerable influential status, as John R.W. Speller (2011:23-24) points out:

Many literary trends have originated in France, and French literature has long been regarded as one of the world's finest. Paris represents, for many years, the capital of the 'World Republic of Letters': a hub for writers of all nationalities, and one of the most prestigious sources of literary consecration. Writers are commemorated in the Pantheon in Paris, have given their names to street signs and metro stations, and their faces used to appear on French coins and banknotes. Politicians pay homage to literary writers in public ceremonies, with literary references in their speeches, or by simply expressing their appreciation for the Classic. Several career politicians have even become published authors themselves. There is also a tradition of French writers taking political duties...Finally, literature receives extensive media coverage in France, with dedicated television programmes and designated review sections in national newspapers. All these are signs of literature's prestigious place in French society, or, in terms Bourdieu uses, of its 'cultural capital'.

As we can see, French literature is not only successful in its own field but also wins external profits from literature's prestigious place in French society.

The model of analysis

Thinking relationally, Bourdieu proposes three steps of analysis to study the field of literary production, which is situated within the society or the field of power. The main aim of the method Bourdieu contributes to literary studies is, as Speller (2011:39) points out, 'to connect internal and external levels of analysis, the relation between which has always been problematic, when it has not been ignored, or declared unfathomable'. Bourdieu (2012:214) explains that:

The science of cultural works presupposes three operations which are as necessary and necessarily linked as the three levels of social reality that they apprehend. First, one must analyse the position of the literary (etc.) field within the field of power, and its evolution in time. Second, one must analyse the internal structure of the literary (etc.) field, a universe obeying its own laws of functioning and transformation, meaning the structure of objective relations between positions occupied by individuals and groups placed in a situation of competition for legitimacy. And finally, the analysis involves the genesis of the habitus of occupants of these positions, that is, the systems of dispositions which, being the product of a social trajectory and of a position within the literary (etc.) field, find in this position a more or less favourable opportunity to be realized (the construction of the field is the logical preamble for the construction of the social trajectory as a series of positions successively occupied in this field).

It should be emphasised that these three levels should not be taken alone, but 'each level of analysis needs to take in the information provided by the others, so that the analysis may start at any point along the cycle' (Speller 2011:46).

The first step: the literary field in the field of power

Each field, namely, the literary field, the cultural field, the political field, etc, is not only relational but their structure and function are also homologous. A homology, as defined by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:106), is ‘a resemblance within a difference’. According to Bourdieu (ibid), fields are homologous in the sense that ‘each has its dominant and its dominated, its struggles for usurpation and exclusion, its mechanisms of reproduction, and so on. But every one of these characteristics takes a specific, irreducible form in each field’. Swartz (1997:130) explains that ‘homology of position among individuals and groups in different fields means that those who find themselves in dominated positions in the struggle for legitimation in one field tend also to find themselves in subordinate positions in other fields.’ Thus, struggles in one field have homologous effects, although never directly, in other fields (ibid:132). There are also homologies in strategies, as Swartz (ibid:130) further asserts: ‘consumers in subordinate social-class positions tend to select products produced by producers in subordinate positions within the field of cultural production. Thus, a relation of structural homology obtains between the various categories of cultural producers and consumers according to their respective positions in the separate fields of struggle’. Bourdieu (1980:277) also states that:

Through the logic of homologies, the practices and works of the agents in a specialized, relatively autonomous field of production are necessarily *overdetermined*; the functions they fulfil in the internal struggles are inevitably accompanied by external functions, which are conferred on them in the symbolic struggles among the fractions of the dominant class and, in the long run at least, among the classes.

Thus, social ingroups and outgroups as well as schools of thought or style are created by struggles in cultural fields that produce cultural distinctions that are simultaneously social distinctions (Swartz 1997:132). Euphemised forms of the ideological struggles between social classes are produced by the structural homology between the field of cultural production and the field of social classes, as Bourdieu (1979 cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant:106) asserts:

The specifically ideological function of the field of cultural production is performed quasi-automatically on the basis of the homology of structure between the field of cultural production, organized around the opposition between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and the field of struggles between the classes, for the maintenance or subversion of the symbolic order....The homology between the two fields causes the struggles for the specific

objectives at stake in the autonomous field to produce *euphemized* forms of the ideological struggles between the classes.

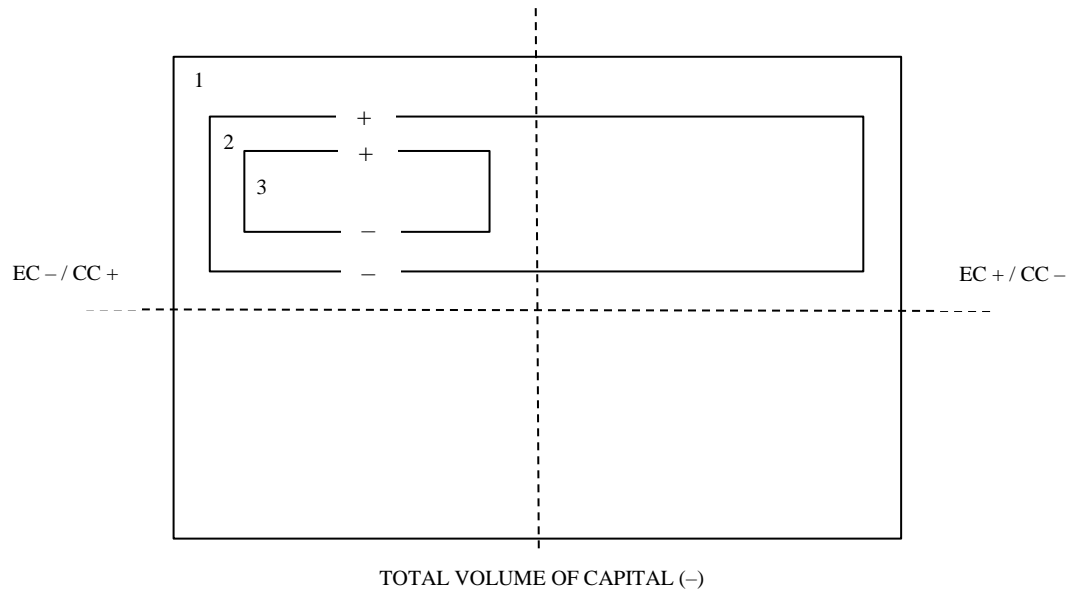
Thus, ‘field homologies reinforce patterns of conflict across different fields. The general overall effect is the *reproduction* of common patterns of hierarchy and conflict from one field to another’ (Swartz 1997:132).

Therefore, these structural and functional homologies will help us to understand relations and effects happening between the literary field and the field of power in a society. And as such, practices and agents in a field of production must be referred to the field of power. Bourdieu (2012:215) explains that:

A number of the practices and representations of artists and writers (for example, their ambivalence as much towards the ‘people’ as towards the ‘bourgeois’) can only be explained by reference to the field of power, inside of which the literary (etc.) field is itself in a dominated position. The field of power is the space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions in different fields (notably economic or cultural). It is the site of struggles between holders of different powers (or kinds of capital) which, like the symbolic struggles between artists and the ‘bourgeois’ in the nineteenth century, have at stake the transformation or conservation of the relative value of different kinds of capital, which itself determines, at any moment, the forces liable to be engaged in these struggles.

Speller (2011:47) asserts that ‘the field of power is split between competing factions (the fields), and polarised between the holders of economic and political power who are dominant over all, and the holders of “cultural capital”, who are “dominated dominators”: structurally subordinate, but with the (symbolic) power to legitimate or discredit the dominant group’. Therefore, this fundamental opposition between cultural capital (knowledge, culture and educational credentials) and economic capital (wealth, income and property) delineates Bourdieu’s field of power (Swartz 1997:136-137).

TOTAL VOLUME OF CAPITAL (+)



Picture 2 The field of cultural production in the field of power

1 = Social space or field of class relations

EC = Economic capital

2 = Field of power

CC = Cultural capital

3 = Literary and artistic field

(Bourdieu 1993:38; Swartz 1997:139)

As Bourdieu (1993:37-38) explains, in figure 1, ‘the literary and artistic field is contained within the field of power, while possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it, especially as regards its economic and political principles of hierarchization.’ From the figure, it can be seen that the literary and artistic field occupies a ‘dominated position’ which is at the negative pole in the field (ibid:38).

It is thus the site of a double hierarchy: the *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if, losing all autonomy, the literary and artistic field were to disappear as such (so that writers and artists became subject to the ordinary laws prevailing in the field of power, and more generally in the economic field), is *success*, as measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments, etc. The *autonomous* principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if the field of production were to achieve total autonomy with respect to the laws of the market, is *degree specific consecration* (literary or artistic prestige), i.e. the degree of recognition accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognize.

(ibid:38)

In other words, two main principles of hierarchization in the literary and artistic field with respect to the field of power are ‘heteronomous’ and ‘autonomous’ principles.

The former happens when agents compete for economic capital rather than cultural capital, whereas the latter happens when agents choose to pursue cultural capital rather than economic capital. Thus, we have economic capital dominating at one extreme end and cultural capital at the opposite end. Bourdieu (ibid:38-39) further explains that:

The specificity of the literary and artistic field is defined by the fact that the more autonomous it is, i.e. the more completely it fulfils its own logic as a field, the more it tends to suspend or reverse the dominant principle of hierarchization; but also that, whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit. The more autonomous the field becomes, the more favourable the symbolic power balance is to the most autonomous producers and the more clear-cut is the division between the field of restricted production, in which the producers produce for other producers, and the field of large-scale production [*la grande production*], which is *symbolically* excluded and discredited.

Thus, the literary or artistic field is at all times the site of a struggle between the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who economically and politically dominate the field (e.g. 'bourgeois art') and the autonomous principle (e.g. 'art for art's sake') (ibid:40). According to Bourdieu, the extent of the influence of the external power on the field depends on the varied degree of autonomy. He says that:

The state of the power relations in this struggle depends on the overall degree of autonomy possessed by the field, that is, the extent to which it manages to impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers, including those who are closest to the dominant pole of the field of power and therefore most responsive to external demands (i.e. the most heteronomous); this degree of autonomy varies considerably from one period and one national tradition to another, and affects the whole structure of the field.

(ibid:40)

The homology between positions occupied in the space of production with the correlative position-takings and positions in the space of consumption helps us to characterise the various positions in the field of cultural production in terms of the audience which corresponds to them (ibid:45). In the case of the relation between the field of cultural production and the field of power, it is, in Bourdieu's terms, 'an almost perfect homology between two chiasmic structures' (ibid:45). He explains that:

Just as, in the dominant class, economic capital increases as one moves from the dominated to the dominant fractions, whereas cultural capital varies in the opposite way, so too in the field of cultural production economic profits increase as one moves from the 'autonomous' pole to the 'heteronomous' pole, whereas specific profits increase in the opposite direction. Similarly, the secondary opposition which divides the most heteronomous sector into 'bourgeois art' and 'industrial' art clearly

corresponds to the opposition between the dominant and the dominated classes.

(ibid:45)

According to Bourdieu (1986 cited in Speller 2011:49), cultural capital can exist in three states: an *objectified* state, an *embodied* state, and an *institutionalised* state. In an *objectified* state, cultural capital is in the form of cultural goods, including pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc (ibid). ‘Cultural capital can also exist in an “*embodied* state; i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”’ (ibid:49). Cultural capital can be internalised in the course of socialisation (whether accompanied or not by a formal education), which inculcates the “dispositions” and “schemes of perception and appreciation” necessary to engage in cultural practices’ (ibid:49). The third form is an *institutionalised* state which confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee, as seen in the case of educational qualifications, and hence must be set apart (ibid:50). ‘Formal acts of accreditation (such as educational credentials, recognised posts, university positions, literary prizes etc.) guarantee the social value of cultural capital by providing symbolic recognition and (more or less indirectly) access to economic remuneration’ (ibid:50).

The second step: the literary field

As heteronomy arises from ‘demand’, ‘the *relationship to the audience* and, more exactly, economic or political interest in the sense of interest in success and in the related economic or political profit, constitutes one of the bases for evaluating the producers and their products’ (Bourdieu 1993:45-46). Bourdieu (ibid:46) asserts that the ‘strict application of the autonomous principle of hierarchization means that producers and products will be distinguished according to their degree of success with the audience which, it tends to be assumed, is evidence of their interest in the economic and political profits secured by success’. He further explains that:

The hierarchy by degree of real or supposed dependence on audience, success or the economy itself overlaps with another one, which reflects the degree of specific consecration of the audience, i.e. its ‘cultural’ quality and its supposed distance from the centre of the specific values. Thus, within the sub-field of production-for-producers, which recognizes only the specific principle of legitimacy...are opposed to those who, again from the standpoint of the specific criteria, are relegated to an inferior position and who, in accordance with the model of heresy, contest the legitimation

principle dominant within the autonomous sub-field, either in the name of a new legitimization principle or in the name of a return to an old one. Likewise, at the other pole of the field, that of the market and of economic profit, authors who manage to secure ‘high-society’ successes and bourgeois consecration are opposed to those who are condemned to so-called ‘popular’ success – the authors of rural novels, music-hall artists, *chansonniers*, etc.

(ibid:46)

Thus, there are hierarchical relations of sub-fields or genres on both sides of the literary field in which the successes of authors or products depends on their target audience.

In the French literary field from the nineteenth century up to today, as Speller (2011:51) explains, at one pole Bourdieu positions writers of bestsellers or those who are ‘heteronomous’, and at the other pole he positions ‘pure’ or ‘autonomous’ writers who tend to be less economically successful, especially in the early stages of their careers. Spellers (ibid:51) continues to explain that writers at the heteronomous pole are ‘beholden to influences, norms, or standards external to the field’, whereas autonomous writers ‘respect no judgement other than that of their peers, and to whom too rapid or great commercial success may even be suspicious’. However, instead of economic capital, these writers receive symbolic capital – such as literary prizes, publication with a prestigious editing house, favourable reviews in specialist journals – bestowed by the field through which they can gradually accumulate recognition in the wider community (ibid). It should be noted that there can be variations between the two poles in the literary field across time and national traditions, in terms both of their relative power and the form of their opposition, as in the field of power, depending on the particular constraints and pressures operating on and within the field (ibid).

The third step: habitus and trajectory

We have established that within a field, individuals and society are not two separate things but are related beings, and Bourdieu attempts to overcome the problem of the relationship between them. Swartz (1997:96) asserts that the basic insight of the classical sociological tradition that Bourdieu draws on is that ‘social reality exists *both* inside and outside of individuals, both in our minds and in things. Bourdieu stresses that this dual character of social reality must be preserved in sociological inquiry.’ However, it is not rules and regulations of a society that govern individuals’ actions

and behaviour. According to Bourdieu, the behaviour, actions or practices of an individual are ‘strategic’ rather than the rule or norm conforming (ibid:98-99). As we can see from an example of gift exchange in Swartz (ibid:98-99):

Bourdieu argues that a proper conceptualization of gift exchange must go beyond the idea that gift giving and receiving are governed by the formal principle of reciprocity in which gifts automatically call forth counter gifts. Rather, the giving and receiving of gifts involve the manipulation of the *tempo* of gift-giving so that the returned gift is not only different but also *deferred*. Thus, actors participate in the social interaction of gift exchange, not as conscious or even unwitting conformists to the principle of reciprocity, but as *strategists* who respond through *time*.

Swartz (ibid:99) further explains that ‘if the notion of strategy is to convey the idea that action is not best understood in terms of compliance to norms or rules, strategies nonetheless involve conduct in normative situations’. Swartz (ibid:99) clarifies that ‘the concept [of strategy] aims to suggest that action involves *uncertainty* even in normative situations and that actions occur *over time* rendering the outcomes seldom clear to the actors involved.’ It depends on actors’ interests whether or not to conform to norms or follow prescribed rituals as ‘Bourdieu considers all action to be interest oriented’ (ibid:99). In addition, ‘choices do not derive directly from the objective situations in which they occur or from transcending rules, norms, patterns and constraints that govern social life; rather, they stem from *practical dispositions* that incorporate ambiguities and uncertainties that emerge from acting *through time and space*’ (ibid:100). In short, ‘actors are not rule followers or norm obeyers but strategic improvisers who respond dispositionally to the opportunities and constraints offered by various situations’ (ibid:100). And through the concept of habitus, the idea that actors are practical strategists is linked to social structures (ibid:100).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:126) states that ‘to speak of habitus is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, collective. Habitus is a socialized subjectivity. So is rationality.’ Bourdieu (ibid:126) argues that:

Rationality is bounded not only because the available information is curtailed, and because the human mind is generically limited and does not have the means of fully figuring out all situations, especially in the urgency of action, but also because the human mind is *socially* bounded, socially structured. The individual is always, whether he likes it or not, trapped – save to the extent that he becomes aware of it – “within the limits of his brain,” as Marx said, that is, within the limits of the system of categories he owes to his upbringing and training.

Habitus must then be considered in relation to the social conditions it is situated. In fact, it is only within the particular social structure that habitus can be understood and make sense. According to Bourdieu (ibid:126-127)

It is the double and obscure relation between habitus, i.e., the durable and transposable systems of schemata of perception, appreciation, and action that result from the institution of the social in the body (or in biological individuals), and field, i.e., systems of objective relations which are the product of the institution of the social in things or in mechanisms that have the quasi reality of physical objects; and of course, of everything that is born of this relation, that is, social practices and representations, or fields as they present themselves in the form of realities perceived and appreciated.

It should be noted that the nature of the relation between habitus and field are in two-way manner as Bourdieu (ibid:127) argues:

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On one side, it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field (or of a set of intersecting fields, the extent of their intersection or discrepancy being at the root of a divided or even torn habitus). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy. Two things follow. First, the relation of knowledge depends on the relation of conditioning that precedes it and fashions the structures of habitus. Second, social science is necessarily a "knowledge of a knowledge" and must make room for a sociologically grounded phenomenology of the primary experience of the field or, to be more precise, of the invariants and variations of the relation between different types of fields and different types of habitus.

To put it more simply, habitus functions as 'a structuring and structured structure' (ibid:139). 'Habitus being the social embodied, it is "at home" in the field it inhabits, it perceives it immediately as endowed with meaning and interest' (ibid:128). Bourdieu (ibid:128) further explains that 'the coincidence between dispositions and position, between the "sense of the game" and the game, explains that the agent does what he or she "has to do" without posing it explicitly as a goal, below the level of calculation and even consciousness, beneath discourse and representation'. Moreover, 'every time it is confronted with objective conditions identical with or similar to those of which it is the product, habitus is perfectly "adapted" to the field without any conscious search for purposive adaptation, and one could say that the effect of habitus is then redundant with the effect of field' (ibid:129). As Speller (2011:60) puts it, 'habitus is produced by habit, *ethos*.' Speller (2011:60) explains that:

When we rule out certain courses of action as not being 'true' to ourselves, because we 'know our place' or 'it's not for us'; when we ask ourselves

what we ‘see ourselves doing’ in five or ten years’ time, or say certain clothes or haircuts ‘suit’ us, these are all expressions of habitus. The habitus is, in other words, how we see ourselves in relation to others, what we pay attention to and what we do not habitually pay attention to, and it determines our attitudes towards not only other people, but toward the universe of cultural goods and practices which are formally or potentially available to us – what Bourdieu calls the ‘space of lifestyles’ (...) – all of which are imbued with social significance.

Bourdieu (2012:258) defines the ‘social trajectory’ as ‘the *series of positions* successively occupied by the same agent or the same group of agents in successive spaces’. Speller (2011:59) explains that in Bourdieu’s perspective, ‘we should no longer simply be looking at an individual life or career, but also at the system of positions and relations between positions in which the events in an agent’s life take place (movements between publishers, genres, groups, etc.). Indeed, Bourdieu is dismissive of ordinary biographical attempts to make sense of a writer’s career in terms of the individual alone’. Bourdieu (2012:258-259) emphasises that:

Trying to understand a career or a life as a unique and self-sufficient series of successive events without another link than the association with a ‘subject’ (whose consistency is perhaps only that of a socially recognized proper name) is almost as absurd as trying to make sense of a trip on the metro without taking the structure of the network into account, meaning the matrix of objective relations between the different stations.

Therefore, according to Bourdieu (ibid:259), ‘any social trajectory must be understood as a unique manner of travelling through social space, where the dispositions of the habitus are expressed’. Our habitus and trajectories are determined when we internalise the information inscribed in our social surroundings, beginning at an early age, and thus the first ‘field’ is the family, according to Bourdieu (Speller 2011:60). Speller (ibid:61) explains that:

The process of socialisation continues through various rites of initiation and institution, from the most obvious (a qualification, entrance into a profession, a promotion, a marriage, etc.), to the slightest (a snub or a sign of appreciation), whereby, as if following a path of least resistance (which is not to say without worries and uncertainty, which form part of the process of investiture) we submit willingly to our destiny: doing, and being, what our families, institutions, society, and we ourselves, expect of us.

A writers’ sense of social identity determines which genres and groups they join in the field, and their subsequent ‘position-takings’, as Speller (ibid) asserts. It is necessary for writers to have what Bourdieu calls a ‘sense of placement’ or a ‘feel for the game’ to be in tune with the latest developments in the field which enables them to anticipate not only where they can now be found but also where symbolic and

economic profit will fall next (ibid). Bourdieu (2012:262) states that ‘The *sense of placement/investment* seems to be one of the dispositions most closely linked to social and geographical origin’. Speller (2011:61-62) points out that:

Writers who have been immersed in literary culture, preferably from an early age, internalise not only the sounds and rhythms of prose and poetry, but also a sense for the rhythm and changes in the field: a quasi-instinctual awareness that, when positions are becoming too popular or established, they should move on or try something new. These writers also dispose of the ‘social capital’ (networks of friends and acquaintances), and expertise (awareness of the literary heritage) to know when particular positions are getting crowded and where undeveloped potential lies.

Speller (ibid:62) explains that, according to Bourdieu, ‘symbolic capital can also be converted or “cashed in” for economic capital, as in the case of a passage from poetry to theatre, or still more clearly, to cabaret or serialised fiction’. Artists who have achieved renown in one area often attract public interest when they switch to a more profitable style or genre although this is usually at the cost of discredit in terms of symbolic capital (ibid).

Therefore, the notion of habitus is necessary because ‘it alone allows us to take into account, and to account for, the constancy of dispositions, tastes, preferences’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131). To put it another way, Allen Dunn (1998:90-91) explains that ‘each agent is a habitus, a set of inclinations or dispositions that are acquired when the individual internalizes the logic of the various sets of social practices or fields into which he or she is socialized’. It should be noted that, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:133) asserts, ‘habitus is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures’. In other words, it is always in a state of flux. Dunn (1998:91-92) suggests that to participate in struggles within a particular cultural field, the habitus must believe in the values or *illusio* approved in the field. Moreover, the desire to improve or achieve a better position in a field is ‘the habitus’ most durable disposition’ (ibid:92).

Bourdieu’s sociology and translation studies

Upon the foundation of Bourdieu’s sociology, there have been attempts to adopt and apply his sociological model to the sociology of translation. Jean-Marc Gouanvic

(2005) affirms that the key concepts of field, habitus, capital and *illusio* are all applicable to translation studies. He asserts that Bourdieu's theory of cultural action is 'a sociology of text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner' (ibid:148). Moreover, Bourdieu's frameworks enable the study of the factors that condition the power relations intrinsic in both the practice and theory of translation (Wolf 2007). Those factors help clarify, as Wolf (ibid:12) points out, 'the impact that translation can have or actually has on social change, or the relation of social factors of dominance to the selection and ultimately the shaping of translations'. In addition, Wolf (ibid:19) suggests that 'during the translation procedure, the act of translating is incorporated through, and at the same time influenced by, the translator's habitus, which can be identified by reconstructing the translator's social trajectory'.

Therefore, this study will draw mainly on Bourdieu's sociology as it fits for serving as a device for exploring martial arts novels in translation in Thailand. The notions of field, habitus and capital will be the keys to understanding the literary field in Thailand in which the translation production occurred and hence to understanding the production itself. The concepts will also help explain the relations between agents, products, social factors and society in a two-way manner. Furthermore, it will be applied to analyse the literary tradition in Thailand in order to find the norms which will explain the literary and translation trends over the time period. However, it is inevitably complicated when applying Western theory like Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital, into a Thai context that is culturally and socially different. Thus, it is also worth examining Casanova's world literary space and Phillips's ethnographic view on Thai literature, both of which complement the theoretical framework for this study.

As Speller (2011:71-72) points out, Bourdieu's theories ignore how literary cultures relate to and influence each other, and therefore Casanova's theory of 'world literary space' should also be taken into consideration to fill in what is missing from Bourdieu and to gain a better understanding of internationally influenced literary production. Speller (ibid:71-72) says that Casanova defines 'world literary space' as a field like any other in some respects but 'has its own mode of operation, its own laws of canonisation and capital accumulation, and its own history, which is relatively independent of – but bound by mutual influence to – economic and political history'.

This notion helps to understand how one literary culture can influence another, which can also determine individual writers' perceptions and strategies (ibid).

Casanova's World Literary Space

In the same manner as Bourdieu, Casanova (2004:82) says that the structure of the literary world is hierarchical and is the direct product of the history of literature. The unequal structure of literary space and the uneven distribution of resources among national literary spaces have shaped the literary map in Europe since the sixteenth century (ibid:83). These literary spaces, in measuring themselves against one other, slowly create hierarchies and relations of dependency that over time create a complex and durable design (ibid). Therefore, despite the various transformations it appears to undergo, particularly in its political aspect, the structure of the literary world lastingly perpetuates itself (ibid). Casanova explains that the richest spaces in the world republic of letters 'are also the oldest which is to say the ones that were the first to enter into literary competition and whose national classics came also to be regarded as universal classics' (ibid:82-83). According to Casanova, the great national literary spaces are the oldest, whereas the newer ones are poorer. 'The world of letters is a relatively unified space characterized by the opposition between the great national literary spaces, which are also the oldest – and, accordingly, the best endowed – and those literary spaces that have more recently appeared and that are poor by comparison' (ibid:83).

However, Casanova (ibid) rightly points out that the structure is not merely a simple binary opposition between dominant and dominated literary spaces. Rather, it is a 'continuum' where a linear hierarchy is prevented from establishing itself by the many forms of antagonism to which domination gives rise (ibid). Furthermore, those who are literary dominated are not always in the same situation or categories but each one is dependent in a specific way (ibid). Even in Europe, the first contestant in transnational competition, newer literatures are dominated by older ones, especially the case wherein nations that long- remained subject to external political control like in central and eastern Europe, or to colonial domination like Ireland (ibid 83-84). Casanova (ibid:84) asserts that it is important to also include all those countries that were literarily dominated through language and culture, such as Belgium, French-speaking and German-speaking Switzerland, Austria, etc, as they were the cradle of

the great literary revolutions. Being heirs by language and shared culture to the richest traditions in the world of letters and accumulating sufficient assets of their own by the nineteenth century when the first nationalist claims began to be asserted, they caused upheavals that were registered in the centres which upset the old hierarchies of the established literary order (ibid).

It can be observed that the construction of national literary space and the political space of the nation are closely related. However, literary space can assert its independence through its age and capital. Casanova (ibid:85) argues that:

The construction of national literary space is closely related to the political space of the nation that it helps build in turn. But in the most endowed literary spaces the age and volume of their capital – together with the prestige and international recognition these things imply – combine to bring about the independence of literary space as a whole. The oldest literary fields are therefore the most autonomous as well, which is to say the most exclusively devoted to literature as an activity having no need of justification beyond itself. The scale of their resources gives them the means to develop, in opposition to the nation and its strictly political interests, a history and logic of their own that are irreducible to politics.

Therefore, literary space can be autonomous and independent from politics or nationalism if it has enough capital.

Autonomy is therefore a fundamental aspect of world literary space that allows literary spaces, the most independent ones, ‘to state their own law, to lay down the specific standards and principles applied by their internal hierarchies, and to evaluate works and pronounce judgments without regard for political and national divisions’ (ibid:86). By standing against literary nationalism and the intrusion of politics into literary space, structural internationalism takes shape and, in turn, the structural internationalism of most literary countries strengthens and guarantees their independence (ibid). Thus, ‘autonomy in the world of letters is always relative’ (ibid:86). When the link between literature and nation is dismissed, a belief in the existence of a completely pure literature is also encouraged (ibid). Hence, with the great volume of accumulated capital and incontestable literary domination exerted all over Europe from the eighteenth century onwards, France became the most autonomous literary space of all (ibid). In other words, it was the freest in relation to political and national institutions (ibid). And through the process of emancipation from national politics, Paris therefore became the world capital of literature and French literary space became universal in the nineteenth century, which enabled it to produce

universal literature and consecrate works produced in outlying territories (ibid:87). It is not hard then to imagine how much French literary space had influenced other literary spaces during that time.

Noticeably, there is interaction between national literary spaces that allows them to exchange literary ideas. During the colonisation period, or in those countries that shared languages and cultures with others, literature hardly purely belonged to one particular culture. Instead, it was to some extent influenced by ideas, cultures and ideologies of others that it came into contact with even whilst trying to, ironically, create national literature and maintain its identity. Even when trying to become universal and international, literary spaces also become, in a sense, globalised in the process. This can be seen in the period in which writers from every part of the literary world follow the French literary space that became an alternative model for those who aspired to autonomy (ibid).

The relevance of Casanova's concept becomes clearer with the assessment of the history of Thai literature to be discussed in Chapter Two. Phillips's ethnographic approach is also a theoretical approach to literary analysis that will also be discussed in Chapter Two alongside the history of the development of Thai literature.

Conclusion

If we study the Thai literary field and martial arts novel translation which is situated in the field following Bourdieu's three steps of analysis, we have to firstly look at the Thai literary field in relation to the field of power where it is positioned. Then we need to study the literary field and translation field within it and locate martial arts novel translation within the field. Finally, we need to analyse the translators' habitus.

Following Bourdieu's logic, we will see that the Thai literary field occupies a dominated position in the field of power. Literary production for commercial purposes, for instance, is responsive to external demands and pursues economic or political capital. It is led by the heteronomous principle where book sales determine popularity or success and hence what is to be produced. Competition occurs among writers and publishers to be the first to write and publish bestsellers of genres in demand at any particular moment. Furthermore, authorities may exercise their control over the content of publications. There is also production for educational purposes which is

situated between the two poles of economic capital and cultural capital. Some works might be included in school curricula which would be decided by an authorised committee. The more autonomous end is occupied by writers who produce works for cultural and symbolic power. Therefore, in the Thai literary field there are subfields or genres of different kinds of literary products.

It is worthwhile looking into works produced specifically in the Thai context to identify the discrepancies between theory and reality. In *Modern Thai Literature: With an Ethnographic Interpretation*, Herbert P. Phillips talks about the ethnographic context – including social, political and cultural context – of modern Thai literature, as well as the social backgrounds of writers and networks of colleagues and friends. He stresses that the primary purpose of his book ‘is not literary, but cultural: to show what some of the most sensitive, reflective, articulate – and sometimes theatrical and bumptious – members of Thai society think of their own culture and experience,’ and that literary works are treated here ‘as integral to the social process, as both historical precipitant and product’ (Phillips 1987:3). Thus, it fits well with Bourdieu’s sociology at the very basic idea that regards literary production and society as related.

Following this theoretical framework, we now see that to understand the production of martial arts novel translation it is crucial to understand how the literary field works, what its tradition is, what kinds of power and forces affect the field, and in what kind of society the works are produced and the translators live. Since the culture and society that they live in structure their habitus, it is necessary to look at the society that translators grew up in, their family and their educational background as well as their hobbies and preferences in order to understand their translation practice which is the product of their habitus as well as of the society structured by the habitus. Besides, it is not only translators that we have to consider - readers and publishers are all involved as they are consumers and producers respectively. Why do readers read martial arts novels, or what makes publishers invest in publishing martial arts novels? These questions have to be put in the field or the society. It should always be kept in mind that habitus has to be considered in relation to the society that it inhabits. It makes sense to say that, once we understand the relation between the field and habitus of these agents, then we can explain the acceptability of martial arts novel translation. Therefore, in the next chapters, I examine the Thai literary tradition, Thai-Chinese relations, the Chinese in Thai society, and the translation of the martial arts novel

within the framework of Bourdieu's notions of field, habitus and capital alongside Casanova's world literary space and Phillips's ethnographic approach.

CHAPTER TWO

Thai Literary Tradition

Bearing Bourdieu's sociology and Casanova's concepts of world literary space in mind, this chapter examines the history of the development of Thai literature to study the trends and traditions that lead to an understanding of martial arts novel production as a key genre in the Thai literary field and the habitus of the translators.

Within the Thai literary field itself there are various sub-fields of both fiction and non-fiction, of both local and translated work. In the fiction sub-field there are different genres including martial arts novels. If we look at the fiction sub-field we can establish that the works whose successes depend on the market and economic profit are located at the heteronomous pole. These works include, for example, bestsellers and novels in different genres – suspense, crime, romance, young adult, martial arts etc. – whose success and popularity depends on the tastes of the audience. Whilst local literature occupies a position at the heteronomous end, there are awards and prizes, both domestically and internationally, given to outstanding works which boost their position on the poles of cultural capital and symbolic capital. Moreover, economic capital also increases when these works become more recognised. If they are chosen to be included on reading lists, thereby increasing in academic value, their position will move up as well from the low degree of consecration end (where production for a mass audience is positioned) towards the high degree end. It should be noted that apart from local novels, translated novels, including martial arts novels, also occupy a considerably large space in the field. Their production depends on the international reception and response to the novels as well as, of course, the tastes of the Thai audience. They are in fact popular novels, a production for mass audience and thus they are located close to the low degree of consecration end. There are awards and prizes for best translators and translations which give translators more symbolic capital and to some extent guarantee the quality of their work.

We have established that literary production is a social activity and located in the dominated position in the field of power, as discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, as time goes by and society changes, Thai literature also changes. In different eras we

can see its development and how the focus shifted to different kinds of literature when new kinds or trends were introduced and new tastes were developed, as well as its role in the society that in some periods disturbed the authorities. Since Thai society, and the literary field within it, is not isolated from the outside world, it is neither possible, nor indeed desirable, to avoid influences from other cultures. In fact, Thais even willingly accepted them, or even when trying to resist them they ended up absorbing those influences unconsciously. Therefore, we can see the international influence on Thai literature and literary production. In fact, the development of Thai literature was greatly due to interaction with other cultures, as I illustrate in the current chapter. Furthermore, Phillips's ethnographic view of modern Thai literature is also taken into account to explain the nature of Thai literary production and its networks of writers and translators.

The Development of Thai Literature

Thai literature has played a significant role in Thai culture although it might not be as well recognised as French or English literature in terms of its status as World Literature. In Thai society, the title of *National Artist* has been awarded annually since 1985 on *National Artist Day* and is bestowed on notable artists in the field of literature, fine arts, visual arts, applied arts and performing arts. The date of National Artist Day, the twenty-fourth of February, is also the birth date of King Buddha Loetla Nabhalai (Rama II, r. 1809 – 1824), who was also recognised as an artist, especially in the field of poetry. During his reign, the arts were valued highly and it was considered to be one of the golden eras of Thai literature, especially poetry, and those who mastered poetry could become royal favourites. The most renowned royal poet in his reign was Phra Sunthorn Vohara (1786 – 1855), also known as Sunthorn Phu. He was honoured by UNESCO as a great world poet on the 200th anniversary of his birth in 1986. Moreover, King Vajiravudh (Rama VI, r. 1910 – 1925) was also an artist, his literary works including modern novels, short stories, newspaper articles, poems, plays, journals and translations of Shakespeare's and Arthur Conan Doyle's work. It goes without saying that, being a royal activity gives Thai literature a prestigious place in Thai society.

Wibha Senanan Kongkanan (1997:20) states that, over five centuries, poetic style used to be the main approach in composing Thai literature. In the early days,

prose had been the more common style for writing practical works such as historical records and the promulgation of laws (ibid:22). Suphanni Warathon (1976:22) observes that it was not until the Rattanakosin era that prose literature played a more important role, especially historical fiction such as *Sam kok* and *Rachathirat* that were translated during the first reign (1737 – 1809), and since then prose fiction has increased in popularity (ibid). *Rachathirat* is a story from Mon history, *Hanthawaddy Chronicle*, whilst *Sam kok* is from a Chinese classic story, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San guo yanyi*), which was about Chinese politics and the arts of war, written by Luo Guanzhong. These two long pieces of prose fiction were the first works written entirely in the Thai language (Wibha 1975:18).

Wibha (ibid) mentions that, apart from being entertaining and unique, both *Rachathirat* and *Sam kok* inspired Thai writers to a new idea of writing fiction. ‘A number of younger writers of modern prose fiction owe their style of writing to these two masterpieces’ (ibid). Thanapol Limapichart (2009:389-390) also asserts that after *Sam kok* was translated it was continuously popular among members of the royal family and aristocrats, and after it was published in 1865 its success led to more translation and the publication of several other Chinese romances, with at least thirty-three more Chinese stories being translated and published during 1870 – 1922 (Wibha 1975:19). Wibha (ibid:21-22) agrees that *Sam kok* is one of the works that has had the strongest influence on the early development of the novel in Thailand, for it offers a completely new prose style of telling fictional stories and after *Sam kok* was printed, the nature of the reading public changed, the size having gradually increased, and there were also more writers of prose fiction.

Nonetheless, Suphanni (1976:284) asserts that the Thai novel as a genre of prose fiction did not appear until the era of King Chulalongkorn (Rama V, r. 1868 – 1910). The concept of the short story, play and novel were introduced by students who returned to the country from studying in Europe (ibid). It was in Vajiravudh’s reign that the short story and novel received greater interest due to the increased publication of newspapers and magazines as well as a better educational system (ibid). Novels in this era were mostly translations of foreign stories from languages such as English, French, and Chinese (ibid). The golden era of the novel was in the reign of King Prajadhipok (Rama VII, 1925 – 1935) when the so-called original Thai novels appeared (ibid:285). Then from about 1941 onwards, stories with a mixed Thai and Chinese

atmosphere were developed (Wiwat 1989:151), and sixteen years later martial arts novels were introduced (ibid).

Many scholars, including Wibha and Suphanni, believe that Kulap Saipradit's *Luk phuchai* (The real man), Mom Luang Buppha Kunchorn's *Sattru khong chao lon* (Her enemy), and Mom Chao Akatdamkoeng's *Lakhon haeng chiwit* (Circus of life), all published around 1929, are designated the first authentic Thai novels (Thak 2009a:90-91). Thak Chaloeontiarana (ibid:87-110) argues that three novels, namely Mae Wan's *Khwam phayabat* (1902), Khru Liam's *Khwam mai phayabat* (1915), and *Nang Neramit* (1916), all of which predated the above three novels, should also be considered as Thai novels within the canon. He says that *Khwam phayabat*, a translation of Marie Corelli's *Vendetta! Or The Story of One Forgotten* (1886) translated by Mae Wan (pseudonym of Phraya Surintharacha), is in fact the very first full-length novel published in the Thai language (ibid:92). Khru Liam's *Khwam mai phayabat* is the first original Thai novel but because it was believed to have been written to rival Corelli's work it was seen as derivative and unworthy of the canon, albeit written by a Thai in the Thai language and set entirely in Siam with Thai main characters (ibid:99-100). Before *Khwam mai phayabat* was written, the Literary Act of 1914 was promulgated with an attempt by Vajiravudh to nationalise the novel by making it more Thai and to urge writers to produce good Thai books (ibid). This shows the concern of the king that there was, in his view, too much 'non-Thai' literature. As a consequence of this act, Khru Liam was hired to write a novel that was anything but *farang* (Western), and he wrote *Khwam mai phayabat* (ibid:100). Khru Liam's *Nang Neramit* is an original Thai novel imitating an English adventure story and composed by a Thai writer pretending to be a *farang* novelist (ibid:102). Noticeably, these three non-canonical early novels, respectively, represent the genre of the vernacularised or translated novel, the original Thai novel, and the hybrid/imitation/bi-cultural novel (ibid:93).⁵

Whilst fiction in the shadow of Western styles – that is, novels written by Thai writers and using plots from the West and Western characters and places - were still very popular in 1922, Chinese stories and 'Chinese coating fiction' or stories written in the Chinese style and atmosphere by Thai writers, started to appear in newspapers' pages, and immediately gained an increase in popularity (Wibha 1997:255). Actually,

⁵ See further in Thak (2007:29-52), Thak (2009b:457-488), and Harrison (2014:79-100).

as Wibha (ibid:255-256) points out, since *Sam kok* was first published, Chinese fiction had been regularly translated and published in book form. ‘Chinese coating’ stories were so popular that it was hardly possible to match translations with their originals or even to tell which was an original synthesised creation or re-creation by a Thai writer (Wibha 1997:257-258). To give an example, around the mid-1930s, *Jeng honghao* (Empress Jeng), both serialised in *Siam Rat* newspaper and published in pocket book format, was one of the bestsellers. This was perhaps because of its similarity to the genre of the Thai traditional folk tale (*nithan jak jak wong wong*) that Thais were familiar with. However, as Krit Warangkun (1976:49) points out, it is impossible to ascertain whether this story is a translation of a Chinese story or a story written by a Thai writer.

Wibha (1997:162) and Suphanni (1976:284) observe that Western shadow fiction was read by more sophisticated audiences and elites, whereas ‘Chinese coating’ fiction was more popular among the general public. Although this observation might be correct, it is hard to prove it to be certain. During the era that Thais imitated or learnt from the West in order to be equal or even superior to them, Western novels were hence associated with Western knowledge and education, whereas Chinese novels seemed to be at the local level with lower prestige and thus, in Bourdieu’s terms, having lower cultural and symbolic capital. Nevertheless, it seems that Thai readers in general have a taste for foreign novels regardless of their origins as long as they are good stories. As Thak (2009a:103) argues, it appears that ‘the reading public did not have much faith in the ability of a Thai author to write a good novel, nor was it ready for a Thai novel that focused on the underbelly of Thai society. Readers, it appears, would have preferred *farang* novels about other cultures’. In this case, I would include Chinese as part of ‘*farang*’.

Suphanni (1976:285) points out that the factors behind the development of novels in different periods of time include: the influences of foreign cultures and technology; crazes and fashions; demand; and the situation in the society. With particular regard to the last factor, she explains that what is happening in the society directly affects the ideas and plots of novels because they reflect reality at that moment (ibid:288). This also influences the demand and the preferences of the readers. Moreover, it is noticeable that both the printing technology of the West and journalism played a vital role in the development of novels and the expansion of the size of the

reading public. Similarly, from Wibha's point of view (1997:105), contact with Western cultures, the introduction of printing technology, the birth and growth of journalism and the implementation of modern education for the general public are all factors that create change in the size and nature of the reading public and in the nature of writers themselves.

The printing technology that played a crucial part in the Thai literary field was introduced by Dr. Dan Beach Bradley, an American missionary who brought printing technology to Thailand in 1835. This in turn led to the introduction of journalism. The introduction of print technology also helped speed up book production and enlarged the size of the reading public (Wibha 1975:24). Bradley published and republished *Sam kok* three times, and also published most of the Chinese literature in translation.⁶ In the Chulalongkorn era, there were twenty-nine stories published, sixteen of which were translated during the Rama I and Rama IV periods (Wibha 1997:256).

Moreover, Thanapol (2009:363) raises some interesting points when suggesting that 'Siam's "public sphere" emerged from a series of encounters between the country and colonial powers, especially with the introduction of printing technology, the signing of the Bowring treaty of 1855, and the signing of similar treaties with the Western powers and Japan'. The treaties granted foreigners extraterritorial protection which also protected the publishing of Thai language newspapers by the missionaries, giving them enough freedom to challenge the Siamese elite's authority by printing their critical opinions and complaints (ibid:362-363). This provoked the Siamese public to 'express their individual resentment and later collective concerns', which gradually became critical in interactions between various groups in Siam (ibid:363). And in the later era, when the novel was more developed, it can be observed that opinions towards the authorities and society became the plots of novels.

Thus, it is evident that Thai novels and journalism have been closely interrelated since the novel 'was born in the pages of newspapers and magazines' (wibha 1975:30). From the early 1900s there were magazines that published translated works, the names of which 'provide a clue as to how Western knowledge was to be appropriate' (Thak 2009a:96). For instance, *Lak Witthaya* (literally, to steal knowledge or to plagiarise, 1900-02) serialised *Khwam phayabat* in 1901; *Thalok Wittaya* (literally, to expose

⁶ See a list of Chinese literature published by Dr. Bradley in Sangarun (2007:104-105).

knowledge, 1900-05) published *Sao song phan pi*, Khru Liam's translation of *She; Thawi Panya* (literally, to double knowledge, 1904-07) published Vajiravudh's *Nithan Thong-In*; *Phadung Witthaya* (literally, to nourish knowledge, 1912-1915) was a magazine published by *Chino-Sayam Warasap* (1907-1923), the Sino-Thai daily paper (ibid:96-97). Apart from these magazines that mostly published Western stories, *Siam Rat* (1920-1925) was a daily newspaper that exclusively published Chinese stories in the Thai language (Wibha 1975:41). According to Wibha (ibid) *Siam Rat* was so successful in publishing Chinese fictional stories retold in Thai that it convinced nearly all other periodicals to publish Chinese stories written in Thai with a Chinese atmosphere. Up until now, Thai novels are still normally serialised in magazines and newspapers, such as in *Sakulthai Weekly Magazine*, *Kullasatree Magazine*, etc, and they might also be published in book form if they receive a good reception (ibid:30). This tradition became popular in the Thai literary sphere from the reign of Chulalongkorn (Wibha 1997:123).

The International literary influence

What can be noticed from the development of Thai literature is that literary development in Thailand, as in other countries in South East Asia, is no exception to the impact of international literary influence. In fact, Thai Literary tradition has been strongly influenced by foreign literature. Following Casanova's train of thought, in Asia, as in Europe, there are hierarchies of national literary spaces that caused the unequal structure of literary spaces and the uneven distribution of resources among them. The one that is the oldest, hence the best endowed, and in possession of the most capital is the one with the most power and therefore occupies a dominant position. It can thus influence other literary spaces such as Thai that is newer, compared to other literary spaces such as Indian, Arab, Khmer and Chinese. Thus, it is no wonder that the Thai literary space has been influenced by these more dominant ones.

Looking back to as far as the ninth century, even before the influence of the West arrived in the region, cultural and literary influences coupled with religious influence came from Thailand's neighbours in Asia, such as the Arab countries, India and China. These influences were then localised or adapted to suit each country's own culture and requirements and to form traditional literatures in the process. A significant change

occurred again in the modern era when South East Asian literatures were affected by colonial and Western cultural and literary influences that inspired the literary creations of the region. Still, in the same manner as in the pre-modern era, the influences integrated with the local traditions in the development of literature. As Rachel Harrison (2000:19) asserts, ‘the significant influence of Western cultural thought on modern South East Asian literature is essentially counterbalanced by the important ties it maintains with its own indigenous literature traditions’.⁷

In Thailand, studies have focused on the influence of the West whereas, with no less importance, there have been only a handful of pieces of research conducted on the influence of the East on Thai literature. Among this small amount of research, in *Influences of Foreign Literary Works on Thai Literatures*, Reunruthai Satjaphan (1982) explains how Thai literature was affected by both Western and Eastern literature that included Indian, Chinese, Arab-Persian, Java-Malayu and Khmer literature. The Eastern influence became the foundation of Thai literary development, especially poetry, whilst Western influence played a major role in the development of prose in later periods (ibid).

Due to its cultural interactions with the outside world, as Rachel Harrison (2009:303) asserts, ‘Thailand has routinely adopted, adapted, and reinvented foreign literatures and arts from abroad’. She explains that ‘the adoption of external influences and ideas is a commonplace response to cultural interaction, albeit mediated by issues of power’ (ibid:305). Harrison (ibid) also points out that the patterns of imitation and modification were firmly formed during the Sukhothai period (1249 – 1483). Prince Damrong Rajanuphap⁸ (1969 cited in ibid:303) makes an observation when describing the formation of Sukhodayan Buddhist art that ‘the Siamese do not reject the good and the beautiful just because it is of foreign origin. They borrowed the good and the beautiful features of various different styles and merged them together’. Similarly, Wibha (1975: 1) argues that:

Thai literary tradition, like other aspects of their culture, has obviously changed as time goes on. Features such as language, forms, styles, subject matter, and other factors which constitute a Thai literary work have often borne the marks of foreign influences i.e. of the Khmer, Ceylonese, ancient Indian, Persian, Javanese, Chinese and Western. But, again, like other aspects of their civilisation, the literary culture of the Thais is an original

⁷ See also Braginsky (2000:1-18); Braginsky (2001); Coedès (1968).

⁸ Father of Thai history

synthesis including strong admixtures of cultures with which they have come into contact.

It therefore can be said that this hybrid quality is one of the most important characteristics of Thai literature.

Moreover, Thak (2009a:94) asserts that, 'Thai culture over the centuries has benefited from translations of literary works from other cultures'. This was especially true during the colonial period when, in 1886, Chulalongkorn announced the policy of encouraging translations as a means to improve education and knowledge about the West (ibid). This policy also served as a way to cushion and resist the impact of Western hegemony (ibid). Since the era of Mongkut, Thai kings adopted a strategy for modernising (Westernising) Siam by means of acquiring superior scientific and industrial capability from the West along with the cultural forms that supported these capabilities (ibid). However, Thak (ibid:95) argues that 'the Thais would only select what was best and most appropriate for them through translation or adaptation'. By using this selection process, according to Thak's argument, the Thais have never really felt inferior but instead feel proud that their country has never been colonised by the West. Mainstream Thai discourses did not acknowledge the view that Thailand was semi-colonised/auto-colonised/crypto-colonised, as postcolonial scholars have argued in their conceptualisation of Siam within the framework of colonised South East Asia.⁹ Moreover, looking at the West through a Thai lens of translation, which transformed other cultures' knowledge into one's own, made Western culture accessible, familiar and less threatening (ibid:106). Translation is therefore a way to educate readers about other cultures (ibid:96).

Because of this perception of having control over cultural production, translation into Thai in the early period was not much concerned with the level of accuracy that is required in academic translation. They were mostly translated sense for sense and not word for word (ibid:94), and adding to, subtracting from or changing the stories were practices that translators widely exercised (ibid). Thak (ibid:95) argues that 'translation, interpretation and rewriting are processes that appropriate what is transformed as one's own. Thai translators do not always see themselves as technicians of language but as artists, authors and composers'. Hence, it was common that they included their own stories and ideas into the stories as they wanted (ibid). Sometimes,

⁹ For the debate over the semi-colonialism of Siam, refer to Harrison and Jackson (2010).

the original authors or manuscripts were difficult to ascertain because Thai translators left out important information (ibid:97).

Thak (2009a:95) argues further that translation is ‘the vernacularisation or localisation of knowledge – turning something foreign into Thai. Therefore, the vernacularisation process in literature, when applied to the novel, makes translated novels “Thai”’. In addition, it gradually led to the creation of ‘original’ Thai novels. For example, *Ramakian* is a Siamese version of Hindu epic *Ramayana*, assembled by Rama I, which became an exemplar of classical Thai literature and has been included in school curricula (ibid:94). *Ramakian* was a re-written, re-interpreted, and re-formatted version in which it celebrates the royals instead of the gods as in the original Hindu script (ibid). Besides, a copy of *Sam kok* published in 1956 is titled ‘*Wannakhadi Thai*’ *Sam kok* or ‘Thai literature’ *Sam kok* on the cover, albeit that it is a Chinese historical novel. Obviously, it has become Thai through the translation process in the Thai literary field. This pattern of vernacularisation can be observed throughout the history and development of the Thai novel.

It goes without saying that Thai works of literature are the products of adaptation, imitation, synthesis or a combination of world literatures coupled with Thai culture and literary tradition themselves. And of course the translation production, including Chinese literature translation, is to some extent affected by this tradition as well. The selection of texts to suit the literary taste of the Thai audience, as well as the strategies employed in the translation process, are also determined by the literary tradition within the particular literary field in Thai culture as a whole. Thai culture, like literary tradition, was no doubt also influenced by external cultures and power over time through contacts, commerce, threats or immigration.

Phillips’s Ethnographic Interpretation on Modern Thai Literature

Phillips’ Ethnographic study of Thai literature helps us to understand the contexts of literary production in Thailand that relate, therefore, to the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis. Phillips’ interpretation of the Thai literary field provides an example of what Bourdieu refers to as field, as outlined in this chapter.

In the Thai literary field, most of the literary work in the earlier eras was created among the royal family and elites and was considered to be highbrow. Thus, ‘highbrow’

literature was at first a largely royal project and limited to within the palace before it found its way out to join peasant literature in the marketplaces. Phillips (1987:16) asserts that:

Thai literature has changed from being, on the one hand, an elite activity dominated by a small number of literati producing work that was socially approved and aesthetically appealing to the elite themselves and, on the other, a peasant literature that was inherently legitimate because of its universality into a literature of the intellectual marketplace. While this marketplace has been extremely sensitive to the prevailing freedoms and repressions of domestic politics, its fundamental historical character has been the constant expansion of the wares it has offered, the number of people who have patronized it, and its own internal competitiveness. Over the past century written literature has moved from the palaces of princes into the raucous ambience of a Thai bazaar.

Most Thai writers, in addition to writing, which is not usually their primary job, are also employed in a variety of other professions, from farmers to prime ministers or from housewives to journalists. Some writers are also translators, and as with writing, translating is taken as a part-time job rather than a full-time one. One of the reasons is that the size of the reading public is not substantial enough to enable writers or translators to fully devote all their time to writing or translating. Exceptions can be made for well-known writers or translators such as the writer Chart Korbjitti, and the translator of Chinese martial arts fiction, Nor Nopparat, who after accumulating high enough symbolic capital which can be transferred into economic capital and earning enough money, can afford to be a full-time translator.

In the Thai literary field, according to Phillips (ibid:15), ‘paralleling so many of the other changes that have occurred in Thai society as a whole, the Thai literary enterprise has been transformed into an extraordinarily open-ended intellectual process, with contemporary authors writing about as many things as people speak about’. However, what is actually written and published is always constrained by the uncertain economic state of many writers especially the less-established ones, the fickleness of public preferences and political censorship (ibid). Yet, contemporary literature, as opposed to both oral and classical ones, is self-consciously felt to be a mode or vehicle for intellectual exploration, discovery and experimentation (ibid:15-16). Phillips (ibid:16) argues that:

This is not a borrowing of the Western notion that if literature is to be valuable it must be original, or that it somehow represent or embody what is avant-garde. Thai do not subscribe to a belief in the inherent goodness of the innovative or creative. Rather, what is important from a Thai point of

view is that literature clarify or reveal that which is obviously real but unrecognized; that it make people think about what previously was improper (or dangerous or irrelevant) to think about; that it give shape, meaning, and identities to things.

In this sense, it is unimportant and there is no pressure for Thai writers to create something new or different from their peers or predecessors. Phillips (ibid:16), nevertheless, asserts that after written literature moved out to public markets, the rivalry among writers over ideas, styles and themes became intense, resulting in a much greater degree of variability, individuality and substantive richness in contemporary writing than existed in oral or classical literature. This is important in terms of understanding the wider context in which Chinese fiction in Thai has been produced – and therefore in terms of what Bourdieu refers to as field.

It is crucial to take note of the fact that, unlike Western culture in which writers tend to follow the romantic tradition of seeing themselves as gifted individuals, Thai writers tend to group together in various forms of relationships, creating a sense of loyalty to each other within the group and rivalry between different groups and affiliations (*phuak*). Phillips (ibid:16-17) states that:

The competitive spirit of the literary marketplace stimulates considerable intellectual richness and the formation and fission of literary *phuak*, the various colleagues, friends, teachers, and disciples with whom most writers surround themselves and who serve variously as critics, guides, and general sources of intellectual, emotional, and sometimes financial support. Thai literary *phuak* are not planned, self-consciously organized groups. While membership in *phuak* is not permanent, their composition at any one time is reasonably clear, and readers and other authors sometimes know a particular writer's *phuak*, his past *phuak*, and the broad outlines of various *phuak* loyalties and rivalries. As a group, Thai writers are no less vain than men and women of letters in most places, and *phuak* solidarity is constantly being tested by those who are particularly daring, self-sufficient, or contentious.

In fact, the competition does not only occur between groups of writers but can also be seen between publishers who try to keep in business and supply better choices of products to the public. To give an example, when martial arts stories boomed, *Thai Rath* and *Daily News*, two major newspaper publishers, competed for increasing sales by publishing serialised translated Chinese literature and martial arts novels.

Although Thai writers arguably may seek out less individual success, originality of works or alienation for themselves in comparison with authors in more commercialised locations such as in the West, when the situation enables them to

separate from conventional ways, they do create or synthesise new types of works and genres. In the Thai literary system, prose appeared after the influence of Western literature reached the country and became the new inspiration for Thai writers who were exposed to it. Consequently, the competition in the field stimulated the publication of large amount of literary pap which is also a result of the highly experimental nature of the field. As Phillips (ibid:17) argues:

Younger writers in particular seem motivated by a constant but usually vain search for literary formulas that somehow will ignite their reading public and bring them instant fame. Because publication costs are relatively inexpensive and the ethos of the bazaar assumes that every new product may be a winner, it is easy for most material to get some exposure, even if it is only by vanity publication. The result is a market that in quantitative terms contains a large percentage of material that is difficult to take seriously. This may simply be a statistical by-product of the highly experimental nature of the present Thai literary situation.

It is common in the Thai literary field that Thai writers had their works published in several forms – for instance, serialising in newspapers or as pocket books – in order to earn money from many sources and reach a wider groups of readers. This practice was also true for translators. Phillips (1987:19) says that:

Certain publishing practices in Thailand give writers greater access to potentially more readers (in a comparative, per capita sense) than is perhaps the case in Western societies. Most Thai authors first publish their material in newspapers or in weekly and monthly magazines. Novels, novellas, and short stories are also serialized for publication in daily newspapers and in weekly magazines...In this format, they are read by scores of thousands of readers. Only the most popular or valuable of these writings are later made available in the more integrated, durable, and prestigious form of a book.

It should also be noted that for decades writing as a profession had been widely considered in Thailand as a kind of ‘juvenile indulgence’, an idealistic activity for young people, which would be given up for other careers that were seen as more respectable and stable when one wanted to have a family and make ‘a decent living’ with enough income to feed the family (ibid:20). Given the instability of the income to be generated from creative writing, not many writers could afford to be full-time writers. It takes talent, energy, financial support and good staff to become a professional writer like extraordinary ones such as Suchit Wongthed, Suchart Sawadsi, and Sulak Sivaraksa (ibid). The stakes are high in this game as the results decide whether or not one can pursue a writing career and progress within the field. One needs to possess enough cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital. The said writers have overcome the traditional system of expectations and moved into full-fledged

adulthood while maintaining their role as intellectually creative men and women who could also support themselves and their families as well as their *phuak* or disciples (ibid). For them, the symbolism of their accomplishments is perhaps just as important as the content of their writing as seen from a historical and social point of view (ibid).

From Phillip's ethnographic view, it cannot be said that the struggles among writers occurring in the Thai literary field are exactly the same as those which Bourdieu observes in the West, because the relationships between Thai writers are different. As mentioned above, Thai writers tend to group together as *phuak* and support each other rather than compete with other members within a group. They tend to share their ideas or styles of writing as the sense of intellectual property is so faint, if it exists at all, that copyright does not matter for Thai writers, hence the common practice of appropriation and adaptation. For example, if a style of writing is adopted by other writers and becomes a new trend it will be then considered as a success for the person who first creates it. Of course trends change from time to time depending on whose status is higher in the field and taste of consumers. Besides, according to the nature of *phuak*, a group figure, usually a person with the most symbolic and economic capitals, is placed at the centre. Likewise, this relationship also appears between translators. Besides, there are writers and translators that socialise together and are in the same *phuak*, and thus it is different from the Western concept of individualism. Bourdieu's theory, therefore, cannot be applied here seamlessly. However, nowadays, as literary production has become more commercialised, there are more full-time writers and translators who pursue their own personal success.

Nevertheless, there was a period, from the 1950s to the 1970s, when the Thai literary field underwent serious censorship. During this period publication was constrained by the threat of censorship as a result of political instability and the policies of the military regimes. The nature of the restrictions on all publications was described in Proclamation 17 of the 1957 'Proclamations of the Revolutionary Group', the basic charter of the military regimes. Two clauses that perhaps were the most irritating to the creative writer that Phillips (ibid:24) points to are as follows:

...the authorities shall attach and destroy such papers and attach the machine on which such papers were printed for such period as they may think appropriate but not longer than six months...if any paper publishes matter of the following nature:

....3) any matter ambiguously defamatory or contemptuous of the Thai government, or any ministry, public body, or department of the government without stating clearly the fault and matter [This and the following clause are perhaps the most vexing to the creative writer, if only because the essence of effective public criticism in Thailand is teasing ambiguity];

4) any matter ambiguously showing that the government or ministry, public body, or department of the government has deteriorated, is bad, or has committed a damaging offense without showing in what matter and particular.

The Proclamation undoubtedly put pressure on the creation of literary work and the whole industry, resulting in the self-censorship of the producers. Phillips (1987:22-23) asserts that;

[It was] not only the external censorship exercised by police but, perhaps even more effectively, the self-censorship of publishers, editors, and authors. The latter is a function of the former in that police have had the authority not only to seize allegedly offensive material but to close down the total operation of a publisher, even confiscating his printing presses. Thus, everyone involved in the editorial process is made to feel responsible not only for particular texts but for the entire organization, including the jobs and incomes of associates or subordinates.

Ironically, it was this anxiety that certain creative stratagems were developed to circumvent the constraints of censorship. These stratagems included underground publication, the use of a multiplicity of pseudonyms by certain authors as authors and texts were frequently considered dangerous by authorities, and the creative use of humour, hyperbole and little symbolic conceits that made unmistakable political points whilst at the same time being brilliantly integrated into texts (ibid:23). Nowadays these stratagems are still adopted to criticise the governments or politicians.

Phillips (ibid:26) argues that ‘whatever the literacy rates, the quantity of pap that might be produced, or the homely purposes to which it is sometimes put, writing is nevertheless perceived as having major consequences for the nature and direction of Thai society and to that extent is defined as something that must be controlled or monitored’. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that censorship in Thailand is ‘as haphazard and counterproductive as it is intellectually harassing’ (ibid:26). Not only has it been unable to prevent underground publication and distribution, it has also in fact stimulated it (ibid). More importantly, according to Phillips (ibid:26), censorship to some extent helped to make better writers, and to keep some ‘lazy’ writers, who believed that their works would never pass the censors, out of the marketplace. Therefore, ‘in this sense, censorship has helped raise the general level of sophistication

of the cat-and-mouse, fun-and-games ambience that most Thai treasure in their public life, the central purpose of which is to mock official pretence and absurdity' (ibid:26).

Therefore, we can see that Thai literature has, through time, undergone several social changes that influenced the development and nature of literary production in Thai society, therefore including by implication the production of Chinese martial arts fiction in Thai. An activity that was at first considered to be an elitist leisure pursuit has become common practice for men and women from a wider range of backgrounds. More and more publication as the industry expands larger induces higher competition. Only successful and talented writers can afford to pursue a writing career full time, whereas others might have to find additional things to do for living. It is in this culture that writers tend to group together as *phuak* rather than competing individually with others as happens in the West. However, as time has changed and more writers are able to support themselves and their families by writing full time, not to mention the fact that literary production that has become more commercialised, competition for individual success can be increasingly seen. Moreover, censorship evidently plays a vital role in controlling the direction of literary production which also creates the sense of defiance leading to, ironically, creative ideas to produce literary works under the monitoring of the authorities, and indirectly acts as a selector to screen out casual writers. Phillips proves that literature, society and culture are inseparable. It also shows that the literary field is influenced by external forces.

Conclusion

Considering the literary tradition in Thailand, it shows that Thai readers have developed tastes for exotic stories, both from Asian and Western countries, over a long period of time. Thai writers created 'Thai novels' by 'learning' from the foreign literature that inspired them. By learning, these Thai writers imitated and adapted what they thought was good, and thus translated novels were vernacularised or localised which made them Thai.

It can be noted that the dispositions and reactions of agents to appropriate, imitate and adapt are the results of the functions of Bourdieu's notion of habitus as structured structure and structuring structure. Writers internalise habitus structured by culture, society and literary tradition, which results in appropriating, imitating or

adapting what has already been successful because it is allowed in this society as the sense of intellectual property is low. At the same time these practices, which are of dispositions and reactions, structure the trend of the field. Thus, it is a full cycle of operation. It is also a result of shared belief or doxa that this way is good and worth following. Those who follow it choose an orthodox way of practice whereas those who do not follow it choose a heterodox way. Therefore, heterodox writers might choose to adapt or create a new idea which, if successful, might become a new trend to be followed.

In the same manner as the literary field, Thai society consists of a mixture of several cultures that it has been in contact with. Thais follow, borrow, adopt and adapt things or ideas from foreign cultures that they think are good, leading to a hybridisation of Thai and other cultures such as Chinese. In the next chapter, this point will be displayed to see how Thai and Chinese cultures blended together and things that are of Chinese culture became Thai.

CHAPTER THREE

Thai-Chinese Relations and Assimilation

...few cultures can ever be stable or monolithic in nature; nor can they resist being porous to continual external stimulus, most especially when the effects may prove to be of benefit.

(Harrison 2010:16)

In this chapter, I explore Thai-Chinese relations and the place of Chinese ethnicities in Thai society as well as the assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society and the hybridisation between the two cultures. My intention is to comprehend how Chinese cultural influences and the role of overseas Chinese people in Thai society might affect translation production, including the influence that this has on the translator, and vice versa. The Chinese have been settled in Siamese/Thai society at least since the Ayutthaya period and the newcomers experienced both good and bad fortunes. In some eras the Chinese and their descendants enjoyed a prosperous life; yet in others they struggled with concerns over nationality and discrimination. Changes in how locals welcomed and perceived the newcomers were caused by changes in social and political views in different eras. Significant changes occurred during the reign of King Vajiravudh (r. 1910-1925), and in the post World War II regimes of Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram and Sarit Thanarat. Therefore, looking into the changes in these eras will provide a clearer image of the assimilation of the Chinese ethnic group and their descendants in Thai society before and during the boom times of martial arts novels (introduced to Thai readers in 1957). This will also show a connection between the socio-political aspect and the popularity of the genre. I will discuss these changes and the Chinese assimilation into Siamese/Thai society in the following sections along with the racism that Chinese descendants had to endure and the cultural hybridisation that occurred over the period.

Thai-Chinese Relations

It is important to look into the history of Thai-Chinese relations because throughout Thai history the significance of the Chinese in Thailand, socially, economically and

politically, is by no means trivial or insignificant. On more than a few occasions Chinese descendants in Thailand have involved and politicised themselves in both political uprisings and protests and subsequently have become ‘patriotic *lukjin*’ (Chinese descendants). For example, in 2008, under the leadership of Mr Sondhi Limthongkul, a *lukjin*, multimillionaire and leader of the People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD), a group of *Lukjin rak chat* (patriotic Thai-born Chinese) gathered to help “save the nation” (Kasian 2009:263-264). The race card was dealt because of the belief of Sondhi that it is ‘the duty of a patriotic *lookjin* [*lukjin*] to do so’ (ibid:264).

Of course, their being a part of Thai society also affects the Thai literary field, which is located within the cultural field that is in the society. By looking into Thai-Chinese relations it helps to understand how the Thai literary field and martial arts novel translation production have been influenced. After all, as Luang Wichitwathakan¹⁰ said in his song *Jin-Thai Samaggi* (literally, harmonious Chinese-Thai, 1939) that ‘*Chatjin chatthai michai uenkhrui phinong kan*’ – literally meaning China and Thailand are not strangers but siblings, might well be a precise description of the relationship between the two countries, at least from the Thai perspective, largely because Thai-Chinese relations have a long history.

To the land of Siam

According to discoveries of Tang dynasty pottery wares along beaches in the south and in north-eastern regions of Thailand, it is possible to surmise that there had been trade with China since the Dvaravati period (6-13 AD) (Sangarun 2007:25). However, this evidence cannot indicate the settlement of the Chinese (ibid). Then in the Sukhothai period (1249-1483) there was found kiln sites of Sangkhalok ceramics which is Chinese technology though this cannot prove the existence of a permanent settlement (ibid). G. William Skinner (1957:3-4) sees this as indirect evidence of Chinese settlement and assimilation. He argues that the Sukhothai King Ramkhamhaeng’s (r. 1279-1298) final mission to China brought Chinese potters to the kingdom in 1300, and Chinese influence in Sangkhalok ceramic decoration died out by the first half of the fifteenth century, suggesting that by that time the descendants of the immigrant potters had been assimilated (ibid). In this period, the kingdom of

¹⁰ Major-General Luang Wichitwathakan (1898-1962) was a Thai politician, author, playwright composer and historian. He played an important role in boosting a sense of nationalism in Thai people.

Sukhothai became a tributary state of the Mongol court when Ramkhamhaeng finally sent tributary missions to Peking in 1296 after China sent emissaries to the kingdom three times (ibid:2). After 1323, the missions to Peking came to an end. However, private Chinese traders continued their business with Thai ports until the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 (ibid). After that for a few decades there was no evidence of commerce before regular tributary missions began again from Ayutthaya (1350-1767) to the Ming capital Nanjing during this period (ibid).

Settlement of the Chinese in the Ayutthaya period

There has been more concrete evidence demonstrating that settlement of the Chinese took place in the Ayutthaya period. According to the historical record of the Ming dynasty, among other South East Asian countries, Ayutthaya was an important port linking routes to India and the Middle East with those to China and had sent diplomats to pay tribute most often (Sangarun 2007:36-37). This might have been an appeal for Chinese merchants to come to this, in their view, prosperous region that promised good fortune and set up shops there (ibid). Skinner (1957:7) mentions that in De Compos' view, after a survey of Portuguese accounts of Siam in the sixteenth century, Chinese merchants were 'everywhere established in Thailand', which is everywhere that the Portuguese went. In *Du Royaume de Siam* of Simon de la Loubère, a French diplomat who came to Siam in the reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688) of Ayutthaya, recorded a description of Chinese opera which indicates that there must have been settlement of the Chinese in this era (Sangarun 2007:37). Sangarun (ibid) asserts that communities must have been built up to some extent before having traditional entertainment or rites performed according to their beliefs and culture. This evidence is supported by the names of some market areas, for instance *Talat khanom jin* (Chinese Dessert Market), where trade between locals and foreigners, such as Westerners, Indians and the Chinese, took place (ibid).

During this period, the Chinese who came to Siam were mostly merchants, as stated above. These merchants were not seen as foreigners by Thais at both public and state levels, as Skinner (1957:11) interestingly comments. This point is evident from the Royal ordinance, which forbade Thai women from marrying foreigners including English, Dutch, Javanese and Malay but did not include the Chinese (Srisak n.d.:25-26). There was no restriction on immigration or trade or culture placed on Chinese

immigrants. They settled down, built up their communities, set up businesses and brought with them some of their cultural aspects, making Siam their new home. These merchants married Thai women since Chinese women never immigrated at that time, which led to the first offspring of Chinese or *lukjin* by the early fifteenth century (Skinner 1957:3). The intermarriage clearly indicates the rapid assimilation of the Chinese and their offspring into Siamese society. A proof of the assimilation from a Chinese perspective can be seen in a statement by a Chinese writer during Ekathotsarot's reign (1605 – 1620) cited in Skinner (ibid:8) that 'the inhabitants [of Siam] accept the Chinese very cordially, much better than do the natives of any other country; therefore Siam is a country that is really friendly to the Chinese'. Srisak (n.d.:25) says that the Chinese gained the trust and confidence of the Ayutthaya kings and government officials so they could serve under the crown and earn title or rank if they had knowledge and abilities. In comparing the Chinese with other foreign merchants in Ayutthaya, the Chinese were the most successful because of their modest personality and perhaps because of the closeness of Thai and Chinese cultures in several aspects (ibid). Hence, by the seventeenth century, apart from merchants and traders, the Chinese community in Ayutthaya was also composed of scholar-officials, physicians, artisans, actors and pig breeders (Skinner 1957:15). Moreover, since the Chinese were known to be experienced sailors, many crew positions were appointed to them (Sangarun 2007:37-38). Therefore, there were many ranks of royal argosy crews derived from Chinese words (ibid). This attests to the extent of Chinese assimilation at the wider and deeper levels of Siamese society and also demonstrates the wide range of roles that they played.

Furthermore, Srisak (n.d.:25) states that the Chinese in the seventeenth century brought about the appearance of market areas or business centres in Siamese society which led to the emergence of communities and towns, one of their most important contributions to the society. When communities emerged, temples, both Thai and Chinese, as well as joss houses also appeared. The joss houses were especially considered to be an important part of market areas since most people who lived in those areas were of Chinese origin (ibid). At joss houses, Chinese traditional rituals and entertainment, such as Chinese opera known as *ngiw* by the locals, were usually performed for the public. Thus, the Siamese and foreigners could experience a different culture and the Chinese would not lose touch with their own cultural roots.

La Loubère (1967:210-211) records that the Siamese as well as himself enjoyed the Chinese opera a great deal even though they could not understand a word. However, they also introduced some parts of their culture that was not a positive influence on Siamese people, such as gambling (Srisak n.d.:26). It can be said that Chinese immigrants and their descendants or *lukjin* in Ayutthaya put down roots and made themselves at home.

The prosperous Thonburi period

After the Manchu conquest of south China in 1645, a flood of Chinese, especially from Fujian and Guangdong, migrated to Taiwan and South East Asia including Thailand (Skinner 1957:11-12). Skinner (ibid:12) explains that those from Chaozhou, a city in Guangdong, landed in the east, and those from southern Fujian landed in the south. In the time when Ayutthaya was conquered by Burma in 1767, the Chinese in the east played an important role in helping King Taksin, who was half Teochew (or Chaozhou people), regain Siam's independence (Sangarun 2007:54) from the Burmese. Therefore, these Chinese were called *jin-luang* or royal Chinese thereafter (ibid:55). Skinner (1957:20-21) mentions that King Taksin established the capital of Thonburi (1768-1782) on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River whilst a large Chinese settlement and market serving the capital grew up on the east bank. However, it is still unclear whether the Chinese had settled in the Bangkok area before 1767 but is very likely that a Chinese settlement was there as early as the first half of the seventeenth century (Credner 1935 cited in Skinner 1957:21). Taksin continued tributary relations with China during the Thonburi period with some effort made to attain recognition from China as King of Siam (Skinner 1957:22-23).

During the Thonburi period, as Skinner (ibid:21) points out, 'it was perhaps only natural that under Taksin the Chinese increased and prospered'. He emphasises the fact that Siam was ruled for over fourteen years by the son of a Chinese who mastered both the Thai and Chinese languages. Undoubtedly, this was beneficial for the Chinese and their descendants in the society. It is to be noted, also, that the Teochews were especially favoured during Taksin's reign as they were of his own speech group and had helped to defend Ayutthaya against Burma (ibid). Because of his policies, many of them were attracted to Bangkok where they predominate today (ibid).

Life in the Rattanakosin period

In the early Rattanakosin period (1782-1851), Phra Phutthayotfa Chulalok (Rama I, r. 1782-1809) had the capital moved to the east side of the river and so the Chinese community there moved to the area which is now Sampheng, the centre of Chinatown (Sangarun 2007:56). During the early Rattanakosin period, the goal of foreign and economic affairs was mainly aimed at trading with China, resulting in the development of the diplomatic tribute system into a commercial tribute system and later leading to the state monopolies of foreign trade (ibid:58).

The revival of the tributary trade with China in this era led to the growing Sinicisation of courtly taste which balanced the partial loss of significance of the Indic heritage in the first half of the nineteenth century (Peleggi 2002:28). During the Second Reign (Phra Phutthaloetla Naphalai, r. 1809-1824), the king's son Jetsadabodindra (later Rama III or Nangklao), who was known for his passion for Chinese culture, enriched the royal treasury with handsome profits he earned from trade with China (Sangarun 2007:58). Therefore, the Third Reign (1824-1851) saw the art of Nangklao's style influenced by Chinese art and more Thai elites developing a taste for the Chinese lifestyle. For example, this was evident in clothing, cuisine, pottery ceramics and garden decoration before the effects of Western colonial influence reached the country (ibid:58-59). Evidently, the development of the taste for a Chinese lifestyle was a consequence of the tributary missions and the trade, as Maurizio Peleggi (2002:22-23) argues:

Tributary missions, while taking place within the symbolic framework of submission to the authority of the Heavenly Emperor, constituted a major source of acquisition of luxury goods, a source complemented by the junk trade along China's southeastern coast and Southeast Asia (which was accompanied by selected Chinese immigration to fill in the offices of customs officials and tax farmers). This pattern of commerce understandably led to a considerable Sinicization of courtly taste, particularly evident in the architecture and decorative styles of the Third Reign.

It is therefore not too surprising that Chinese merchants in that era played an important part in the development of Siam, especially in economy. As Peleggi (ibid:29) asserts, 'the establishment of the Chakri dynasty was due to such abilities as much as to the decisive support of the Chinese merchants who were business partners, if not relatives, of the royalty.' Moreover, it can be seen that Rama I's appointment of the

head of the treasury (*phrakhlang*) to supervise the translation of *San guo* [*Sam kok*] ‘highlights the intersection of power, wealth and cultural production in the early Bangkok period’ (ibid:29).

From the perspective of the Qing court in Beijing, the hegemonic centre, the tributary system represented an instrument of imperial diplomacy with the purpose of expanding its civilisational sphere (ibid). Peleggi (ibid:29) says that:

In Chinese political thought, civilization (*wenming*) was understood to spread spatially via proximity (*jin*), from the emperor in the center to those outside the Middle Kingdom; accordingly, the presentation of tributes to the Son of Heaven signified acceptance of his lordship and implicitly of *wenming*; in return peripheral rulers obtained imperial recognition.

In other words, the tributaries that the Siamese kings sent to China were also sent to gain recognition from Chinese emperors of them as the rightful rulers of Siam.

Skinner (1957:25-26) states that ‘between 1782, the beginning of the Chakri dynasty, and 1854, the last year of royal state trading in Siam, thirty-five tribute missions were sent to China,’ with the last one sent in 1853, before state trading and the tributary function were abolished in 1855 and the process of national modernisation began in the Fourth Reign (1851-1868). The elimination of the tributary system was one of the consequences of the Bowring Treaty signed in 1855 between Siam and the United Kingdom which liberalised foreign trade in Siam. As Peleggi (2002:29) rightly points out:

The consequence of the Bowring Treaty (1855) was not only to terminate this pattern of trading and diplomatic relations but also to replace Britain for China as Bangkok’s chief commercial partner. Similar to the way participation in the tributary system entailed acceptance of the Chinese concept of civilization, signing of the Bowring Treaty too implied acknowledgment of the diplomatic and even legal and philosophical premises of Britain’s trading policy.

Therefore, from that point of time, Siamese tastes, especially courtly ones, had shifted towards Western culture and lifestyle as it entered the modernising period (or semi-/auto-/crypto-colonised period).

During this period throughout the nineteenth century, there was a huge demand for Chinese labourers as, unlike Thais, they were skilled at trading and sailing as well as ship- building. Thus, they were needed especially for purposes related to royal trade and commercial agriculture with the aim of expanding trade to enrich the royal treasury (ibid:97). Moreover, Piyanat Bunnag (2006:2) states that since the Second Reign more

Chinese labourers were needed in public works as they were hard-working and patient whilst Thais preferred farming. In the Fourth Reign, due to national modernisation and economic reforms after signing the Bowring Treaty that liberalised foreign trade leading to free trade by foreigners in Bangkok, the demand for a Chinese labour force for Siam's economic development grew even more. Hence, the king encouraged Chinese immigration and offered various benefits to them. The offers should be enticing for the Chinese immigrants whom, between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were driven to come to Siam due to the famine and poverty, natural disasters and politics on the Chinese mainland, as Dusit Namfon (n.d.:68) points out. They were the only Asian foreigners who were given freedom to travel and settle anywhere in the kingdom without restrictions and were exempt from corvée and from being attached to a patron or government master (Skinner 1957:97). Thus, they had freedom to look for any kind of work all around the country. This provided them with an advantage over local Thais, both peasants or commoners and slaves, who were obliged to the corvée system and had to be attached to a patron or owner. During the second half of the nineteenth century the corvée system gradually declined, which was also a result of the Bowring Treaty of 1855; and in 1899 it was officially abolished (ibid:98). Six years later slavery was also brought to an end. Skinner (ibid) observes that even after this process of social reform and economic expansion Thais still preferred rice cultivation and farming whilst the Chinese worked in various areas of occupation available to them such as commerce, industry, mining and wage labour. However, the Chinese were charged a head tax when entering the country and had to pay this tax every three years. Skinner (ibid:97) asserts that the amount of the tax was not so large as to discourage immigration but was large enough to be a substantial source of revenue. It therefore seems reasonable for Sangarun (2007:67) to claim that the highest number of Chinese immigrants was found during the Third and the Fifth Reigns.

In the early days of Bangkok, as Piyanat (2006:2-3) points out, Chinese immigrants tended to settle mostly in the area called Sampheng which was the first important business centre of Rattanakosin and is the central area of Bangkok's Chinatown nowadays. Early in this era most Chinese immigrants were *jin-jon* or temporary Chinese residents, who travelled back and forth between the two countries or permanently back to China after achieving a satisfactory amount of savings

(Sangarun 2007:63-64). Some immigrants who settled down permanently were called *jin-khong-mueang* or permanent Chinese residents (ibid). It is notable to mention that, with the goal to advance family fortunes, these Chinese settlers remitted a part of their hard-won earnings to their families in China even before returning in person (Skinner 1957:123-124). Gutzlaff (1840 cited in Skinner 1957:124) states that ‘if an emigrant can send but a dollar, he will send it...Indeed, he will never send home a letter unless accompanied with some present; he will rather entirely cease writing than send nothing more substantial than paper.’ Hence, by the second half of the nineteenth century remittance shops sprang up in Bangkok and remittances from Siam were sizeable and growing which became an increasing cause for concern for the government (Skinner 1957:124). The policy of the government at that time was to depress remittances to China whilst still attracting more Chinese to Siam permanently (ibid:175). It is observed that almost half of the government’s revenue was derived directly or indirectly from the comparatively small Chinese community during a period of at least fifty years when Siam achieved a modern government, a thriving economy and entered the world economy and family of nations (ibid:125). Chinese residents in Siam, no matter whether they were permanent or temporary, who were hard-working and honest became highly successful and wealthy as entrepreneurs or government officials including duty and tax farmer positions which were almost entirely held by the Chinese from the end of the Second Reign. Skinner (ibid:125) comments that ‘on fiscal grounds alone, the Chinese contribution to Siam’s achievement must be given considerable weight’. Nonetheless, there were groups of Chinese residents who caused trouble in the society. These groups included coolies or labourers, those with strong political views or anti-Qing rebels who fled from China to Siam.

In China’s Fujian and Guangdong provinces during the reign of Kangxi (r. 1661 – 1722), the emperor of the Qing dynasty, there was a secret society called *Tiandihui* set up with the key purpose of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming dynasty. Later, it branched off and spread into many countries including Siam and was known by many names including *Sanhehui*, or Triads by the British, or *Angyi* by the Thais. It is believed that *angyi* came to Siam in 1829 during the Third Reign but their purpose changed and they ended up causing riots in the country (L. Sathiansut 2001:220-221; Sangarun 2007:64). Suphat Bangkhen (n.d.:310-311) explains how *angyi* gangs emerged in Siam that the powerful Chinese, such as duty and tax farmers, were

respected as *tuohia*, literally as an elder brother, by the group of Chinese people who were under them. These subordinates then formed into gangs that were led by *tuohia*. In the beginning, *angyi* in Siam were supposed to take care of their people in this new land but when they had more power they misused it and engaged in criminal activities. Suphat (ibid) explains that one of the reasons that these people ganged up was to smuggle and traffic in opium. There was no opium trafficking in Siam before then but since the Second Reign when more Chinese migrated into the country the immigrants started opium smuggling and trafficking from China making a lot of people, both Thai and Chinese, addicted to it (ibid). Measures were taken by Nangklao to deal with the problem which ironically led to the formation of *angyi* gangs in this era (ibid). Then in 1847 *angyi* rioted when they were searched for opium and officers suppressed the incident which ended with many deaths (ibid). Riots broke out many times after that, giving the government a difficult job to find a way to keep them under control. It can be claimed that it was *angyi* who were responsible for creating in local's minds the negative image of the Chinese being a liability in society

Up till the late nineteenth century, it was not a common practice for Chinese women to emigrate from China. Gottwaldt (1903, cited in Skinner 1957:126) points out that prior to 1910, a sizeable proportion of the Chinese women who did immigrate to Siam were destined for brothels. 'The significant change in female immigration began in the 1893-1905 immigration period, but even then the proportion of women among arrivals can hardly have been more than 5 per cent' (Skinner 1957:126-127). Thus, if Chinese immigrants wanted to get married it was with local women even though they had wives in China. However, it appeared that there was a noticeable class differential in the intermarriage rate, as Skinner (ibid:127) argues, 'low among the more temporary working-class groups, and high among those who were more settled and held higher economic status'. Intermarriage therefore tended to happen when the occupation and financial status of Chinese immigrants permitted it (ibid). Skinner (ibid:128) raises an important question concerning the offspring of intermarriages that 'was the influence of the father or of the mother supreme?' He rightly points out that there was no racial barrier to complete assimilation in Siam, and *lukjin* were not a class apart (ibid). The government did not have a clear policy relating to foreign assimilation, only that male Chinese descendants were required to clearly identify themselves as Chinese or Thai (ibid). This is because Thai and other Asian men had to be attached

to a patron or government master whereas Chinese men were exempt from corvée and personal service but subject to the triennial tax (ibid). Therefore, *lukjin* had alternatives to becoming Thai citizens or being identified as Chinese depending on their preference, especially when the language barrier was not a problem as they had mastered both languages. For instance, prior to 1910 when differences of dress and hairstyle were clear-cut, they either wore a queue or did not if they were sons or grandsons, and either wore their hair in a Thai style or in the Chinese fashion if they were daughters or granddaughters (ibid). It can be seen that ‘there was no middle ground in the matter of identification, no Sino-Thai culture with distinct values or outward signs’ (ibid:128). Nevertheless, Gutzlaff (1840 cited in Skinner 1957:129) observed with a sense of humour that in the 1830s ‘the Chinese were “very anxious to conform to the vile habits of the Siamese”’. This statement implies that there were some changes in local Chinese culture in the direction towards Thai culture which bridged the gap between the two lifestyles and facilitated the assimilation of *lukjin* into Siamese society (ibid).

In short, since the Sukhothai era in the late thirteenth century and up to the mid nineteenth century, Siam had been in a tributary relationship with China. After settling down it can be said that from the Ayutthaya period through to the end of the nineteenth century the Chinese were leading a considerably good and prosperous life in Siam. They were welcomed practically as citizens and given benefits that were even better than those afforded to the locals. There were, as a result, massive influxes of Chinese in the Rattanakosin era, especially during the modernisation process during which the country needed a large amount of human resources and cheap labour. The governments therefore had policies to attract more Chinese immigrants to come to Siam. For example, in the nineteenth century, Siamese society consisted of merchants, mill owners, compradores and workers. According to Skinner (1957:135), among the Chinese in Siamese society the merchants who held the larger monopolies and farms were the wealthiest individuals with the highest status and prestige in the community. They also had the strongest commitment to the local Chinese society and to Siam because of their vested interest in the Thai economy (ibid). Mill owners and compradores, whose wealth and local loyalties were likewise extensive, came second and people with no capital and few ties to the local society, such as hawkers, agricultural labourers, street barbers, actors and rickshaw pullers, were at the bottom of the social scale (ibid). The mass of mill and dock workers were only slightly above

them (ibid) in that their income was a little higher but they seldom put down roots before returning to China or shifting to a higher occupation (ibid). Apart from these groups, between these extreme positions, there were a great mass of tradesmen and artisans, the lesser revenue farmers, shop assistants, craft apprentices, employees in the opium trade, gambling revenue farms, clerks in Western banks and commercial houses and a few professionals (ibid). When other things were equal, self-employment gave added prestige to those in this extensive middle class (ibid). Thus, in other words, the Chinese were situated in Thai society from the bottom to the top of the social scale, leading to the cultural hybridisation and, to a different extent, at every level of the society.

It can be observed that those with good financial status tended to have a family in Siam, they married Thai women and had children which eased their assimilation into society. However, the pattern, extent and rapidity of the assimilation varied in each case; offspring could be raised as Chinese like their fathers or as Thai like their mothers depending on each family, the personalities of the parents and where they resided. Skinner (ibid:132) observes that *lukjin* 'living in the Sampheng quarter of Bangkok or other numerically strong and compact Chinese communities grew up as Chinese more often than did offspring of mixed families in a strongly Thai milieu'. It is highly possible that gender differences also had a part in the assimilation. As Skinner (ibid:132) points out, 'girls more often than boys copied the mother's pattern and became Thai, while sons more often followed the paternal pattern'. Skinner further explains that up to 1910, children of China-born Chinese fathers and Thai mothers tended to consider themselves Chinese, whereas children of a *lukjin* father, no matter whether his wife was Thai or *lukjin*, usually considered themselves Thai (ibid). This was mainly because there was no official policy towards Chinese assimilation at that time and this facilitated the fusion of Thai and Chinese ways of life and cultures in Siamese society.

As Skinner (ibid:26) points out, before examining the Chinese society in Thailand it should also be mentioned that not only commoners in the society had Chinese blood through marriage but the admixture also occurred in the Thai royal family since Rama I who was half Chinese.¹¹ McDonald (1884 cited in ibid:26) explains that it was a rather common practice for ennobled Chinese to present their

¹¹ See a full explanation of the admixture in Skinner (1957:26).

daughters to the king as maids-in-waiting and prospective concubines. It is interesting that these wealthy Chinese with connections to the royal family played an important role in the country's economic and foreign affairs and helped tighten the bond between Thais and Chinese as the racial issue was implicitly ignored (Narong n.d.:43). This might also be one of the reasons why the Chinese were not seen as foreigners, and harmoniously assimilated into the society, bringing about intense and widespread forms of cultural hybridity.

The Embeddedness of Chinese Society in Thailand

Skinner (1957:v) notes that 'it is no exaggeration to say that the central current of Thai history in recent centuries cannot be properly understood or analysed apart from the changing position of the overseas Chinese'. As he said, this is by no means an overstatement considering how long the Chinese have settled in Thailand and what roles they have played, not to mention plenty of time for both cultures to blend together. It is therefore difficult, if possible at all, to try and tell Chinese and Thai apart or try to classify Chinese as another part of society. Such hybridity is one of the characteristics of Thai society and the cultural field in which Thai literature and translations are produced. Their relationship is thus needed to be taken into consideration when looking at translations, which is why it is necessary for this thesis to examine the embeddedness of the Chinese in Thai society in relation to Thai culture including literature and translation. Most significantly, it is this society that the translators themselves live in, and by exploring this community it will show us as a whole what kind of society and cultural milieu applies to, not only the translators and the translation production, but also to the readers who grew up in the society as well. In Bourdieu's terms, we can learn about the translators' habitus and social trajectory from examining the society in which they live, and learn from the cultural field and the field of power about possible external forces that confront the production of a piece of martial arts novel translation.

Sources of immigration

Chinese immigrants have arrived in Siam/Thailand mostly, if not entirely, from south China, especially from Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Hence, the five main

language groups spoken in those areas are found in Thai society, namely Teochew (60%), Hakka (16%), Hainanese (11%), Cantonese (7%), Hokkien (4%), and other (2%), according to data from statistics in the late 1950s (Skinner 1958:20). Skinner (ibid:20, footnote 26) surprisingly notices that, at least at that time, ‘there are more Teochius in Bangkok than in any other city in the world’. These groups have distributed themselves all around the country (Sangarun 2007:10). Some groups tended to settle down in specific areas, such as Hokkien in the south and Hainanese in the lower north, whereas in Bangkok all five groups are mixed together (ibid). Skinner (1957:40-42) explains that Chinese immigrants came to Siam with Chinese junks sent to trade with South East Asian countries.

Whilst the Thais enjoyed life as farmers, these overseas Chinese were satisfied with life in market areas where they could do business or set up shops (Sangarun 2007:167). Therefore, in Thai society, both in the capital as well as the provinces, the Thais in market areas were mostly of Chinese origin (ibid). Sangarun (ibid:10) states that each group of Chinese mentioned above had different kinds of specialities. For example, Hokkien in the south were skilled at working in mines or rubber plantations and Hainanese in the lower north were skilled at the sawmill business. In later periods most of the rickshaw workers in Bangkok were new Chinese immigrants who could not yet communicate in Thai (ibid:184-185). Therefore, the Thais who wanted to use the service had to memorise Chinese names of destinations and communicate in Chinese (ibid). Nowadays, people still call some areas by Chinese names, such as *Si kak Sao chingcha* or Sao chingcha intersection (ibid). *Si kak* is from a Chinese word meaning intersection. This is simply one of the examples of how Chinese culture integrated into Thai culture with ease apart from by marriage.

Chinese schools

Dusit (n.d.:69) states that before the twentieth century Chinese men married Thai women because there were more men immigrants than women. However, in the early twentieth century more Chinese women immigrated to Thailand which resulted in more marriages among Chinese immigrants in Thai society (ibid). Consequently, Chinese schools mushroomed in response to the growing demand for the education of overseas Chinese children. Satuean Supphasophon (n.d.:265) explains that before the first Chinese school was established in 1908 studying was conducted at their homes

with families or relatives who could teach them or at Chinese temples. Then under the regime of Field Marshall Phibun Songkhram,¹² a sense of nationalism was created among the citizens following the example of mainstream Europe. This policy brought about an anti-foreigner perception and the Chinese ethnic group was no exception. During the same period the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan was fighting in the Second Sino-Japanese War, (which started in 1937 and became a part of the Pacific War of World War II, ending in 1945). Between 1938 and 1940, 51 of 294 Chinese schools around Thailand decided to shut down and another 242 schools were forced to shut down by the government because of the intense situation (ibid:269). As a result, there was only one school left open and this was because its owner was Thai (Sangarun 2007:73). However, it was not until after the end of the war and the two countries having restored diplomatic relations in 1946 that Chinese schools started operating again (Satuean n.d.:270).

Siamese nationalism, Chinese-ness, and cultural hybridisation

The Chinese have become a part of Siam for a long period of time; however, it should be emphasised that at different times the Chinese are part of Thai society in different ways. They began to face hard times after the end of the Fifth Reign in 1910 when Vajiravudh succeeded his father to the throne. It was when a spirit of Siamese nationalism, whose target was the Chinese, was developed. During the reign of Vajiravudh (r. 1910-1925), a strong sense of nationalism emerged as a result of the war and imperialism. Prema Sattayawuthiphong (2010:89) states that the king was not satisfied with Chinese merchants who had too much power over the Thai economy and who sent a lot of money back to China, nor with *angyi* or Chinese secret societies who caused riots and social unrest in the country. He called them *Jews of the Orient* (ibid) and furthermore adopted policies that tried to make the Chinese become Thai as well as trying to control their political movement because the overseas Chinese were also nationalists themselves and involved in many political activities occurring in China (ibid:88-94). It was due to Vajiravudh's nationalism, later enhanced by Phibun's regime, that forced the assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society (ibid). Thus, it is

¹² Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram was Prime Minister of Thailand from 1938 to 1944 and 1948 to 1957.

interesting to see how Vajiravudh developed his spirit of nationalism and how the Chinese became his target.

Throughout the Fifth Reign young members of the royal family and Thai elites, including Vajiravudh, were sent to study in Europe, Vajiravudh being educated in late Victorian England. They were exposed not only to Western cultures and thoughts but also the ideologies of nationalism and racism that spread all over Europe at the time. It was official nationalism that Siamese nationalism was modelled on. According to the definition of Benedict Anderson (2006:86), ‘official nationalism’ is ‘willed merger of nation and dynastic empire’, which ‘developed *after*, and *in reaction to*, the popular national movements proliferating in Europe since the 1820s’. In the case of Siam, it emerged as a result of the ruling class or leading element – Vajiravudh – feeling ‘threatened by the worldwide spread of the nationally-imagined community’ (ibid:99). He provoked a sense of nationalism to protect the monarchy and the kingdom from the hegemony of foreign Others and the Chinese who became the Other within.¹³ Vajiravudh ‘dramatised himself as his country’s “first nationalist”’ (ibid:100), and as Anderson points out, ‘the target of this nationalism, however, was neither the United Kingdom, which controlled 90 per cent of Siam’s trade, nor France, which had recently made off with easterly segments of the old realm: it was the Chinese whom his father had so recently and blithely imported’ (ibid:100). He adopted the pseudonym Asavabahu for his pamphlets, for instance, *Yiw haeng buraphathit* (The Jews of the Orient) and *Mueang thai jong tuen thoet* (Wake up, Siam) to express his anti-Chinese stance and alert the Thai people. In fact, it should not be forgotten that ‘he himself had more Chinese “blood” than Thai’ (ibid:101), yet his negative attitude towards the Chinese did not come up without cause.

During the last decade of the Fifth Reign, the Chinese revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, made a visit to South East Asia and urged a sense of nationalism among overseas Chinese. He visited Singapore in 1905 and Bangkok 1908 (Skinner 1957:157). After he arrived in Bangkok a celebration was held in the Chung-hua Association headquarters hosted and participated in by hundreds of Chinese, including many prominent merchants, to welcome the visitors (ibid). His ten-day stay in Bangkok was planned for future strategy and financing which also aroused the ideology of Chinese

¹³ See Thongchai (2000:38-62).

nationalism among the Chinese in Siam (ibid). Thus, from the later stages of the Fifth to the early part of the Sixth Reign, there were several events that demonstrated that the Chinese in Siam had a strong sense of Chinese nationalism (Prema 2010:90). For example, in 1905 the Chinese called for a boycott of American products and refused to do any work related to the Americans since the Americans discriminated against them and tried to obstruct their making a living in America (ibid). The fact that the Thais relied so much on the Chinese, whose influence on the Siamese economy and people's everyday lives was strong enough to paralyse the country should they strike, increasingly concerned the king (ibid). In addition, when the revolution happened in China in 1911, the Chinese in Bangkok provided financial support by sending significant amounts of money to China (ibid). It was especially these events that were perhaps the last straw. A general strike by Bangkok's Chinese merchants, who were the upwardly mobile offspring of early immigrants, and workers happened just a few months before the coronation of King Rama VI;¹⁴ and the participation of Chinese merchants in abolishing the monarchy in Peking happening in the following year raised concerns that the republican Chinese were a liability to the dynastic principle (Anderson 2006:101).

Chulalongkorn emphasised that 'the Thai and Chinese were like close relatives' in numerous speeches, as Thak (2014:479-480) points out. However, due to the fear of rising republicanism during the early twentieth century, Vajiravudh adopted a nationalistic campaign to strengthen the position of the monarchy and galvanise the people of the country to resist the spread of republican ideology (ibid:480). Unlike his predecessors, Vajiravudh therefore tried to make it clear that the Chinese were foreigners in Siam. He argued in *Mueang thai jong tuen thoet* (Wake up, Siam) that 'the European, Japanese or Indian are all foreigners and they themselves do not deny it; only the Chinese were excepted as some people denied for them that the Chinese could not be classified as foreigners' (Asavabahu n.d.:27, my translation). Asavabahu (ibid:28-29) classified the Chinese with their characteristics into four groups according to where they resided as follows:

1. The Chinese outside the capital are close to their neighbours more than those in the capital are. This is because the Chinese in other provinces

¹⁴ The strike that paralysed Bangkok was to protest the government's decision to increase the head tax to match the amount levied on the Thais following the abolition of the corvée system. See Anderson (2006:101, note 37). See also Thak (2014:480).

spread around and there are fewer of them than there are in Bangkok. Thus, they feel that they should be friends with the locals as much as possible. In addition, they are far away from those who cause trouble;

2. The closer to villages or towns with high population, the more isolated from Thai people the Chinese will be. This is because the Chinese will gather together among themselves since there are more of them. Besides, they get nearer to the *angyi*. In short, the closer to Bangkok, the more the Chinese are Chinese. Those who live in Bangkok, such as in Sampheng quarter, are absolutely Chinese;

3. However, some Chinese in Bangkok want to build relationships with the locals and are reasonable until a head of their secret society gets access to them. Then, they will not be reasonable or listen to the Thais any longer;

4. No matter where they reside, in Bangkok or in other provinces, they share one common characteristic - that is that they all want to go home to China.

Vajiravudh insisted that he had no intention of making the Thais hate the Chinese but only wanted to alert them and let them realise that the Chinese were foreigners just like other Asians and Westerners in Siam and that they therefore should not rely too much on them (ibid:34-35). He stressed that most of the Chinese ‘were absolutely foreigners by race, personalities, way of thinking, language and their will’ (ibid:31). It can be observed that in Vajiravudh’s mind, *angyi* were a liability to the society and had a bad influence on other Chinese. There were some Chinese that wanted to become Thai and associate socially with Thai people, yet some of them said that they were Thai but remained with the Chinese, the kind which made Vajiravudh doubt and call them chameleons (ibid:29). From his point of view it is impossible to be both Thai and Chinese at the same time. ‘We must be either Thai or Chinese; being both always ends up being neither’ (ibid:29).

Therefore, the key concept of Vajiravudh’s ideology of nationalism was nation, religion and monarch. That means being Thai is to be loyal to the king and the country as well as to accept Buddhism and the laws of the nation. That also applied to the Chinese who resided in the kingdom. In order to weaken the sense of Chinese nationalism Vajiravudh adopted policies and measurements to control the Chinese and force them to assimilate into Thai society. He focused on controlling their political movements and tried to make them accept Thai culture and tradition. Interestingly, yet ironically, he did not restrict Chinese immigration. After 1910 more Chinese women migrated to Siam, which reduced intermarriage and increased the number of Chinese marriages. As a result it was more difficult for Chinese children to assimilate and become Thai (Khajapthai 1974:53). Vajiravudh then imposed the Nationality Act in

1913 saying that every person born in Thailand was Thai no matter what nationality the parents were (ibid:52-53). Therefore, in this era *lukjin* were Thai according to the law. Nevertheless, the Chinese did not want their children to leave their Chinese-ness behind or become fully-fledged Thai nationals since one important duty of Thai men was to serve the country in the military. To avoid being recruited they sent their children to China to learn the language and culture and then return to Thailand as Chinese and not as *lukjin* (Prema 2010:92). Some Chinese sent their children to Chinese schools instead of regular schools in Thailand so that the young could learn about Chinese culture and feel close to China. Chinese schools were a perfect place to implant in children the idea of nationalism, which undoubtedly worried the government (ibid:93). Vajiravudh's counter policy was the Private School Act in 1918, imposed with the aim of controlling Chinese schools that had mushroomed in the country in the era (Khajatphai 1974:51). Furthermore, he gave the Chinese royal appointments and nobility titles as a way to encourage them to be proud and feel that they were Thai (ibid:50-51). In 1913 Vajiravudh also issued a decree urging Thais to adopt surnames, as opposed to Chinese clan names, which also affected the local Chinese as some adopted Thai surnames as well (Thak 2014:481). It is worth noting that the Chinese descendants still found a way to maintain their Chinese clan names in their Thai surnames by using the sound of clan's name as the first syllable of a new Thai surname, keeping the meaning of clan's name in their Thai surname, or using words related to their occupations containing meanings such as 'prosperous' or 'success'. Noticeably, their surnames tended to have three or more syllables. This is very interesting because we can see that they assimilated into the new culture but they did it in their own way and still did not completely let go of their Chinese-ness. Hence, the two cultures blended together, but not without certain distinctions that remained.

Thak (ibid) states that the distinction between the Chinese and the Thais disappeared after the increase of the head tax to meet the level of Thai citizens, and with Chinese men cutting off their pigtailed after the fall of the Manchu dynasty which made them look more similar to Thai men. It was even more difficult to tell them apart when Western clothing and haircuts or hairdos were in fashion with both the Chinese and the Thais following the trend (ibid). Kasian Tejapira (1992:117) argues that 'Chinese-ness stuck to the Chinese for a long time even after they had cut off their pigtailed. After 1910 the predominant factor that made one remain Chinese in Thailand

was no longer his or her outward appearance but his or her “race”. According to this racist discourse, Kasian further asserts that, ‘the universe of the Thai nation must be racially divided into two, the Thai race and the non-Thai or Chinese race, between which no intermediary middle ground was possible’ (ibid). To put it another way, in Kasian’s point of view it is simply impossible for the Chinese to completely culturally assimilate into Thai society, not by learning the Thai language or adopting Buddhism so long as they were racially Chinese. It seems that the Chinese were deemed to be and to remain the ‘Other’ and their descendants, probably second and third generations, the ‘Other within’. Arguably for Vajiravudh, even though he believed that the Chinese were foreigners in all senses, the Chinese and their descendants could be accepted into society as Thai if they stopped holding on to their background and became unconditionally Thai, being loyal to the nation and the king, and accepting Thai culture and traditions. This can be seen from Vajiravudh’s policies aimed at the assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society. Yet this is one thing that is easy to say but difficult to do. Psychologically speaking, it is difficult to perceive how Thai they were or were not. Evidently, the Chinese did not give up their culture and traditions completely whilst being forced to assimilate and accept Thainess. Examining his policies, Vajiravudh did not seem to directly place any cultural constraints on the Chinese. To this day Chinese culture can be seen in everyday life. Thai people with Chinese backgrounds, some having one hundred per cent Chinese blood, celebrate Chinese New Year and the Mid-Autumn Festival among other celebrations, but do not see themselves as Chinese or want to be called as such. Perhaps this refusal to let go, combined with the force to assimilate, paradoxically, is how Chinese culture is so deeply embedded within Thai society, gradually creating a keen sense of cultural hybridity between the two cultures in question.

Apart from the above policies, Vajiravudh made use of his writing ability to send out messages to the Thai elite and commoners as well as the Chinese. Influenced and fascinated by the Western literary form of prose fiction, Crown Prince Vajiravudh re-invented the Sherlock Holmes stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the form of the *Nithan Thong-In* (The Tales of Mr Thong-In) composed between 1904 and 1905. He adopted this particular late-Victorian crime fiction as a prototype because of its implicit colonial attitude that ‘matched the needs of the Siamese elite for their own discourses of power and knowledge,’ as Rachel Harrison (2009:328) argues. Harrison

further asserts that ‘their aim was multifold: to establish their own potency and position in a world governed by a new world order; to answer back to Western colonial dominance in the region; and to assert control over the Siamese territories beyond Bangkok’ (ibid:328). In the *Nithan Thong-In*, serving as a means to assert control over ‘enemy Others’ that pose a threat to the order and urban security, Vajiravudh depicts certain races and ethnic Others as prime suspects or perpetrators of crimes (Harrison 2009:330). His targets were foreigners in Siam such as the Vietnamese, Burmese, Indians, Westerners, subjects of European colonies in the region and of course the Chinese. In the first story of the collection, *Nak Phrakhanong thi song* (The Return of Nak, Ghost of Phrakhanong) it is mentioned that Mr. Thong-In disguises himself as a Chinese man to sneak into an *angyi* meeting in Sampheng or Chinatown and obtain plenty of useful information for the police (Nai Kaew Nai Kwan n.d.:3). It can be seen here how the author inserts his resentment of the *angyi* society into his fiction by making it an antagonist. In *Nai Suwan thuk khamoi* (Mr Suwan was Robbed), a Chinese man called *Jek Yong* (Yong the Chinaman) had been involved in diamond theft and in the end was given a guilty verdict (ibid:24-45). Another example of Vajiravudh’s distrust of the Chinese can be seen in *Ya ma Bangalo* (The Drugging of Bungalo the Racehorse). The story tells of the dishonest conduct of *Jin Yi* (Yi the Chinese man), a rich man from Hong Kong and a British subject who owns magnificent racehorses. Jin Yi cheats in the horseracing by drugging his best horse, Bangalo (ibid:87-108). Harrison (2009:338) states that ‘the character of Mr Thong-In plainly evokes Vajiravudh’s call for a systematic understanding of the world around him, and a desire to establish authority over the various troublesome ‘Others’ that it embraced.’ From *Nithan Thong-In*, it is clear that for Vajiravudh, the Chinese were to be considered ‘troublesome Others’ that were not to be trusted.

In addition to *Nithan Thong-In*, Vajiravudh’s attitude towards the Chinese can be seen in his other writings as well. From *Yiw haeng buraphathit* (The Jews of the Orient) that was mentioned earlier in this chapter, written in 1914, Thak observes that ‘it appears that his demonisation of the Chinese in his 1914 *The Jews of the Orient* only singled out “bad” Chinese who refused to become “Thai”, rejecting the Thai language, culture and service to the king’ (Thak 2014:484). In 1917 Vajiravudh wrote a piece of prose fiction titled *Hua-jai chai num* (A Young Man’s Heart) with the purpose of telling readers what a good Chinese person should be like (ibid:483).

Praphan, the main character, was accepted by Vajiravudh as Thai albeit being of Chinese origin because he was ‘a *jek* who loved Siam, the Thai people and the king’¹⁵ (ibid:484). Vajiravudh also promoted and urged Thai nationalism among Thai citizens through his writing, for example *Pluk jai suea pa* (Cheering the Wild Tigers), *Klone tit lo* (Mud on Our Wheels) and *Sayamanusati* (Maxim of Siam) (Khachatphai 1974:53).

Anxiety about the ambiguous identity of Thais and Thais of Chinese origin can also be seen in a poem by Nai But titled *Nirat chom talat Sampheng* (literally, a trip to Sampheng Market), contemporary with the publication of *Hua jai chai num* (Thak 2014:484). The poem describes the market in the Chinese district of Bangkok which he observes while walking off his longing for his lover, as can be seen from the following excerpt:

Small road is crowded by *Jek* (Chinese) and Thai,
Unavoidably mingling, clashing with one another.
Jek mix with Thai beyond recognition,
Who is who?
One can’t help but wonder
Modern times deviantly mess up the place.
Jin (Chinese) cut off their pigtails and become Thai undetectably.
What an unconventional abnormality,
People surprisingly reverse their ethnicity.¹⁶

(Translated and quoted in Supang 1997, cited in ibid:484)

Therefore, it seems that Vajiravudh was not the only one who was worried about the identity of the Chinese in Siam and who deemed them to be the ‘problematic’ Other within.

Thus, it can be observed that after Vajiravudh became king, various serious campaigns and strategies were adopted as ways to diminish the influence of the Chinese and force Chinese assimilation into Siamese society. It is also true to say that Vajiravudh’s nationalism arose out of an attempt to separate the Thais from the troublesome Chinese. As Thak (2014:481) explains:

¹⁵ The term *jek* used to be a neutral name to call the Chinese in Siam but over time it appeared to contain negative and insulting meanings.

¹⁶ ถนนเล็กเจ๊กไทยออกไขว้เขว เดินปนเป่หลักกระทบหลบไม่ไหว

สุดสังเกตเหตุผลเจ๊กปนไทย ใครเป็นใครมิได้แนด้วยแปรรวน

สมัยใหม่ไขว้เขวทำเลเสีย จีนตัดเปียเป็นไทยเหลือไต่สวน

มาเกิดมีวิปริตผิดกระบวน กลับผันผวนผิดชาติประหลาดใจ

The full poem in Thai can be found in Nai But (2010).

Vajiravudh's articulation of official Thai nationalism contrasted the Thai people/race against a selected Internal Other, namely, the Chinese. In short, the Thai were defined by who they were not, that is, they were *not* like the Chinese. It should be kept in mind that Vajiravudh only targeted the recent arrivals from China who were mostly poor laborers from rural villages, ignoring the Chinese who had been absorbed into the bureaucracy and old merchant families that had close business and personal ties to the monarchy. Thus, the official construction of the Chinese Other in Vajiravudh's nationalism defined the Chinese as poor and desolate peasants who had come to Thailand with just "a straw mat and a pillow (*sua pheun mon bai*)" to "seek the protection of the king's righteous generosity (*pheung phraboromaphothisomphan*)."

It should also be noted that Vajiravudh ignored other races within Siam such as Malays, Lao, Mon, Shan, Yuan, Indians, Europeans and many others which, for him, seemed harmless to the Thai state (ibid). Although he also made his prime suspects or antagonists in *Nithan Thong-In* foreign Others to assert control over them, the prime target of his control was the Chinese. The Chinese were considered to be 'an imminent threat because of their growing numbers, especially in urban centers, their control of business and rising wealth, and their propagation of subversive ideologies arising from China itself' (ibid:481). After 1910 *angyi* and other secret societies declined, as did gambling and opium smoking which were strictly controlled (Skinner 1957:166). Skinner (ibid:166) states that 'traditional secret-society methods had become less efficacious with the modernisation of the police and army during the first decade of the century. Thai government policy was also instrumental in neutralising the influence of important old-time society leaders.' He further explains that:

After 1910, some of the secret societies simply became inactive, others were recognized as legitimate mutual-aid associations, and still others whose members were primarily drawn from the same speech groups patched up their differences or merged, thus paving the way for the establishment of legal speech-group associations. In some up-country towns with a single, entrenched society, its power continued into the 1920's, and not all societies elsewhere became completely defunct. But as a major social force in the community, the societies were finished.

(ibid:167)

It is obvious that Vajiravudh resented what he saw as ungrateful Chinese bad behaviour and drug and gambling addictions; yet he was able to spare the Chinese who were willing to assimilate, accept Thainess and become Thai.

During Phibun regime (1938 – 1944) this assimilation was intensified. Chinese schools were placed under the control of the state as a result of the requirement of new laws that all private schools must register with the government (Thak 2014:481).

Before Chinese schools were forced to shut down completely as mentioned earlier, they had to adjust to meet several requirements that eventually decreased the number of hours and classes of Chinese subjects, a move that facilitated assimilation even further. As Thak (ibid: 481-482) asserts:

All schools were also required to teach the Thai language (reducing Chinese language instruction to one hour each day) as well as history, geography, and culture (leaving no time for Chinese subjects). In 1939, Phibun closed Chinese schools but at the same time made naturalization even easier for the Chinese. That same year, Chinese papers were banned, so news about China was filtered through the Thai language press.

By the end of World War II, Chinese language schools were weakened, harassed, and demoralized. Eventually, Chinese education in Thailand ended, and the Sino-Thai lost the ability to read, write, and speak Chinese. This meant that they were cut off from their own culture and could only learn about it through the Thai language. By 1949, immigration of Chinese into Thailand was limited to only 200 per annum, further cutting off the supply of new Chinese to help sustain Chinese culture and language.

Because of such determination to assimilate the Chinese into Thai society there was left no choice for the Chinese other than to blend in if they wished to be a part of the society, gain acceptance and maintain their socio-economic status. Anderson (2006:191-192) argues that:

The last great wave of overseas migration took place in the nineteenth century as the dynasty disintegrated and a huge demand for unskilled Chinese labour opened up in colonial Southeast Asia and Siam. Since virtually all migrants were politically cut off from Peking, and were also illiterate people speaking mutually unintelligible languages, they were either more or less absorbed into local cultures or were decisively subordinated to the advancing Europeans.

...Thus neither Arabs nor Chinese, though they ventured overseas in very large numbers during more or less the same centuries as the Western Europeans, successfully established coherent, wealthy, selfconsciously creole communities subordinated to a great metropolitan core. Hence, the world never saw the rise of New Basras or New Wuhans.

This is true for the Thai society in which the Chinese were assimilated into the Thai culture, both voluntarily and as a result of anti-Chinese sentiment and cultural assimilation policies. Although Vajiravudh's and Phibun's nationalism and racism policies fortunately did not lead to genocide but instead caused the assimilation of the Chinese into the society, it still was not easy for the Chinese who faced discrimination and repression. The new arrivals who were poor labourers and could not speak Thai or fit into Thai society were offensively called *jek* (chinks or chinamen) and often treated

poorly. This perhaps encouraged them to assimilate even faster; but instead of ‘authentic’ assimilation it was driven by fear and threats.

Thus, over a period of time the Chinese have changed over a generation as a consequence of the nationalistic campaign and racism as well as the halt of the large wave of migration. Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker (1998:173) point out that ‘a fifteen-year old who had arrived in the last wave of migration around 1950 would be entering retirement by the 1990s.’ By this date most of the working population of Chinese origin, who had passed through the Thai schooling system, had grown up speaking Thai and, as such, the *jek* were fading away (ibid). Also, China no longer posed a political threat and the attitudes towards the Chinese were growing more positive. The Chinese therefore were not the only ones who had changed, the officials had too, and the pressures on them became more relaxed (ibid:174). Pasuk and Baker (ibid:173-174) assert that ‘the bureaucracy still has a core of Thai aristocratic origin who affect traditional attitudes. But they are gradually being moved aside by the new technocrats, many of whom come from the same background of Chinese origin/Thai education as the businessmen.’ It was around the 1970s, that it gradually became easier for Chinese descendants to be proud of their origins (ibid:174). It was due to the public proclamations of their Chinese ancestry by leading figures such as King Bumibhol Adulyadej, Kukrit Pramoj (prime minister in 1975-1976) who was a titled member of the royal family, and academic Puey Ungphakorn (ibid; Hau 2014:233). Caroline S. Hau (2014:235) further explains that:

The end of the Thai Communist insurgency (which, like the Communist Party of The Philippines, had links with Communist China), coupled with market reforms in China, and Deng Xiaoping’s visit to Thailand served to delink “Chineseness” from its associations with political (communist) radicalism and nationalist Other. King Bumibhol Adulyadej claimed Chinese ancestry, as did Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj and, later, Thaksin Shinawatra.

There were attempts to neutralise the term *jek* by academics and journalists such as historian Nidhi Eoseewong, and journalist Sujit Wongthes. Pasuk and Baker (1998:179) summarise that Nidhi used the term *jek* to describe the Chinese-in-Thailand as against the Chinese-in-China to turn this pejorative term into a positive one. ‘A society which is powerful allows variety in ways of life and values. The *jek* add to the cultural richness of Thai society’ (Nidhi 1995 cited in ibid:179). For Sujit, ‘Thai culture is *jek*

[p]on lao, a mixture of Lao and Chinese, just like Sujit himself' (Pasuk and Baker 1998:179).

During this era, a *lukjin* middle class was created in Thailand. Kasian (1997:86) asserts that the state-centralised and supervised national education system, together with the rapid state-planned, capitalist economic development launched by the military government of Prime Minister Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat in 1961, transformed *lukjin* and their offspring, who did not deliberately play 'Thai' politics, into a significant plurality in the new multi-ethnic national urban middle class. The examples of characteristics of these *lukjin* are that they were of Chinese descent but were basically illiterate in the Chinese language (especially when written), and they spoke, read, and wrote Thai. This meant that, paradoxically, they were relearning Chinese culture, reviving their ethnic consciousness and reimagining their Sino-Siamese identity through the medium of the Thai language (ibid). These *lukjin* became politicised as a result of the over-centralised but under-unified power structure of the fragmented pyramidal Thai bureaucratic state as the main impediment to their further economic prosperity and political freedom (ibid:86-87). They were active in both peaceful and armed political movements including the uprising of 14 October 1973, the massacre and coup d'état of 6 October 1976, the communist-led armed struggle in the countryside, and the uprising of May 1992 that overthrew the military government (ibid:87).

In the post-May 1992 period, the conjuncture of growing urban middle classes, changing political cultures and economies, as well as political activism, had laid the groundwork for the reinvention of the imagined community of Thais, the same as with the Philippines, Indonesians and Malaysians (Hau 2014:232). Literature, cinema and television enabled the nationalist re-imagining, and Chinese-ness resignifying (ibid:232-233). The Thai drama *Lot lai mangkon* (literally, 'through the dragon's pattern'), adapted from a Thai novel written by Praphassorn Sewikul and serialised in *Sakul Thai* magazine during 1989-1990, crystallised the growing sense of pride and confidence in being Chinese (Kasian 1997:75; Pasuk and Baker 1998:174). The drama portrays the success of a Chinese immigrant who became the king of a great business dynasty. It also promoted the widely held image of inherent Chinese immigrant entrepreneurial virtues, namely diligence, patience, self-reliance, discipline, determination, parsimony, self-denial, business acumen, friendship, family ties,

honesty, shrewdness and modesty (Kasian 1997:76; Pasuk and Baker 1998:174). Undoubtedly, the drama had a profound appeal among the Chinese immigrant and *lukjin* community which, in fact, was so popular that it stimulated the fashion for outing one's own Chinese-ness (Kasian 1997:76; Pasuk and Baker 1998:175). Kasian (1997:76) says that shortly after the drama premiered, Smile Radio, a popular-music radio programme, asked its listeners of Chinese descent to call in and tell them their clan names. The radio station was then flooded with calls 'indicating that the Thai-speaking *lookjin* [*lukjin*] middle class, after many years of public reticence about their Chinese-ness, were now finally "coming out of the closet"' (ibid). By that time, Chinese-ness turned into something perceived as being cool and claiming Chinese roots became 'chic' (Pasuk and Baker 1998:174).

Pasuk and Baker (ibid:175) state that in the early 1980s, when Thai dramas gained in popularity, imported Hong Kong serials were pushed out of television prime time by the government, but in the early 1990s the Chinese series returned to great audience acclaim. *Sam kok* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) began screening in 1994, running three nights a week for seven months, which was received with great popularity that grew further with the expansion of the city from the 1960s onwards (ibid). The book was reprinted several times, adapted for abbreviated and cartoon versions, and used as the basis for how-to books, especially those regarding business (ibid). Politicians identified themselves with, or were given nicknames as, leading characters (ibid). And yet *Sam kok*'s popularity was overshadowed by the success of *Paobunjin* (Justice Pao) that started running around the same time and was rerun in 2006 and 2011 (ibid). Pasuk and Baker (ibid:175-176) observe that although several versions of this story had appeared in television and cinema in the past, its appearance in 1994 was different because two different television companies imported versions of the story and showed them in competition. Besides this, it drew attention from the press who followed the drama with constant criticism and comment (ibid:176). The Taiwan-made version was aired five days a week for over a year on one channel, and after it concluded the station immediately began running a Hong Kong version (ibid). Apart from *Paobunjin*, several martial arts television series and other Chinese series have also occupied more than a few time slots for over decades.

Furthermore, in the latter half of the 90s Chinese-ness expanded into the youth music culture. To give an example, a rapper named Joey Boy, a third-generation Thai-

Chinese who had grown up speaking no Chinese and ignoring his parents' attempt to keep up the old customs, proudly wore Chinese style clothes and a pigtail and sang a song called *Ka ki nang* (a Teochew word for *Zijiren* – 自己人, meaning no stranger) (ibid). His song contains Thai, Teochew and English words, telling a story about Chinese immigrants travelling to Thailand with the purpose of doing business and making profits, and their life in the society.¹⁷ This is another good example of hybridisation.

In more recent years, there have been several television dramas that depict Chinese-ness. *Yu kap kong* (Life with grandpa), aired in 1993 and remade in 2005, was adapted from a novel of the same name written by Yok Burapha in 1976. It tells a story that is based on the real life of a boy who lived with his grandfather who migrated from China and it highlighted the life and struggle of the Chinese immigrant in Thai society. The story contains remarkable thoughts and values and was also adapted to a film version in 1979. The Chinese mafia also became a theme of television dramas such as *Hong nuea mangkon* (literally, the swan above the dragon) which was aired in 2000 and was adapted for a musical of the same name in 2010; and *Lueat mangkon* (dragon blood) aired in 2015. More interestingly, at the end of each episode of some dramas, there is a selected thought or wise saying, both Chinese and general, from that episode displayed before the credits start running. For example, this is apparent in *Lueat mangkon*, and in *Sami* (husband), a story that tells of a female protagonist who was married into a Chinese family.

In addition, another example that evidently demonstrates a sense of pride in being of Chinese descent is the Dragon Descendants Museum in Suphanburi, a province to the north west of Bangkok. Banharn Silpa-archa, a former prime minister in the 1990s, came up with the idea of the museum to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Thailand and China (Hau 2014:305-306). The museum, a 35-metre high and 135-metre long gigantic dragon building, was launched in 2008 and displays 5,000 years of Chinese history, Thai-Chinese relations and Chinese descendants in Thai society.

It can be observed that from the 1970s onwards, gradually Chinese-ness gained better status in Thai society, becoming fashionable or chic, and the Chinese community

¹⁷ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0eNfWhZIR3g>

could openly display their Chinese-ness once again. Popular culture and television dramas, as well as martial arts television series and novels, played a vital part in helping boost the resignifying of Chinese-ness through the values and thoughts embedded within and reconnected by later generations of Chinese descendants. Their origin became merely an idea once they fully settled down and never visited their ancestors' homeland.

It is worth noting that this Chinese-ness clearly is an outcome of the cultural hybridisation within Thai society. The Chinese never forget their own roots and have retained their Chinese-ness, symbolically or practically, whilst adapting to Thai ways. This is evidenced by their lifestyles in various aspects from weddings to funerals, from chopsticks to language, and from beliefs to festivals. At the same time, those Thais who have interacted with the Chinese, or those with mixed blood, have absorbed Chinese culture into their ways, hence the cultural hybridisation. Albeit subordinated, it cannot be denied that Chinese culture has coexisted and even mixed with the dominant local culture in Thai society all along despite the racism and repression.

Undoubtedly, the fact that Thais have had chances to experience the different culture more closely since the Chinese immigrated to Thailand facilitated this hybridisation. Sangarun (2007:107) mentions that Chinese opera is one of the oldest plays that Thai people were most familiar with as it had been in Thai society at least since the Ayutthaya period. Moreover, it has always been among the popular programmes of performances in the celebrations or funerals of the royal family. Most of the Chinese operas in Thailand were of Teochew so they used the Teochew language in their performances. However, in daytime shows they might use Thai language in order to attract a wider audience (ibid). In addition, in later days Chinese opera has been adopted and adapted in political use because of the inherent characteristics of boisterousness as well as being clamorous and succinct (ibid:108). Apart from Chinese opera, the mixture of Thai and Chinese cultures can be seen in visual art and architecture especially in temples (ibid:98-103). Chinese descendants maintain their beliefs, customs and festivals even though they are in a new land. For instance, they celebrate Chinese New Year and the Mid-Autumn Festival during which markets, supermarkets or department stores with red and gold decorations will have different kinds of year cakes, moon cakes and other festive products for sale. It is also the same for *Cheng meng* (Ancestors' Day) in that food, and clothes, shoes, houses, cars and

notes etc all made from paper, will be available. Besides, *Tetsakan kin je* (Vegetarian Festival) is celebrated widely annually throughout the country chiefly in Phuket in the south of Thailand. Chinese weddings and funerals are also practiced among Chinese descendants' families.

In fact, Chinese culture has embedded itself within Thai culture in various respects, such as in clothing, cuisine, music, interior and garden decoration, customs, rituals and beliefs. Therefore, during Vajiravudh's reign and Phibun's regime Chinese culture was seen as a threat or as a harmful Other to the Thai culture and Thainess. During Phibun's regime, nationalism was heightened and Phibun's target was not only the Chinese but also all other non-Thai ethnic groups. Western culture was seen as civilised and developed and perceived as the model that should be followed. There were various campaigns and policies to promote 'Thainess' which no doubt was invented or hybridised from Thai, Western and international cultures at the same time as the assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society. Among them, Chinese silk pants that men liked to wear were banned because they were Chinese and not Thai (Jiraporn 1993:248-249). Noodles, which are Chinese food, were adapted to *pad thai*, the famous stir-fried rice noodle dish that has no broth or pork as pork was related to Chinese-ness (Charnvit 1993:405). Instead, dried shrimp was added to make it even more different from Chinese noodle dishes (ibid).

Moreover, apart from these cultural aspects it is important to repeat here that Thai people were also introduced to Chinese literature which received an enthusiastic reception from Thai readers, especially after the introduction of printing technology in 1835 which helped widen the circulation of publications to the public, as discussed in Chapter Two. The First Reign court officials undertook the translation of the Chinese historical novel *Sam kok* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) along with the rewriting of *Ramakian* (Peleggi 2002:28-29). Peleggi (ibid:29) quotes Prince Damrong's statement in Craig Reynolds (1996) saying that 'the novel was translated because of its "usefulness in conducting the affairs of state," by which Damrong presumably meant it offered exemplars of leadership qualities such as strategy and martial prowess.' Besides, there were times when Chinese story fever swept the capital in its heyday and almost every newspaper published at least one Chinese story in each issue, both translated versions and imitated ones by Thai writers (Wibha 1997:63). Sangarun (2006:106) states that in the past Thai elders liked to ask the young to read them *Sam*

kok and, as a result, the youngsters at that time were familiar with transliterations of proper nouns like names and places which were in the Hokkian dialect. This practice is also depicted in the 2013 television drama *Thong nuea kao* (literary meaning pure gold) in which a boy reads *Sam kok* to his stepfather. This is one of the possible factors that explains why some readers in later periods were not distracted by the sound of foreign words when martial arts novel translators chose to use the Teochew dialect to transliterate names, places and movements in the same fashion.

Conclusion

It is noticeable that before the time of the nationalism and anti-Chinese racism that were apparent during the reign of Vajiravudh and the regime of Field Marshall Phibun, the Chinese and their culture had been absorbed deeply into Thai society in a manner that was slow, step-by-step and subtle. Therefore, Thais did not feel threatened by them as much as they did by colonialism in an earlier era and, as a consequence, they would accept them without being fully aware. When the authorities realised it, Thainess had already become a mixture of different cultures that the Thais had encountered, including elements of Chinese-ness. Chinese cuisine, clothes, architecture, pop culture and others are all appropriated and adapted into a Thai style. Martial arts fiction is also among these various aspects of Chinese culture that Thais willingly accepted.

Therefore, it can be said that living in this hybridised society, Thais have been widely exposed to some extent to Chinese culture. Let us bear in mind that this is the very society in which the martial arts novel translation takes place and where the translators as well as readers live. Following Bourdieu's notion of habitus, when the individual internalises the logic and information of the social surroundings or fields, the habitus and trajectories are determined. Thus, in this case, the Thai society in which translators of martial arts novels are socialised determines their habitus and trajectories, and subsequently it is their sense of social identity that determines that they join the field of martial arts novel translation and position-taking in the field. The society and their habitus also shape translation production and decision-making during the translation process. The acceptability of the translations depends on the society and culture as much as their quality. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that martial arts

novels, among other elements of Chinese culture that have been assimilated into Thai society, are not a complete stranger to Thais, especially to *lukjin* and Chinese descendants. As such, the possibility of their success is higher in Thai society.

Moreover, taking everything into account, the assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society is by no means different from how the late-Victorian *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* was assimilated and became the local *Nithan Thong-In*. It is a kind of assimilation, localisation and appropriation of Western literary form in a Siamese context. Vajiravudh's recreation of the Sherlock Holmes stories was a way to assert control over foreign Others, especially the Chinese. This also shows the relations between the literary field and the field of power that the literary field became a tool for the field of power. This kind of assimilation can also be seen in the translation practice where translation was assimilated, creating a new local form of fiction. Sometimes translated novels even became Thai and it can be said that assimilation was a common practice in both society and literary fields. The next chapter will highlight the martial arts genre in the Thai literary field, how it has been assimilated and how it has become a part of the field.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Martial Arts Genre

In the previous chapter, we saw the assimilation, adaptation, reception, absorption, rejection and subsequent celebration of the Chinese in Thai society, both socially and culturally. In this chapter, I trace how, in the Thai literary field, these steps also occurred in the same manner. Chinese literature was brought by a readership that had itself assimilated people of Chinese ethnic origin into Thailand and was introduced to Thai readers to then be assimilated and adapted. If it received a good response, it would be absorbed into the Thai literary field; if not it would be rejected. I will start by discussing the development of martial arts fiction in China in order to see what elements comprise the genre and its status in the homeland. I will then explore its migration to other countries as well as translation issues before moving on to martial arts novel translation in Thailand to contextualise its situation and value and to see its characteristics and the bigger picture of what makes it popular or unpopular.

Martial Arts Novel

The subject matter of Chinese martial arts fiction or *wuxia xiaoshuo* (武侠小说) revolves around ‘martial prowess and knight-errantry’ (Mok 2001:82), as the term *wuxia xiaoshuo* is composed of *wu* (martial arts or martial prowess) + *xia* (knight-errantry or China’s traditions of chivalric spirit) + *xiaoshuo* (fiction) (Hamm 2005:1, Mok 2001:82, Ni Kuang 1980:7). Louis Cha (pseud. Jin Yong) (1997:VIII) explains that the spirit of the Chinese knight-errant is that ‘if something is not right, if there is injustice, the weak may submit to it; but the strong will resist, they will often go to the aid of others, and be willing to sacrifice themselves in so doing’. He goes on to explain that, ‘if a knight-errant employs Martial Arts skills to achieve that chivalrous, altruistic end, that is a fit subject for Martial Arts fiction’. Nevertheless, Adrian Hsia (1996 cited in Mok 2001:82) points out that:

Sometimes it is rendered as a novel of chivalry, but the Chinese heroes are not noble-born knights. Normally they are based-born [sic.] persons who excel in

martial skills and are fiercely loyal to their own people; but they can also be eccentrics and social outcasts. Robin Hood could be the European counterpart of one type of these *wuxia* heroes.

Hence, the stories basically are about anyone, no matter whether commoners or nobility, who possess brilliant martial arts skills, loyalty and the moral spirit of justice. The following will indicate how it became the genre of martial arts fiction and its status in Mainland China where it originated.

The development of martial arts novels in China

It is believed that martial arts fiction made its first appearance as early as the Warring States period (403 – 221 BC), ‘against a background of political instability, social unrest, and intellectual ferment’, states James J. Y. Liu (1967:1). Likewise, John Christopher Hamm (2005:11) asserts that ‘literary production of *xia* – altruistic and independent individuals and the values they practice – dates at least to China’s Warring States period’.

However, some scholars believe that it can be traced back to the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD), to the *Biographies of the Wandering Swordsmen* (游侠列传) and *Biographies of the Assassins* (刺客列传) in Sima Qian’s (c. 145 or 135 – 86 BC) *Records of the Grand Historian* (史记), which was written at the beginning of the first century BC (Cha 1997:VII; Kittiphirun 2010:119-120). The admiration of chivalrous values can be seen in these stories.

In the Tang dynasty (618 – 907), there occurred the *chuanqi* genre (传奇, marvel tales) of classical Chinese literature which, as Hamm (2005:15) points out, ‘marks the emergence of China’s first distinct and self-conscious genre of fictional narrative from its cradle of anecdotes, fables, biography, and unofficial history.’ He continues that ‘the Tang *chuanqi* tales expand the body of imaginary and narrative material associated with the *xia*, introducing and consolidating elements crucial to the subsequent history of martial arts fiction’ (ibid). Similarly, Kittiphirun (2010:120) explains that the works in this era had traces of becoming the prototype of martial arts fiction including these three characteristics: the plots created from imagination mostly about the adventures or bravery of the main characters; showing mystical or marvellous martial arts skills; and presenting chivalrous values.

During a time of war in the Five Dynasties (907 – 960), acts of bravery and helping the weak inspired writers (ibid). Later, in the Song Dynasty (960 – 1279), many more such tales written in the common spoken language appeared (Cha 1997:VII). Hamm (2005:16) mentions that ‘records of the Song capitals make clear that heroic martial and military themes were a specialty of some of the entertainment districts’ professional storytellers’. From the Song and continuing through the Yuan (1279 – 1368) and Ming dynasties (1368 – 1644) there was created the great vernacular novel *The Water Margin* (水浒传) which became an immediate inspiration for a large number of Qing vernacular novels as well as a proximate ancestor of much of martial arts fiction of the twentieth century (ibid). The overall plot of the story is shaped by the tension between the orthodox order and the bandit’s shadow society (ibid) which made the novel widely involved in social and political perspectives. Later it was read variously as a work of nationalistic patriotism or as an early expression of democratic aspirations by late Qing and Republican reformers (ibid).

By the Qing dynasty (1644 – 1912), particularly during its final century, the genre proliferated (ibid). Hamm (ibid:19) asserts that the most prominent works were the vernacular novels, labelled by modern critics *xiayi gong’an xiaoshuo* (侠义公案小说, chivalric court-case fiction), in which *xia* characters and narrative elements fuse with those from stories of crime and punishment. The continuing production and circulation of classical-language chivalric fiction, along with the use of *xia* characters and themes in literary vernacular novels, shows well the late Qing literati’s interest in *xia* (ibid). Hence, it can be said that the martial arts genre emerged as a distinctive genre in its own right in this period (Chard, Translator’s Preface in Huanzhulouzu 1991:7).

In the Republican era (1912 – 1949), the martial arts genre flourished as different kinds of ideas and thoughts flowed into China after the end of the imperial system (Kittiphirun 2010:121). Kittiphirun (ibid) states that there was significant progress in the publishing industry and, as a result, literary works gained more attention. In this period China’s martial traditions were looked at as ‘a possible source of national strength in the face of the imminent disaster threatened by internal weakness and foreign encroachment’ (Hamm 2005:19). The genre reached its heyday in the 1920s and then during 1930s – 1940s when the centre of production shifted from beleaguered Shanghai to Beijing and Tianjin (ibid:20). There were ‘Four Great Masters of the

Northern School': Huanzhulouzhu, Bai Yu, Wang Dulu¹⁸ and Zheng Zhengyin (Kittiphirun 2010:122). These writers were classified under the 'Old School' martial arts genre writers (ibid). Hamm (2005:21) points out that 'implicit in Republican-era martial arts fiction is a certain nostalgia for the (imagined) values and social forms of the Chinese past'. He also explains that:

Recent scholarship on the martial arts fiction of the 1920s-1940s, and on Republican-era popular fiction in general, has addressed its grounding in the evolving institutions of literary production, its reflection of authors' and readers' encounters with rapid and sometimes catastrophic social and political change, and its exploitation of new literary techniques.

(ibid)

In the face of the Literary Revolution during the May Fourth Movement (1915 – 1921), contemporary popular literature and fiction focused on love stories and social melodramas were relegated and put in the category of 'Old School' fiction (ibid:22). By the 1930s the martial arts genre was viewed as 'egregiously offensive by reason both of its "escapist" content and of its widespread dissemination through the media of film and comic books...as well as fiction' (ibid:22). The genre, therefore, has been dogged throughout the twentieth century by the accusation that it drives impressionable youth to run off to the wilderness in the hope of studying martial arts with immortal masters (ibid). Hamm (ibid:22-23) argues that 'martial arts fiction's sin is to combine affective power with a misrepresentation of the world and hence an asocial and quixotic misdirection of the energies literature engenders.' In the People's Republic of China after 1949 martial arts fiction was banned from the gardens of culture as it was properly relegated to the category of 'poisonous weeds' due to restrictions on setting and content and the demands that literature both conform with overarching ideological conventions and serve the immediate needs of particular political campaigns (ibid:23). As a consequence, its centre shifted to Hong Kong and Taiwan where the 'New School' works had emerged.

In the 1950s, it was the era of the New School martial arts fiction led by Liang Yusheng and Jin Yong followed by Gu Long, Sima Ling, Wo Longsheng, and Zhuge Qingyun, not to mention another three hundred writers of the genre in Taiwan (Kittiphirun 2010:122-123). Nonetheless, the term 'New School martial arts fiction' was merely used in a sense to distinguish it from Old School works of the pre-

¹⁸ The writer of *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* (卧虎藏龙)

liberation writers, not from their content, themes, structure or narrative technique, since New School works display continuous development from their predecessors rather than any revolutionary break (Hamm 2005:23). However, the genre has reached saturation point in the 1980s with its popularity decreasing dramatically. This was due largely to the retirement of Jin Yong and Liang Yusheng in 1972 and 1984 respectively and the death of Gu Long in 1985 (Kittiphirun 2010:123). Moreover, the plots in this period mostly followed the same patterns and there was nothing creatively new.

It was not until Huang Yi, who sparked the public's interest with his new style of work in the late 1990s, that martial arts fiction began to boom again. From that period until the present there were several martial arts novels originating from the internet with a wider variety of plots – the hybrid of sci-fi, computer games, fantasy fiction, history and martial arts fiction such as works by Feng Ge (ibid:123-124).

It can be seen that martial arts fiction is one of the oldest genres in the Chinese literary system and is continuously developing until this day. In fact it is the only genre of Chinese traditional popular fiction that made it through and beyond the imperial era, as Magaret B. Wan (2009:1) points out. Throughout all these years the genre has not only been circulating in its home country but also spreading in all directions to its Asian neighbours as well as to the West.

Migration to other Countries and Issues in Translation

The copious amount of martial arts fiction, both in the original language and in translation, has migrated to other surrounding Asian countries since the 1920s (Mok 2001:82). Since then it has also played a part in those countries' literary tradition. However, in the West the genre seems to fail to attract readers' attention with only a handful having been translated into English and other European languages. Although the focus of this thesis is on Thailand, I will first provide a survey of the impact of martial arts fiction in other countries by way of comparison before moving on to my key focus. This is to understand what make martial arts fiction acceptable, and why they were more welcomed in some countries than they were in the others, which leads to a better understanding of the situation and impact of the genre in Thailand.

Mok (ibid:84) states that the influence of the genre was to the extent of stimulating a new literary form or an adaptation of the fiction in indigenous languages

in Indonesia, Vietnam and Korea or countries boasting large overseas Chinese communities. Moreover, the genre has also been a source of inspiration for local writers (ibid). In the Sinicised countries, the local elites who knew classical and colloquial Chinese would read martial arts fiction in the original language, whilst it would be rendered into local languages in countries where Chinese was a foreign language known only to Chinese migrants and their descendants (ibid). The practice of translating prototypes of Chinese literature into Mongolian, Vietnamese, Thai, Malay, Cambodian, Indonesian, Makassarese and Korean started some time in the seventeenth century whilst martial arts fiction translation properly has been active since the 1920s (ibid).

In Mongolia, Mongolian translations of swordsmen and trial cases began when the first translation of *The Water Margin* appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, and later in 1978 a new four-volume edition of the novel in Mongolian was brought out in Inner Mongolia (ibid:84-85).

In the northeast of Asia, translation of martial arts fiction in Japan lagged far behind other Asian countries, with its first appearance of Jin Yong's works in Japanese in 1996 (ibid:84). In Korea the genre migrated there and became popular only in the early 1960s (Li 1993 cited in ibid:91). Mok (2001:91) states that 'its popularity, initially triggered by works translated into Korean in earlier years, stimulated the creation of Korean martial arts fiction around 1978 and Korean martial arts poetry and cartoon strips in the 1980s.' In the early period, translations of the fiction were serialised in newspapers but these works were confined to minor writers (ibid:91-92). Then, at the time of the boom in translation of Taiwanese martial arts fiction around 1968, the translation was mostly carried out by overseas Chinese who could have access to materials serialised in local Chinese newspapers (ibid:92). By 1978 there was a replacement for Korean martial arts fiction as readers lost interest in the stereotyped content of translated books (ibid). It was not until Hong Kong top martial arts novelist Jin Yong entered the Korean market in 1986 that translational activities were revived again (ibid). Mok (ibid) notes that Korean martial arts fiction stimulated by Chinese martial arts works was similar to the innovatory form in every respect only it was written by Korean authors.

With regard to South East Asia, in Vietnam martial arts fiction translation started around 1925 when the urban population multiplied and local printing boomed in the

country (ibid:86). It is observed that the Vietnamese craze for the fiction occurred at the same time as it did in Mainland China and continued well after World War II, despite the ban on the genre in Communist China in 1949 (ibid). Mok (ibid) demonstrates that proof of the current Vietnamese interest in the genre may be found in a Vietnamese website on contemporary master writer of martial arts fiction Jin Yong as well as in a survey indicating that the fiction is still being translated into or reprinted in Vietnamese in the United States, especially in states where Asian immigrants concentrate. Mok (ibid) remarks that some Vietnamese, particularly those residing in the United States, may continue to find an extension of their treasured cultural heritage in martial arts fiction.

In Cambodia before the 1960s a hard-line policy to combat Chinese cultural influence within the country had been adopted (ibid:87). Once this resistance softened, Hong Kong kung fu films began to invade the Cambodian market becoming a big form of support for Chinese influence (Nepote and Khing 1987:341). Mok (2001:87) observes from Nepote and Khing (1987) that ‘although no direct translations of martial arts fiction were made into Cambodian, the influence of swordsmen stories could still be found in Chinese serials in the newspapers and the ever-increasing adaptations of Chinese works into Cambodian.’ Towards the end of the 1960s it was possible that martial arts fiction was appropriated unconsciously with traditional values and recognised institutions collapsing inside Cambodia (Nepote and Khing 1987:345). And, perhaps, values were found in ‘the rough justice of the cloak-and-dagger literature in which people on the fringe of society succeed in redressing the evils perpetrated by the establishment’ (ibid).

In Malaysia, Mok (2001:90-91) notes that martial arts fiction could not be considered popular among the Peranakans, the Chinese descendants, albeit the novels were translated into Malay during the renewal of interest in translations of Chinese fiction between 1930 and 1942. In Indonesia, apart from Indonesian translations, martial arts fiction was also rendered into Javanese, Makassarese, Madurese and Malay (ibid:87). Mok (ibid:81) remarks that ‘relatively few books of Chinese fiction were translated into Javanese as the descendants of Chinese living in the region were assimilated into the society, with some probably acculturated so completely that they began writing in Javanese themselves’. Claudine Salmon (1987:424) says that there were translations of cloak-and-dagger novels or martial arts novels serialised in

newspapers or published in book form, in numbers of small volumes in the Dutch Indies from 1924 to 1930. In 1930 the first review entirely devoted to cloak-and-dagger novels appeared (ibid). Salmon (ibid:425-426) asserts that this kind of literature was so successful overseas due to the fact that ‘the authors were fairly close to their readers, and had little difficulty in writing about heroes who had opted out of society and relied solely on their own strength to confront the society whose workings escaped them.’ The stories fitted so well the aspirations of the local reading public that they left no room for translations of works by other writers who were considered as ‘representatives’ of modern Chinese literature (ibid:426). Then in 1942 the occupation of the Dutch Indies by the Japanese suddenly brought literary production to an end because the Japanese authorities knew that most Chinese in Indonesia, both Chinese and Malay speaking, had used the press and literary works as a mean for voicing their patriotism (ibid). Newspapers and literary reviews were, as a result, suppressed and hundreds of journalists were arrested, imprisoned and tortured (ibid). In the late fifties and early sixties, after the launching of the anti-Chinese campaign, martial arts fiction was banned from the newspapers but it continued to survive in book form (ibid:89-90). After 1965 the adaptations and imitations of the fiction turned to mass production in printing and publishing presses set up by translators themselves, and with the help of Hong Kong and Taiwanese kung fu films the sales of martial arts fiction increased (ibid:90). During the seventies and the eighties Taiwanese martial arts writer Gu Long became popular (ibid). Salmon (1987:432) rightly concluded that social changes in China and in the Dutch Indies had a strong influence on chivalry romances and cloak-and-dagger stories becoming more attractive.

It can be noticed that the effect of martial arts fiction upon the literary tradition of other Asian countries was at a different extent depending on varying factors in each society, such as local literary tradition, the assimilation of overseas Chinese, publication, reading public and politics. In addition, the popularity of kung fu films could to a degree arouse the interest of the reading public in some countries. Nonetheless, it is obvious that overseas Chinese and descendants played a major part in the popularity of the genre both as translators and as audiences. Mok (2001: 92-93) remarks that:

Translational activities of martial arts fiction in other Asian countries have not only acted as an innovatory force for creating new novels, films,

cartoons and poetry on martial arts themes in some places, but have also been appropriated by overseas Chinese in South-East Asia, e.g. by introducing subversive readings, establishing cultural roots, keeping alive the cultural heritage, and enriching indigenous literature.

Salmon (1987:19) notes that ‘the distribution of Chinese books in all Southern countries must have followed the streams of emigrants’ as Chinese, especially from the southern provinces such as Guangdong and Fujian, had immigrated to Vietnam, the Malay Peninsula, and Indonesia as well as Thailand. These immigrants brought with them a love of Chinese fiction, one which might have helped them to feel closer to their homeland in some sense. Furthermore, it is noticeable that martial arts fiction did not merely serve as a source of entertainment, since it was related to political instability, social factionalism, nationalism and patriotism. It was read even in times of social unrest as an important form of escape from reality to the fictional world where missing and collapsed values in the real world could be found in perfect shape and imagined heroes could right all wrongs and fight for justice. It has thus provided inspiration for both readers and writers for all these years all the way from Mainland China to neighbouring countries. Nevertheless, due to the concerns of the authorities that martial arts fiction could be a threat to the social order, it has experienced bans and censorship but it seems the genre has managed to find its way back to shelves in bookshops as there is still a demand from the public.

However, in the West it can be said that martial arts fiction is a genre of Chinese literature that has been neglected both in academic and non-academic spheres. Unlike other genres of literature that has attracted more attention from the West, only a few examples of martial arts fiction have been translated into English and other European languages. As Louis Cha (1997:VII) points out, ‘there is nothing quite like martial arts fiction in the Western literary tradition’. Cha (ibid:VIII) also argues that ‘if someone were to try to explain martial arts fiction to a Western reader by simply calling it “kung fu fiction”, that person would be guilty either of extreme ignorance or of excessive laziness’. This highlights an important issue in translation where equivalents cannot easily be found.

Martial arts fiction was first introduced to the West in 1990 by Christine Corniot who translated Gu Long’s *Huanle yingxiong* (欢乐英雄) into French *Les Quatre Brigands du Huabei* which was published in Paris (Mok 2001:93). Then Robert Chard

translated Huanzhulouzhu's *Blades from the Willows* (柳湖侠隐) into English in 1991 and *Seeds of Evil* in 1997 (ibid), published in London. After that a few more novels of the genre were translated into English such as Cha's *Fox Volant of the Snowy Mountain* (雪山飞狐) translated by Olivia Mok in 1993 and printed in Hong Kong, Cha's *The Deer and The Cauldron* (鹿鼎记) in three volumes translated by John Minford and published in the United States in 1997, 1999 and 2002 respectively, Gu Long's *The Eleventh Son* (萧十一郎) translated by Rebecca S. Tai in 2005 and printed in the United States, and Cha's *The Book and the Sword* (书剑恩仇录) translated by Graham Earnshaw in 2005 and printed in the United States.

However, as Robert Chard (Translator's Preface, Huanzhulouzhu 1991:7) points out, even in the Chinese-speaking world the genre has seldom been taken seriously as a form of literature in spite of its wide appeal, which is evident in the extraordinary proliferation of novels, comic books, films and television serials throughout the Chinese-speaking communities. Chard continues, complaining that 'Chinese intellectuals condemn it as being worthless or even harmful (though many of them read it in private); scholars of modern Chinese literature in the West have largely ignored it' (ibid:7). In his point of view, 'for those who consider themselves scholars of China to turn a blind eye to such a widespread cultural phenomenon because it is not good "literature" seems rather narrow-minded' (ibid:7). However, this 'not good literature' has apparently always had a place in Chinese literary history for, as Chard (ibid) claims, more than two thousand years. He says the exploits of chivalrous fighters have captured the popular imagination for more than two millennia, celebrated in ancient historical works and poetry and therefore the genre is by no means a completely modern phenomenon (ibid).

Translating martial arts novels into Western languages and different cultures is far from simple or straightforward. Chard (Translator's Preface, Huanzhulouzhu 1991:10) comments on translating Huanzhulouzhu's *Blades from the Willows* that, although it is at times more archaic and sophisticated than that found in contemporary martial arts novels, the language of the story poses few problems for the translator but the main difficulty is rather in the style. He said that 'writers like Huanzhulouzhu were paid by the word, and their novels were issued in serial form. It was in the interest of the writer and publisher to keep the story going as long as the reading public's attention could be held, with the result that narrative and dialogue frequently seem unnecessarily

wordy and repetitive' (ibid:10). The strategy he used to deal with translating this piece is that:

In earlier drafts I translated the text in full, but, with the encouragement and assistance of the publisher, have subjected the final draft to extensive editing with an eye to readability, and removed much unnecessarily repetitive material. Sometimes this process entailed some reorganizing of the remaining text to preserve narrative cohesion. The chapters of the novel, which are very long, are labelled as 'Parts', and broken up into shorter chapters where natural breaks occur in the story. Otherwise, the tale as presented is Huanzhulou's own: somewhat streamlined perhaps, but complete.

(ibid:10-11)

Moreover, Chard (1996) raised some issues that he found when reviewing the English translation of *Fox Volant of the Snowy Mountain*, translated by Olivia Mok. He points out that 'the technical vocabulary of weapons, fighting moves and stances, pressure points for immobilizing an opponent, and the like, rarely have precise English equivalents' (ibid:606). Chard (ibid:606) comments that:

Her translations of technical terms is [sic.] not always satisfactory. For example, for *qing gong*, literally 'light arts', the training which allows practitioners to cross difficult terrain and scale walls quickly, she uses 'levitation', which implies hovering or floating in the air. For *nei gong* ('inner power' or 'internal training'), the development of inner energies and strength, she uses 'endom-arts', which is unlikely to mean anything to most readers.

However, he concludes that 'the translation overall has succeeded in its aim of bringing Jin Yong's work to life for Western audience. It is a good read, easy to follow, expressed in rich and colourful language' (ibid:607). Nevertheless, despite all attempts, martial arts novels have still failed to capture the attention of Western readers. Even though other forms of the genre like kung fu films have received more and more interest worldwide in the last few decades, this has not been the case in the literary form. Perhaps it is because of the huge social and cultural gap between the source Chinese and the target Western cultures that even the translation could not manage to bridge them together, unlike Thailand where its culture is closer to the Chinese one, and where martial arts novels reached a large audience.

The translation of the martial arts novel in Thailand

As French academic Jacqueline de Fels explains in her study of the development of Thai literature published posthumously in 1993, Chinese texts such as annals,

historical accounts, theatrical works and novels continued to be adapted into Thai , in the aftermath of the publication of *Sam kok*. These works served as inspirations and led some writers to write about China itself. De Fels elucidates that in writing works related to China some authors, such as Phuangphayom (the pen name of Chanon Phayom), wanted to pursue the didactic goal of aiding the Chinese in Thailand in understanding what Thailand represented. Nevertheless, the majority of authors wanted simply to seduce their readers by Sinicizing their stories like San Thewarak, for example, who wrote about the amorous deception between a Chinese woman and a Thai man in *An Pen Thirak Khong Heman* (de Fels 1993:382-3). De Fels proceeds, however to emphasise the significance of the genre of martial arts fiction in this category of Chinese-inspired writing.

In Thailand, one of the principal destinations for Chinese migrants, martial arts fiction in translation was first introduced to Thai readers in 1957, printed both in book form and in newspapers (Prapin 1987:318). Especially in the case of newspapers, they helped increase the circulation of the genre that reached a wider group of readers around the country. Amnuai Piromanukul (Prasit 2010:67) says that before their work was serialised in a newspaper in 1977 there were only around three thousand copies of the book format printed for a limited audience but by being circulated in newspapers the number of the audience expanded considerably. Its popularity continued until around the 1980s and, after a brief decline, it once again enjoyed a revival in 2000. Noticeably, the decline and revival in Thailand synchronised with the situation in Hong Kong and Taiwan mentioned earlier. During the time of political instability, martial arts fiction was chosen to be printed when newspapers could not publish their news as usual. This is due to the fact that the genre was considered to be lowbrow literature, which is also why authorities ignored it when imposing the ban on some Chinese literature that was prone to contain leftist content.

De Fels (1993:383) poses the question as to whether these novels, that appeared in Thailand in the second half of the twentieth century, were in fact antidotes to a modernising and mechanising society. It is this feature that she sees as in part accounting for their originality and as one of the reasons for the uninterrupted popularity of these works. Another clear reason, according to de Fels (1993:383) is the high number of people of Chinese origins in Bangkok and in the provinces. The Chinese text of Kim Yong was the basis for *Mangkorn Yok* first translated into Thai

by Jamlong Phitsanakha and later edited by Khun Niyom Rohitsathiern who added certain parts. Then Prayurn Phitsanakha wrote the definitive version of this story. Its enduring popularity led many authors to produce novels of this type. Prayurn Phitsanakha also wrote *Mae sua khao* (ibid:384).

Situated in the fiction sub-field, martial arts fiction in its own right is another genre the same as crime fiction or romance fiction. When martial arts fiction was first translated into Thai and introduced to Thai readers, the publisher took a risk in publishing it because they thought it was a game that was worth playing so they invested in the game, or ‘illusio’ in Bourdieu’s terms. It was a risk because it was new to the field and thus at first the genre had low economic and cultural capitals. Then when it became popular, being influenced by both internal and external forces like marketing competition, preferences of readers and political power, it became more commercialised in answer to the demand and gained more economic capital. The martial arts genre contains a special kind of cultural capital that links itself with political and cultural contexts. It is the peculiar language of the genre as well as its content of heroism that is adopted by, for example, journalists to write newspaper columns, especially political ones, during the censorship period of military and dictatorship regimes, both in descriptive and cynical or satirical tones in the way that Herbert Phillips (1987) argues. This is how the martial arts genre steps out of the literary field. Martial arts novels were serialised in newspapers and in pocket book format that were released every day or every other day. There were several rental bookshops and public libraries that housed and provided martial arts novels along with other types of novels for Thai readers. In the same period, television series and films also helped to enhance the genre’s popularity. To put it another way, the martial arts genre could reach Thai audiences around the country with ease. It should be pointed out that while there are awards and prizes, domestically and internationally, for Thai literature and translation, there has never been a literary prize for martial arts novel translation in the country, nor has it been chosen to be on a reading list in schools. As a result, it is low on the consecration scale, yet although the genre is not recognised with literary awards of any kind nor in academia, it is still prevalent in society and enjoyed by both old and young generations of readers. Book launching events and talks for new martial arts novels have been held by publishers where the translators are

invited to give a talk and sign autographs for their fans and enthusiasts as a marketing plan to raise recognition and symbolic capital.

Martial arts fiction translation in Thailand is considered to be a phenomenon as it has its own special characteristics with unique style and diction. Prapin Manomaivibool (1987:319) notes that the translational style of the genre is 'hybrid'. Albeit imitating the model of the Thai translation of *Sam kok*, it is done irregularly (ibid). Prapin (ibid:319) explains that 'the sentence structures are similar to those of the Chinese language and some words and expressions in Chinese are translated into Thai in 'word-by-word' fashion with no consideration for their deeper or interpretive meaning. However, such expressions are understood among *wuxia* type story fans'. Mok (2001:87) makes an interesting remark on this phenomenon in that the martial arts story itself matters more than its form, for style can be sacrificed in good stories full of intrigue, suspense and excitement so long as the story is delivered to the readers in a way that whets their appetite.

Winita Dithiyon (1989:110) asserts that the language style used in martial arts novel translation is a revolution of the language style in Chinese stories in Thai literature. Notice here that 'Chinese stories in Thai literature' can imply that by that time Chinese stories had already been assimilated and had become a part of the Thai literary field itself. She (ibid:109-110) observes that the style of language used to translate Chinese stories in the later period and martial arts novels is not as sophisticated as that used in translating *Sam kok*. This might be because it became more commercial and translators needed to hurry to finish translating each day to supply their readers with the stories (ibid), therefore the art of language was not the main concern anymore (ibid). The first translator who translated martial arts novels in 1957 was Jamlong Pitsanakha. His style was still attached with the trend of the language used to translate *Sam kok*. Subsequently, Wor na Mueanglung entered into the sphere in 1963 and Winita (ibid:111) states that, in Wor na Mueanglung's opinion, the language of *Sam kok* is so perfect that he did not want to imitate and had to avoid by using a 'hybrid style', blending the old and new style together creating his own style of language which then set the tone and style of the language used to translate martial arts fiction for subsequent translators of the same genre. Mixing ancient, modern and personal expressions in a literary style, Wor Na Muanglung became a favourite among readers, his first translation, in 1963, being *Krabi Lang Khaen*.

According to de Fels the second installment of this work sold 6000 copies in its first day and the publisher immediately printed 2000 more copies (de Fels 1993:385). After the events of October 1976 all students whose book collections were searched were found to have novels he had translated and so his works were banned and for a time he was not able to write (ibid). Winita (1989:111) also says that Wor na Mueanglung's language style is perhaps difficult to understand for first time readers because it is totally different from the style of translations of Chinese stories in earlier periods; however, if they keep reading they may get used to it, enjoy it and eventually get 'addicted' to this style without realising. It is because the language is not as complicated or as sophisticated as that in Chinese stories in earlier eras and sentences are simple without too many descriptions, only that wording is unfamiliar for readers. As well as this, after knowing the meanings it is not too difficult to read because the words are repeated throughout the stories and in every story (ibid). However, in Winita's opinion (ibid) the distinctive point of martial arts novels is that the plot is exciting more than any other factor.

Winita (ibid:113) gives some examples of sentences written in the martial arts novel language style comparing with normal language as follows:

Martial Arts Novel Language	Normal Language
<p>ขอลี้เวียงไม่ว่าจะสามารถเห็น</p> <p><i>Cho Liuhiang mai nae ja samat hen</i></p> <p>Cho Liuhiang might not be able to see.</p>	<p>ขอลี้เวียงไม่สามารถจะมองเห็นได้</p> <p><i>Cho Liuhiang mai samat ja mong hen dai</i></p> <p>Cho Liuhiang was unable to see.</p>
<p>อาจบางที่เป็นความรู้สึกที่บุรุษเมื่อพบเห็นสตรีแล้ว</p> <p>ต่างต้องเกิด</p> <p><i>At bangthi pen khwam rusuek thi burut muea phop hen satri laew tang tong koet</i></p> <p>Perhaps maybe it was the feeling that gentlemen, when met a lady, must all feel.</p>	<p>เป็นความรู้สึกที่ผู้ชายมักเกิดเมื่อพบผู้หญิง</p> <p><i>Pen khwam rusuek thi phuchai mak koet muea phop phuying</i></p> <p>It was the feeling that men often felt when meeting a woman.</p>

NB: อาจบางที (*at bnagthi*) are two words, อาจ (*at*) and บางที (*bangthi*), which have the same meaning

นางแตกตื่นตกใจอยู่ครึ่งวันก็พูดขึ้นว่า	หล่อนตกใจอยู่สักครู่ก็เอ่ยขึ้นว่า
<i>Nang taek-tuen tok-jai yu khueng wan ko phut khuen wa</i>	<i>Lon tok-jai yu sak khru ko oei khuen wa</i>
She was hysterically shocked for half a day then said	She was shocked for a moment then said
เราไฉนต้องไป	ทำไมเราจึงต้องไป
<i>Rao chanai tong pai</i>	<i>Thammai rao jueng tong pai</i>
I, why must go	Why must I go?

NB: ไฉน (*chanai*) is the archaic term of ทำไม (*thammai*) meaning why.

มีอาจไม่ทำ	ต้องทำ
<i>Mi at mai tham</i>	<i>Tong tham</i>
Could not not do	Must do
ผู้กล่าววาทะคือใคร	ใครพูด
<i>Phu klao waja khue khrai</i>	<i>Khrai phut</i>
The person who said it is who	Who said
ประเสริฐมาก เจ้าปากแข็งนัก	ดีมาก ปากแข็งนัก
<i>Prasoet mak jao pak khaeng nak</i>	<i>Di mak pak khaeng nak</i>
Very excellent, you are so stubborn.	Very good. So stubborn.

This martial arts novel language style is created by Wor na Mueanglung. Comparing it to everyday forms of language the differences can be clearly seen. The structures of the sentences are not the same and the wording is also different. Martial arts language tends to follow the structure of the Chinese source texts and uses words that makes it sound old-fashioned. This point will be discussed further in Chapter Six. Furthermore, Winita (ibid:117-118) interestingly compares the language used during the Rama I and

Rama II periods with that used in Rama VI-World War II era, and in martial arts novels in order to see what the sentences should look like:

Rama I-II	Rama VI-WWII	Martial Arts Novels
<p>โจโจได้ฟังดังนั้นก็โกรธ</p> <p><i>Jou Chou dai fang dangnan ko krot</i></p> <p>After hearing that, Jou Chou was angry</p>	<p>โจโจโกรธ เอามือตบโต๊ะแล้ว</p> <p>ทว่า</p> <p><i>Jou Chou krot ao mue top to laew tawat wa</i></p> <p>Jou Chou was angry, slapping the table with one hand and shouted that</p>	<p>โจโจมิอาจไม่โกรธ</p> <p><i>Jou Chou mi at mai krot</i></p> <p>Jou Chou could not not be angry</p>
<p>นางเตียวเสียนนั้นด้วยทำให้เป็น</p> <p>ภรรยาเราแล้วเป็นไฉนถึงส่งตัว</p> <p>ไปให้ตั้งโต๊ะเล่า</p> <p><i>Nang Tiao Sian nan tuo yok hai pen panraya rao laew pen chanai tueng song tuo pai hai Tangto lao</i></p> <p>Mistress Tiao Sian you already gave her to be my wife. How come you sent her to Tang To</p>	<p>นางเตียวเสียนนั้นเจ้าขกให้เป็น</p> <p>ภรรยาเราแล้ว เหตุใดจึงส่งนาง</p> <p>ไปให้ตั้งโต๊ะเล่า</p> <p><i>Nang Tiao Sian nan jao yok hai pen panraya rao laew het dai jueng song nang pai hai Tang To lao</i></p> <p>Mistress Tiao Sian you already gave her to be my wife. For what reason you sent him to Tang To</p>	<p>โกวเนี่ยนางนั้นท่านยกให้เรา</p> <p>แล้ว แต่ท่านตอนนั้นไฉนทำ?</p> <p><i>Kounia nang nan than yok hai rao laew tae tan ton nan chanai tham?</i></p> <p>That kounia you already gave to me, but at that time why did you do it?</p>
<p>ฝ่ายชาวเมืองครั้นเห็นดังนั้นก็</p> <p>ตกใจกลัว</p> <p><i>Fai chao-mueang khran hen dangnan ko tokjai klua</i></p>	<p>บรรดาชาวเมืองเห็นเข้าก็ตกใจ</p> <p>พากันออกดูพลางส่งเสียงอื้ออึง</p> <p><i>Banda chaomueang hen khao ko tokjai pha kan o</i></p>	<p>คนที่เดินไปตามท้องถนน</p> <p>ต่างจับจ้องจนตาเหลือกค้าง</p> <p><i>Khon thi doen pai ma tam thong thanon tang</i></p>

Once townsfolk saw such thing, they were frightened.	<i>du phlang song siang ueueng</i> When townsfolk saw it, they were frightened, crowding round and crying out rowdily	<i>jabjong jon ta lueak khang</i> Passers-by in the street all stared with bulging eyes.
จิวยี่ได้ฟังดังนั้นก็ตกใจ <i>Jiu Yi dai fang dangnan ko tokjai</i> After Jiu Yi heard such thing, he was stunned.	จิวยี่ได้ฟังก็ตกใจ <i>Jiu Yi dai fang ko tokjai</i> After Jiu Yi heard it, he was stunned.	จิวยี่ร้องสุดเสียงด้วยความแตกตื่น <i>Jiu Yi rong sut siang duai khwam taek tuen</i> Jiu Yi cried out loudly with panic
จิวยี่คิดแค้นขงเบ้งเป็นอันมาก <i>Jiu Yi khit khaen Khongbeng pen an mak</i> Jiu Yi resented Khongbeng very much.	จิวยี่แค้นใจแต่ก็มีรู้จะทำประการใด ได้แต่เก็บความแค้นไว้คิดหาช่องทางจะแก้แค้นขงเบ้งให้ได้ สักวันหนึ่ง <i>Jiu Yi khaenjai tae ko mi ru ja tham prakan dai dai tae kep khwam khaen wai khit ha chongthang ja kaekhaen Khongbeng hai dai sak wan nueng</i> Jiu Yi was furious but did not know what to do. He could only keep his resentment and find a way to take revenge on Khongbeng one day.	จิวยี่จึงกล่าว “ชายชาติธรีมาได้ หยามไม่ได้” <i>Jiu Yi jueng klao ‘chai chatri kha dai yam mai dai’</i> Jiu Yi said ‘a true man can be killed, but cannot be scorned.’

As de Fels explains, Nor Noppharat, the other grand master of the genre, published in 1966 *Krabi Ammahit*. While remaining appealing to read, his novels also new pieces of useful information to society. When he translated the work of Gu Long

entitled in Chinese *Liuxing Hudie jian*, which first appeared in serialised form under the title *Det Ukkabat* and then in *Sayam Rat* under the title *Phetchakat Dao Tok*, Nor Noppharat was able to demonstrate the deplorable consequences on social and economic life of a tyrannical regime (de Fels 1993:385).

In this research, my aim is now to focus mainly on two translators, Anon (1948 – 2000) and Amnuai (1950 – present) Piromanukul, who shared the pen-name Nor Noppharat¹⁹ (1966 – present). After Anon died in 2000, Amnuai kept the pen-name and worked alone afterwards. In an interview in *60 Years of Nor Noppharat* (Prasit 2010:58), Amnuai reveals that it is possible that they received some influence from Wor na Mueanglung's style from reading his translations. Amnuai explains how he created his own idiosyncratic style and language for translations that, in the early stage of their career, he copied other styles but, at the same time tried to find his own one and throughout these forty years he has always tried to find himself (ibid:78-79). When he reads other translators' works he will examine the style of the translators and consider how he would render it himself (ibid). It is evident that he has never stopped improving his work and this is why it is interesting to study his translations.

Conclusion

Over time the martial arts genre has gained a higher status in the Chinese literary field. It used to be seen as being worthless and harmful and that it could cause social disruption in the country and was banned as a consequence. Nowadays there are more literary scholars studying martial arts novels and they have gained more cultural and symbolic capital and also have a higher status in the academic world. After the centre of the genre moved to Hong Kong and Taiwan it has been better perceived, received greater popularity and also migrated to other Asian countries, especially those with Chinese immigrants, as well as to the West. Having said that, the genre has not been as popular in the West as in Asian countries, presumably because of the differences in the cultures and in readers' tastes. In Thailand martial arts novels were welcomed enthusiastically and instantly gained popularity. There have been hundreds of stories

¹⁹ See a list of Nor Nopparat's translations from 1965 up to 2010, altogether almost 300 stories, in Prasit (2010:139-152).

translated into Thai and they were quickly assimilated and absorbed as a genre into the Thai literary field and society.

As can be observed, the language style used in the translation of the genre is different from the trend of Chinese fiction translation that had *Sam kok* as the model and this can be interpreted as Bourdieu's doxa, a collective belief. Translators and publishers believed that the language style of *Sam kok* was good and therefore should be the model but this belief is not permanent and may change through time as Wor na Mueanglung chose a heterodox way and translated martial arts novels with his own style that became a new trend. It was possible to part from the trend because adaptation was by no means a new or uncommon practice in the Thai literary field. Being in Thai society and working in the literary field within it, the translator's habitus has been structured by their fields. Because of this the translator could decide to not follow the trend and to adapt and create his own style because it was a common practice and because he desired to do so. At the same time this kind of habitus in turn has structured the field, making the practice common and possible.

As mentioned above, in other Asian countries readers read martial arts novels for different purposes, both consciously and unconsciously. I ask if this is still the case for Thai readers, and whether those reasons apply to them as well or whether they read the novels only for the purposes of entertainment? If so, it seems that the stories must be so good that the readers do not pay much attention to the language, or some would enjoy them only when it was the martial arts novel translation style, otherwise it would not be a 'proper' translation of a martial arts novel for them. This expectation is put upon both translators and publishers who have to deal with the popularity of the genre and readers' expectations and requirements which can affect how translators translate martial arts novels.

CHAPTER FIVE

Martial Arts Fiction in Everyday Thai Life and the Three Agents

In this chapter, data and materials collected in the fieldwork in Thailand are gathered and analysed. The data and material collection for this study offers insights from translation agents – readers, translators and publishers – into the field of the martial arts novel translation in Thailand, the production of the martial arts novel in translation and the relations between each agent. This chapter is structured according to the various networks or ‘field’ of influence and contact, direct or indirect. To collect the data and materials, interviews and online surveys were conducted along with archival study. The survey was created via the Qualtrics: Online Survey Software & Insight Platform website and sent out by posting the link on an Internet forum of the martial arts novel club on the *Pantip* website and on the Martial Arts Novel Group on Facebook. When users of both websites answered the survey online their responses were recorded by the software which I, who generated it, would be able to access and see the responses. The questions from the survey are listed in Appendix at the end of this thesis. I received sixty-five responses from the survey. It should be noted that this research is not quantitative. Hence it does not have quantity control but instead opts for qualitative data, and Bourdieu’s sociology theory is applied to explain the findings. From the interviews and survey, I learn about the martial arts novel reading experience of readers, as well as the translators’ and publisher’s points of view on translating and production. Together, these outline the networks of relations between each agent leading to an understanding of the ‘field’ of martial arts novel translation. Archival study provides insights into novel promotion and commercials, the tastes and trends of readership in the past, as well as the pervasiveness of martial arts fiction in Thai society, and these points are all discussed in this chapter.

Martial Arts Novels in Everyday Thai Life

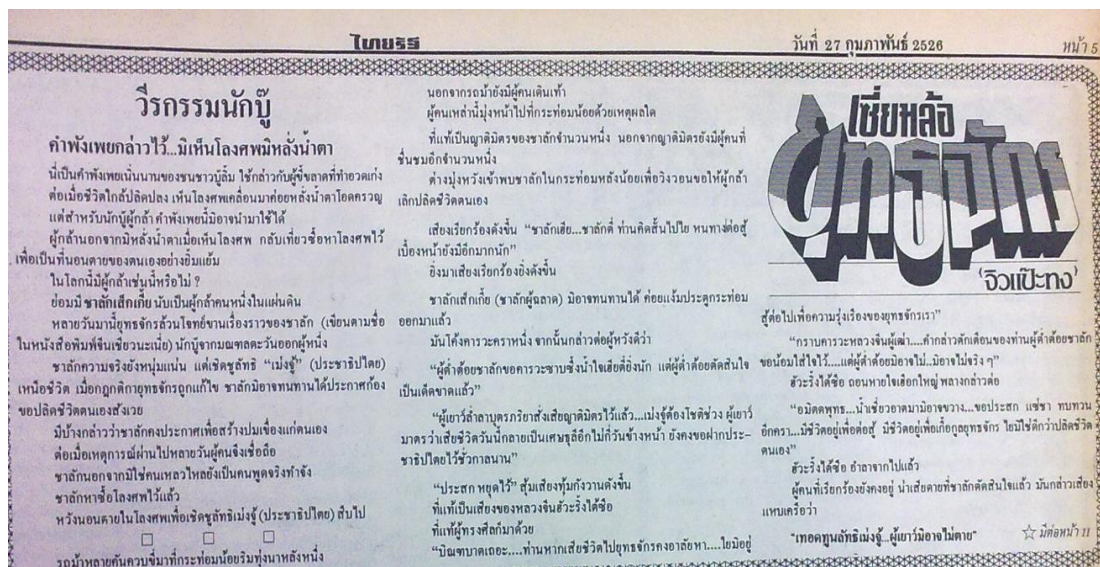
One evening at my student accommodation in London in 2015, my European flatmates and I watched a film together, the film being the Chinese martial arts award-winning *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. At that time, I was at the end of the third year of my PhD studies and was writing this thesis. The point of interest is that I did not ask why they chose that film to watch, I merely assumed that on the one hand they simply had never seen it before, and on the other they might have been attracted by the exotic cover. Their response to the film was that the Italian student did not finish watching it, saying it was really bad, whereas the Spanish student finished the film but said that the fighting scenes were ridiculous. What was interesting about their responses was that it proved that culture and society must have some effect on the perception of the genre. Having never before been exposed to the genre, and having grown up in two cultures with huge differences from the Chinese culture, it was in fact not surprising why they had such reactions. However, their response is markedly different from that experienced in Thai society.

Many people in Thailand may not know what martial arts fiction is about. However, when I asked friends and colleagues if they had read any martial arts novels or knew anything about them, it was very interesting to hear the responses from those who have never read them. Their responses were, for example, what is the writer's name again, is it Kim Yong, and is there a character named *Siaolengnueng*, among others. Although we may not be aware of the pervasiveness of martial arts fiction, if we start looking we will see that it is there in everyday life in the forms of language and pop culture, some of which will be discussed here.

From 1950s to 1980s, the golden era of martial arts novels, martial arts related words, phrases and the language style was used outside the novels in different other contexts. Some newspaper columnists wrote articles imitating the martial arts style or adopting words and phrases. For example, *Siamlo yutthajak* (literally, teasing the warrior world or the martial arts world)²⁰ by Jiupaethong (1983a:5a; 1983b:9b), (see picture 3 and 4) is a satirical newspaper column that criticises Thai politics. It is written

²⁰ *Yutthajak* literally means warrior world or martial arts world. It is the Thai term for *jianghu* in Chinese. Here it does not refer to warrior world or martial arts world but it is used in the abstract meaning to refer to the government, or Thai society, or the country.

in the form of a martial arts novel with characters (i.e. politicians) and dialogue. Even the pen name Jiupaethong of the columnist is derived from the name of the character Zhou Botong (Jiu Paethong in Teochew) in Jin Yong's *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* and its sequel *The Return of the Condor Heroes*. Readers who read or watch political news would be able to work out who was who, and in such ways, martial arts language became a tool for writers to discuss politics when the situation was very conducive to openness and politics had become a forbidden topic. On the other hand, it is also a means to create a columnist's identity in order to be recognised by readers and to attract those who were martial arts novel fans, apart from general readers. It is therefore how a writer built his community, one in which only members could understand his message. One of the reasons that the martial arts language became involved with politics is that the genre itself represents heroism, morality and justice, so by writing in this style it connects an article to the genre and its wider values. Being a tool for discussing political topics has thus become a speciality of the martial arts language style and, as such, adopting the style therefore seems to be a cool and fashionable approach. This undoubtedly indicates the acceptability of the martial arts language style. Using the style can also be considered as a way to express the Chinese-ness that had been suppressed especially during the reign of Vajiravudh and the regime of Phibun Songkhram.



Picture 3 Siamlo yuthajak, by Jiupaethong

“วีรกรรมนักสู้

คำพังเพยกล่าวไว้...มิเห็นโลงศพมิหลั่งน้ำตา

นี่เป็นคำพังเพยเน้นนานของชนชาวนูลิ้ม...”

Heroism of Fighters

As the saying goes...shed no tears until seeing the coffin.

This is an ancient saying of people of wulin.

This saying often appears in martial arts novels. *Wulin* is a term in martial arts fiction referring to the community of martial artists or martial heroes or *wuxia*.

The story in this article is about a politician who decided to commit suicide in order to honour the democracy which was being challenged.

The language, phrasing and wording, is also an imitation of martial arts novel language.

Source: *Thai Rath* 27 February 1983, p. 5

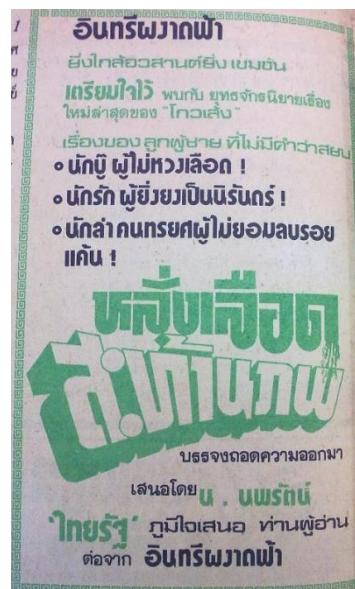


Picture 5 Advertisement

พบ 'อินทรีผางาดฟ้า' วันนี้เข้มข้น มั่นๆ เมื่อ เต็งพ้ง เผชิญ ราชนิรโทษ...หน้า 6

Read 'Insi pha-ngat fa' today, thrillingly, when Tengphong faced Golden Lion...Page 6.

Source: Thai Rath 13 August 1977, p. 1



Picture 6 Advertisement

Source: Thai Rath 20 August 1977



Picture 7 Insi pha-ngat fa, by Nor Noppharat

Source: Thai Rath 22 August 1977, p. 6



Picture 8 Advertisement

‘น.นพรัตน์’ ประเดิมชัย ยุทธจักรนิยายลือลั่นสนั่นเมือง เรื่องใหม่ ‘หลังเลือดสะท้านภพ’ เริ่มวันนี้...หน้า
กลาง

‘Nor Noppharat’ starts a new talk-of-the-town martial arts novel ‘Langluad sathan phop’, all
new today...Middle page.

Source: Thai Rath 22 August 1977, p. 1



Picture 9 Suek wang namthip advertisement

It is advertised that Wor na Muanglung, the translation king of Gu Long's martial arts novels, subtitled this film.

Source: *Thai Rath* 2 April 1977

Picture 10 Moonraker advertisement

เหนือฟ้า ยังมี "เมฆ"

เหนือเมฆ ยังมี "เจมส์ บอนด์"

Beyond the sky there are 'clouds'
Beyond the clouds there is 'James Bond'

This saying is adapted from
beyond the sky, there is the sky.

Source: *Thai Rath* 28 December 1982



These days, some columnists still talk about new martial arts novels in their articles, for instance in Kilen Pralongchoeng's *Chak thong rop* (literally, raise the war flag) column, he reviews *Phrayakkharat son lep* (*The Secret Agent*),²¹ with a sarcastic message in the last paragraph saying:

ผมตั้งใจจะอ่าน ชุดยุทธการล่าบัลลังก์...เพื่อลับสติปัญญา เพราะเชื่อมั่นว่า แม้เป็นนิยาย
แต่อ่านแล้วไม่โง่ ไม่เป็นเหยื่อโฆษณาชวนเชื่อนักการเมือง จนก่อสงครามกลางเมือง
เหมือนผู้คนในบ้านเมืองไหนก็ไม่รู้

(Kilen Pralongchoeng 2014)

I have intended to read the *Yutthakan la banlang* series²²...to exercise my brain because I believe that even though it is a novel, reading it will not make me stupid nor become a target of politicians' propaganda, which leads to civil war, like people in God-knows-what country.

(My translation)

In addition, martial arts terms and phrases appear in various contexts. During more recent years, apart from newspapers, magazines, television and radio, there are online news and articles which increase channels for people to access information. Hence, martial arts related terms and sayings have also appeared widely online. They have been employed in headlines or as titles of television programmes in other contexts, for example:

นายกยิ่งลักษณ์ ชินวัตร "ยิ้มเย้ยยุทธจักร สยบวิญญาณจอมปลอมกลางสภา"

(YLA 2013)

Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra 'smiled to conquer *winyuchon jom plom* at the Assembly'

(My translation)

Yim yoei yutthajak (ยิ้มเย้ยยุทธจักร, literally, sneering at martial arts world) is from the Thai title *Krabi yoei yutthajak* of *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer*,²³ and *winyuchon jom*

²¹ A Thai translation of *Jinyi yexing* (锦衣夜行, literally, the Embroidered Uniform Guards patrolling at night), written by Yue Guan. The Embroidered Uniform Guard (锦衣卫, Jinyiwei) was the imperial secret agent in the Ming dynasty. The Thai title *Phayakkharat son lep* literally means the tiger king hiding its nails.

²² Literally, the seizing of the throne series.

²³ *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* (笑傲江湖), written by Jin Yong (金庸).

plom (วิญญาณจอมปลอม)²⁴ is a nickname coined to refer to the character Yue Buqun in the story. Here, it is used to call the representative;

ฮือฮา! จอมยุทธ์ “ปะหมี่เส้นเดียว” ฝีมือสะท้านแดนมังกร

(ASTV Manager Online 2014)

Amazing! ‘One noodle’ hero, cookery trembles the dragon land

(My translation)

Jomyut (จอมยุทธ์) is the term to call martial hero or swordsman. In this example, it refers to a talented noodle maker;

เปิดโผ! 72 สมาชิกเลือกเจ้ายุทธจักรลูกหนังไทย

(Devilhotman 2013)

The list revealed! 72 members choose *yutthajak* leader of Thai rubber ball

(My translation)

Yutthajak leader or *jaoyutthajak* in this case is used in a football context;

พบกับ จ้าวยุทธจักรแห่งสำนักยุทธป/ปะทะ นักสู้แห่ง Killer Karaoke Thailand

(Killer Karaoke Thailand 2013)

The martial arts leader of the YouTube Sect versus the fighters of *Killer Karaoke Thailand*.

(My translation)

In this example, *jaoyutthajak* or the martial arts leader does not refer to a leader in the martial arts world but refers to a contestant who is nicknamed the leader of a YouTube Sect. *Killer Karaoke Thailand* is a television programme broadcasted on Modern Nine TV;

กระบี่มือหนึ่ง

(CH7Shows 2013)

The Number One Sword

(My translation)

‘Sword’ (กระบี่, *krabi*) also refers to swordsman. This is the title of a television programme on CH7 showing talented persons in various and extraordinary fields. From these examples, it can be seen that such terms as *yutthajak* and *jaoyutthajak*, are

²⁴ *Winyuchon* (วิญญาณ) means reasonable person or person of ordinary prudence, and *jom plom* (จอมปลอม) means illusory, fake, or unreal. In martial arts world or *yutthajak* in Thai or *jianghu* in Chinese, *winyuchon jom plom* refers to a hypocrite or a person who is not a real hero or gentleman, an impostor, who from outside seems to be respectful, just and gallant, but is actually dishonest and corrupt, and desires supremacy in order to be the greatest of *jianghu*.

adopted quite liberally in various contexts that do not have anything at all to do with martial arts or the warrior world. Both terms have broader and rather more abstract senses. *Yutthajak* is also used in battle, competition, or in a political sense. *Jaoyutthajak* is borrowed in the sense of being the champion or the best contender, similar to the martial arts heroes in the stories. In the same sense, *Jomyut* is used to refer to a skilful person or contender and does not only mean a martial hero.

Moreover, inspired by martial arts novels, there are innovations by Thai writers as Thongtham Natchamnong – writer, editor, and *Surintharacha* award-winning translator – interestingly points out during a personal interview.²⁵ For instance, the *Chumnum mangkon son phayak* (literally, dragon hiding tiger society) by Sathian Chanthimathon (1992) picks out characters from Gu Long’s stories both translated by Wor na Mueanglung and Nor Noppharat and tells stories from each character in a martial arts language style that is similar to a spin-off. Another example is *Yutthajak mangkon boran* (literally, ancient dragon warrior world) by Patsana Phraewphan (1997), which talks about Gu Long’s novels and characters in those stories. This practice indicates another example of the effect of martial arts fiction on Thai writers who are also martial arts novels’ readers, and on the Thai literary tradition as a whole. It is a common but peculiar practice that can be seen in the Thai literary field that when a story becomes so popular, it attracts and inspires readers and writers, as can be observed from the case of the historical novel *Sam kok* that has influenced Thai writers and the literary field over such a long period of time. It not only inspires readers and writers in literary term, as there have been various spin-offs, or gives philosophies and thoughts for daily life, but its stratagems used in war and politics are also adopted by writers who apply them to their books on management or marketing as a selling point. Noticeably, this practice of literary assimilation and adaptation is by no means different from the cultural assimilation and adaptation of the Chinese into Thai society, discussed at length in Chapter Three. With this tradition, in the literary field and society as a whole, martial arts novels, which have gained popularity among readers, are often linked with morality, philosophy and thoughts for daily life, and politics. Chotchuang Nadon (pseudonym of Thongtham)’s *Lok bulim* (literally, wulin’s world, or the world of martial arts) is another example of such an innovation. Based on an article by Gu Long about martial arts fiction that he translated, first serialised in

²⁵ Personal interview on 22 February 2014.

Matichon Weekly before being compiled as a pocket book and published by Matichon Publishing House in 1994, he wrote an article discussing morality and virtues in Gu Long's works as well as comparing the ways of the martial arts world with Nietzsche's ideology (Chotchuang Nadon 2012). Furthermore, there are online martial arts novels written by Thai (novice) writers, as seen on the Dek-D website that collects online novels of various genres, with the martial arts genre being one among them.

The genre also gained more attention from outside the community when it became the theme of a magazine *a day*, 2 (19), March 2002 (Kan 2002:30-47), and of *Writer*, 2 (24), May 2014 (Panit 2014a:76-97; Panit 2014b:110-124; Jaroenchai 2014:98-103; Kanokwan 2014:104-109), in which various aspects concerning the martial arts genre were discussed. Martial arts stories and characters also became the themes of Thai songs such as the National Artist Chai Mueangsing's *phleng luk thung* (folk song) called *Thao saraphat phit* (literally, venomous old man) which is the nickname of a character in Jin Yong's *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* and its sequel *The Return of the Condor Heroes*. The Thai band P2WARSHIP wrote songs about martial arts stories titled *Jom yut* (martial arts heroes) and *Tuen toet chao yut* (wake up, martial arts heroes). The former is about a martial arts hero who is on a quest for the lost swordplay in order to learn it to avenge his master, but in the end learns that forgiveness is the way to peacefulness, which is one of the Buddhist teachings. The content of the latter can be considered as political satire, in that its title is adapted from *Tuen toet chao thai* (wake up, Thais), a patriotic song composed by Thai politician, composer and historian Luang Wichitwathakan. Again, this shows that the martial arts genre is adopted as a device to express political opinions. Interestingly, in 2012, a martial arts novel was the topic of the challenge in the popular quiz show *Faen phan thae* (literally, hard-core Fan), and the episode was called *Fan phan thae: Jao yutthajak* (literally, *yutthajak* leader) broadcasted on TV5 (TeleminiPhobia2 2012). This shows that the craze for martial arts novels in Thailand has by no means gone unnoticed. It is one among various other topics that range far and wide, from Thai desserts to *muay Thai*, from Thai literature to *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, from dog to automobile, from Academy Award to Premier League, from *Star Wars* to Harry Potter, and from The Beatles to Elvis Presley. What is more, in 2015, intrigued

by Gu Long's *Rit mitsan* (literally, the might of the flying dagger),²⁶ *Life Explorer*, a television programme on Thai PBS, explored the thoughts and purposes of practicing kung fu at the Chinese Wudang Kung Fu Academy in Wudangshan, Hubei Province, China (Thai PBS Clip 2015). The Wudang Sect is one of the best and most important sects in the martial arts world. The forty-five-minute programme shows the host learning a short course as well as the way of Wudang kung fu whilst introducing the story of *Rit mitsan*, its writer and translator.

As we can see, with the quality to inspire and intrigue, combined with its values, the effects of martial arts fiction are various. Its language style is adopted to express political opinions, whilst its terms and phrases are borrowed to use in other contexts to create different effects on readers. Its themes are employed and adapted as inspiration for new stories, songs, or even television programmes, and it sparks curiosity to explore further into the world of martial arts including philosophy and culture. Also, the media, journalism, and pop culture have played a crucial role in broadening the sphere of its pervasiveness. Besides, martial arts novels, or the language style, became one of many things that express and represent Chinese-ness, but are not too alien for Thais to appreciate and join the community especially when Chinese-ness has become something considered much more positively in recent years as "cool". As a result, the martial arts genre has attained its position in everyday life. This of course also helps with the acceptability of the language style and yet, as we learn from all these effects, it is intriguing to know from their experiences and perspectives what make readers pick up such novels and read them in the first place and who those readers are.

The Readers

One of the main questions in this research is who the readership of martial arts novels in Thailand is: to find out, an online survey was sent out. The research also aims to find out how readers are exposed to martial arts novels, how they enjoy them, and their opinions on translators' language style.

²⁶ *Rit mitsan* is the Thai translation of *Wor na Muanglung* whilst *Mitbin mai phlat pao* (literally, the flying dagger never misses its target) is of Nor Noppharat. They are translated from *Duo qing jianke wu qing jian* (多情剑客无情剑, literally, Sentimental Swordsman, Ruthless Sword), written by Gu Long (古龙).

Who reads martial arts novels? And why?

On the day that a new *Mangkon yok*²⁷ released, the whole Chinatown became silent because people would not go out. They stayed home reading *Mangkon yok*.

(Kan 2002:38, my translation)

Told by a senior journalist during an interview by Kan Kokongtham (ibid), it describes well how popular the story was when it first came out at that time in the late 1950s, especially in Chinatown. It could be called ‘*Mangkon yok* fever’ but it was difficult to determine who the readership was or whether or not the genre attracted Thai readers as well as Chinese. Yet without doubt, the genre was popular among Chinese descendants who lived in the area. Nevertheless, we can speculate that it was not limited to staying within the Chinese community as it was circulated around the country. Kan (ibid) points out that according to Wor na Mueanglung, sixty percent of four thousand copies of the paperback editions printed per day were distributed to other provinces outside Bangkok.

From the survey and conversations on the Facebook group of martial arts fiction, it can be observed that the age groups of readers vary from juniors to seniors. The youngest responder was born in 1995 and the oldest in 1951. Readers of the martial arts genre are not only those of Chinese descent but also those without Chinese blood. Some know the Chinese language, either Mandarin, Teochew or Cantonese, whilst some do not. For later generations, being of Chinese descent or knowing the language are not always the main factors that attract the readers to the novels, although some read them because they are learning Chinese and wish to know more about Chinese culture. The matter is rather about how they get exposed to the genre. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the novels can be found as commonly as other kinds of novels. Nowadays, martial arts novels still attract new or young readers, and some of these readers were introduced to the novels by their family members, friends, television series or films, while others were attracted by the graphic covers. In the past, as Prasit Chakattham points out, twenty to fifty years ago, there were not as many sources of entertainment as there are these days; if people didn’t listen to the radio they read.²⁸ There was neither internet nor DVD technology, and television programmes had

²⁷ The Thai title of Jin Yong’s *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*, first translated by Jamlong Pitnakha.

²⁸ Personal interview on 25 February 2014.

considerably less variety. However, the novels were not difficult to lay one's hands on and were easily obtainable from rental bookshops around the country, the price being about twenty-five *satang* (0.25 Baht) or three baht per copy to buy at a bookshop. They were also available at schools, universities and public libraries. These days, there are not as many rental bookshops as before, but the novels are still available for free at libraries and for sale in bookshops. Martial arts novels own their own shelves, sometimes arranged with other Chinese novels, or in some shops they can be found in the Thai novel section. This indicates that the status of the genre is no lower than other foreign fiction or even lower than Thai fiction (see picture 11-13). The prices per book are average, however the novels usually come out as a series and buying the whole set can be expensive. The readers tend to start reading this genre when they are young, in schools or colleges. Some long-term readers still keep reading them and follow new novels in the genre while some stop when they become busy with work or life and have more responsibilities.



Picture 11 Chinese novel shelves

A picture of a 'Chinese Novels: Legend of the Country' corner in the bookshop B2S, Central Plaza, Phra Ram 9, posted on the Facebook page of Siam Inter Book on 4 June 2015.

Source:

https://scontent-lhr3-1.xx.fbcdn.net/hphotos-xft1/v/t1.0-9/11351187_1007696495908705_4379700887549845472_n.jpg?oh=4170a46ae3c7c212d44fcc9431f96458&oe=55F08324, last accessed 4 June 2015.



Picture 12 Chinese novel shelves outside Bangkok

A shelf of Chinese novels in the bookshop *Phan thang* in Kanchanaburi, a province in the west of Thailand, advertised on the Facebook page of Siam Inter Book on 15 June 2015. It is also interesting that the meaning of the shop name *Phan thang* is ‘hybridity’.

Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/siaminterbooks/posts/1015935715084783>, last accessed 16 June 2015.



Picture 13 Thai novel shelves.

Martial arts novels are displayed in Thai novel shelves in Double A Book Tower, a bookshop in Bangkok. It is very interesting because in a sense it shows the hybridity of the cultures that martial arts novels become or can be regarded as Thai novels.

Source:

My photos, date taken 11 February 2014.

To be able to capture readers' attention for many decades means that the genre is far from ordinary or dull. According to the survey, martial arts novels have been read mainly for entertainment as they are a good source of excitement, imagination and inspiration. For some readers the novels are an enjoyable way to pass the time. Some even read them during their years in the jungle with the guerrilla army after the events of the student uprising of 14 October 1973 and the military crackdown on student demonstrations on 6 October 1976, because there was so much time to spare. The genre also spread to temples where everyone from novice monks to abbots enjoyed reading them. Interestingly, it became common to hear readers say that at some point in their reading experience they read them all day and all night, in that once they pick them up to read it is apparently far from easy to put them down. Apart from their entertaining quality, the stories are rich in a morality and philosophy that can be adapted for use in one's everyday life and career. It is no exaggeration to say that some readers who grew up reading martial arts novels were shaped more or less by the thoughts and values embedded in them which is one of the genre's hidden charms. If reading martial arts novels when you are young you receive one message but reading them when you grow up you receive another. Therefore, the genre is not limited only to one particular age group but can be enjoyed by both young and adult readers.

Furthermore, Chusak Pattarakulwanit,²⁹ an academic at Thammasat University, points out that during different eras and social situations it is also possible that the novels are interpreted differently depending on various factors at the particular moment that make readers perceive the same stories in rather different ways. For instance, at a time when the political situation was unstable, an article regarding martial arts novels was published with its focus on good and evil, and was picked as the main argument in response to the situation (Yor 1977); and around the events of Black May 1992,³⁰ disappointed with failed ideologies and politics, readers interpreted Gu Long's *Rit mitsan* (The Might of the Flying Dagger) as a source of philosophy of life. Some people read martial arts novels as political as their plots often contain stories about corrupt governments or authorities, usurpation, and patriotism. Sitthithep Ekkasitthiphong (2011) argues in his article *Read 'Martial Arts Novels' as 'Political*

²⁹ Personal interview on 3 March 2014.

³⁰ The protest in Bangkok against the government of General Suchinda Kraprayoon on 17 – 20 May 1992.

Literature’ that martial arts novels were adapted and used as a political tool during the events of 14th October 1973 in the form of *ngiw* (Chinese opera) and political tales *Maha anajak Siam kok an phaisan* (literally, the great empire of *Siam kok*)³¹ that employs, imitates and adapts chapters’ titles, organisations’ names and characters’ names from both *Sam kok* and martial arts novels to represent politicians and organisations. To give some examples, Government House (ทำเนียบรัฐบาล) became *Wulin House* (ทำเนียบบู๊ลิ้ม); and Thammasat University became Yellow-Red Sword Sect (สำนักกระบี่เหลืองแดง) (ibid). Sitthithec (ibid) also argues that reading martial arts novels helps to reconnect overseas Chinese and *lukjin* (Chinese descendants) in the 1970s to their lost Chinese-ness, which also helps them find their identities. What is more, some people compare Thai society with martial arts stories. The translator Lee Linli (2015) was asked in interview which story, in her opinion, is parallel to or can relate to the current political situation in Thailand under the military junta. Her answer was *Krabi yoei yutthajak* (*The Smiling, Proud Wanderer*) because it covers all aspects – namely people, politics, society, *winyuchon jom plom*, supremacy seeking – that can be related not only to the current period but also to every era and as such it can clearly reflect the any current situation.

As martial arts novels contain such notable thoughts and philosophy, there are discussions in internet forums specifically about remarkable quotations and phrases from the novels.³² From the survey, readers are able to give examples of quotations or catchphrases that they like. Some catchphrases or martial arts-related terms also appear in other books, newspaper articles, webpages, names of television programmes or other media, which is how people who have never read martial arts novels hear about them and sometimes notice that they are from the novels. These quotations and catchphrases might not be specifically from martial arts novels, as some of them are general Chinese sayings, and some also appear in other genres of Chinese literature

³¹ *Siam kok* (เสียมก๊ก) refers to Thailand. *Siam* is from the old name of the country Siam.

³² The examples of internet forums are as follows: "วลี - คำคม" จาก "หนังจีนกำลังภายใน" ที่คุณ "ประทับใจ" กล่าวไว้ว่าอย่างไรบ้าง [What do ‘phrases and catchwords’ from ‘martial arts novels’ that you are ‘impressed’ say?], available at <<http://pantip.com/topic/31619557>>, คำคม คมคำ จากนวนิยายจีน [Catchphrases from martial arts novels], available at <<http://topicstock.pantip.com/library/topicstock/K2583051/K2583051.html>>, กระบี่รวบรวม...วาทะ & คำคม...จากนิยาย/หนังจีนกำลังภายใน [The forum collecting...discourse & catchwords...from martial arts novels/films], available at <<http://pantip.com/topic/30448700>>.

which is difficult to tell where they are from exactly but readers recognise them from the novels that they read. The examples of them are as follows:

ลูกผู้ชายไม่เห็นโลงศพไม่หลั่งน้ำตา <i>Luk phuchai mai hen longsop mai lang nam-ta</i>	A man do not shed tears until seeing the coffin.
ลูกผู้ชายฆ่าได้หายาไม่ได้ <i>Luk phuchai kha dai yam mai dai</i>	A gentleman can be killed, but cannot be dishonoured.
วิทยุชนล้างแค้น สิบปียังไม่สายไป <i>Winyuchon lang khaen sip pi yang mai sai pai</i>	Ten-years time is not too late for a gentleman to take revenge.
กระบี่อยู่ที่ใจ <i>Krabi yu thi jai</i>	The sword is in the heart.
สุดยอดแห่งกระบวนท่าคือไรกระบวนท่า <i>Sut yot haeng krabuantha khue rai krabuantha</i>	The best of a swordplay is no swordplay at all.
ในโลกไม่มีงานเลี้ยงที่ไม่เลิกรา <i>Nai lok mai mi ngan-liang thi mai loekra</i>	There is no such a party that never ends in this world.
ล้างมือในอ่างทองคำ <i>Lang mue nai ang thong kham</i>	Wash hands in a golden basin.

These are phrases that can be heard commonly. Some of them were mentioned by those who do not read martial arts novels, when asked whether they knew any phrases from martial arts fiction, during my personal conversations with them. Some readers not only use these phrases when they speak but also sometimes, among a group of readers, they talk to each other using the archaic language style of martial arts novels for fun. For instance, they call themselves *khaphajao* (ข้าพเจ้า) or *khanoi* (ข้าน้อย) for the term ‘I’ and refer to others as *than* (ท่าน). This practice can also be seen nowadays in the Facebook group where fans discuss the stories they read, exchange their opinions on details of stories or characters, seek recommendations for the next book to read, and

follow the news about the martial arts novel world as well as merely relating with and appreciating the company of people who share the same tastes. According to the survey, on many occasions martial arts novels became a topic that initiated conversation among those who happened to be fans of the genre and just got to know one another. For children, they not only exchange conversation using martial arts novel language but also dress up using bed sheets or other clothes and materials they can find, organise props and play the characters that they have seen on television or in the cinema. As fancifully depicted in a scene from the film called *Fan chan* (My Girl) set in a small Thai town in the 1980s, one of the many activities children engaged in after school was to play pretending to be their favourite swordsmen and characters and playfully fight against each other (see picture 14). It is in such ways as this that martial arts novels and their language has infiltrated everyday life.



Picture 14 Fan chan

A scene in *Fan Chan*, children dress as and play *wuxia* heroes.

Source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fan_Chun, last accessed 31 March 2016.

Moreover, when reading a lot of martial arts novels, some readers become unconsciously addicted to the language and use it without noticing, as can be seen in the case of the Thai S.E.A. Write Award-winning author Win Lyovarin, who is a huge fan of martial arts novels. He says in an interview with *a day* that after he read all the novels in the school library he started learning Chinese in order to read the Chinese

versions (Win 2002:51) and also watched martial arts films and television series (ibid). He admits that he has read so many martial arts novels that, unconsciously, his work has become influenced by them, such as the plot and language style (ibid:52). Win (ibid) points out that in *Prachathippatai bon sen khaman* (literally, democracy along parallel lines)³³, *yai michai* (ไยมิไช, literally, why not) appears in many places, and *fai thi ronraeng lom thi yen jat* (ไฟที่ร้อนแรง ลมที่เย็นจัด, literally, blazing fire, freezing wind) clearly is Gu Long's language.

Even though the language is not like the language used in everyday life or in other genres of fiction, readers seem to adjust to it to a certain extent and let it take them to where the stories lead them. Opinions of readers on the language style are therefore interesting to learn.

What do readers think about the martial arts language style?

From the survey that I conducted for this thesis, readers mostly agree that the martial arts language has its own unique characteristics. It does not sound like language used in everyday life as some point out that the wording and phrasing are not the same as that used in normal, everyday Thai language. It is rather archaic but different from the archaic language used in Thai traditional folktales (*jak jak wong wong*), which gives the impression and atmosphere of Chinese-ness. Some say that it is concise, fluent, elegant and beautiful. Those who are of Chinese descent and understand the Teochew dialect do not have trouble with transliterated words, whereas those who do not know the language struggle at first but eventually get used to it if they persist and keep on reading. When the publisher and translator decided to change the transliteration into Mandarin, according to an interview with an editor of Siam Inter Book, they received negative feedback from some readers, but after a while the readers grew used to it although some still prefer Teochew, and some are fine with both versions. Readers who do not know Chinese cannot tell which one is Teochew and which is Mandarin so it does not matter to them. Some say that for old stories, it is better to remain with the Teochew transliteration but for new stories it is acceptable to use Mandarin. What is more, some readers point out that when talking to Chinese or Mandarin speakers

³³ Published in English titled *Democracy, Shaken and Stirred*.

about martial arts novels, the Mandarin transliteration can be more useful. It can be confusing if the readers only know Teochew, which is not understood by most Mandarin-speaking people.

When asked to describe the style of the language of martial arts novel of the translators whose works they read, some readers can describe each translator's style whilst some cannot or did not pay much attention to it when they were reading. Among those who notice the differences, they have different opinions and preferences. For example, some readers say that Jamlong Pitsanakha's style is beautiful whilst some say it is like *Sam kok*'s language style which sounds too Thai and too formal and does not generate the right feelings or bring out the Chinese-ness; some say Wor na Mueanglung's style is more fluent and better than Nor Noppharat's style whilst some say Wor na Mueanglung used too many transliterated words in his translations which makes it difficult to read, unlike Nor Noppharat who translated proper nouns into Thai; some say that Wor na Mueanglung's style suits Gu Long's work better but other than that Nor Noppharat's style is also good. It is undoubtedly highly subjective because different readers have different tastes. It can also be noticed that the most recognised translators that readers discussed in the survey are Jamlong, Wor na Mueanglung, and Nor Noppharat. From the 1950s to the 1980s, apart from the above, other translators such as Bor. Rungrot or Tian Jantra (same person), Sor. Loetsunthon, Sor. Somsakul, Sor. Rueang'aran and Suttiophon Nitiwattana among others were mentioned by readers. At the present time, apart from Nor Noppharat, there are Khonbanpe, Kittiphirun, Joey Dongfang, Nipha Phuphat, Mor. Prapha, and Lee Linli.

When asked which is more important between language style and content, most readers agree that language style is very important. However, when compared with content, some readers say both are equally important, whereas others say one is more important than the other. However, there are fewer readers who believe that style is more important than content than those who believe that they are both important or that content is more important. Some readers explain that the language style is important because even though the content is very good, if the language is too bad it might make them not want to read it. On the other hand, if the language is good it can help spice up the story. When asked whether or not they would continue reading martial arts novels if the language style changed, the answers varied from definitely yes to definitely no, but mostly towards yes. Some would keep reading regardless;

some would give it a try; some say it depends on the content; some base their decisions on writers rather than translators. In the latter case, one of the respondents asserts that he does not like Gu Long's novels because there is not much development of the martial arts skills of the main character unlike the character in Jin Yong's *Krabi yoei yutthajak*. In contrast, another reader says that he only read Gu Long's novels because Jin Yong's novels have too many characters to remember and he read Wor na Mueanglung's translations of Gu Long's novels at that time.

The above provides only a sample of the opinions of martial arts novel readers, which, overall are positive, indicating that the language style is acceptable for Thai readers regardless of the unfamiliarity, a quality that highlights Chinese-ness. There is no doubt that the hybridised culture plays a vital part in facilitating the acceptability of the language style and the genre. It is important and interesting to learn what the readers think about the translations since they are the consumers who have helped the production of this work keep running until the present day. Yet, whether or not the readers have some influence on translators, it is also important to listen to translators themselves.

The Translators

Each translator, like a writer, has a personal or signature style of using language, but when one particular style becomes the trend in translating a particular genre it is a phenomenon that should be considered. In Thailand, translators tend to follow the trend of the moment to translate Chinese literature, or, in Bourdieu's terms, they tend to choose the orthodox way because it is less risky. Chinese historical novels, such as *Sam kok*, were translated using a formal archaic style that became the model for Chinese literature translation for a long time. When it came to the martial arts novel era the style became more relaxed as the production became more commercial, although Jamlong Pitsanakha, the first translator working on martial arts novels, chose to follow the style of Chao Phraya Phrakhleng (Hon)'s translation of *Sam kok*. However, Wor na Mueanglung preferred Yakhob's ³⁴ style of language so he followed it by blending it with his own style to translate martial arts novels and this became the more preferred style for the genre. However, seeing the success of Jamlong's *Mangkon*

³⁴ Yakhob is a pseudonym of a Thai writer Chot Phraephan (1907 – 1956).

Yok volume 1, caused the publisher Ploenjit to disagree with Wor na Mueanglung on parting with the trend, but he insisted on it and the publisher finally let him (Kan 2002:39). It was a risk in doing so but one which transpired to be successful because Wor na Mueanglung could gain more symbolic capital and a better status in the field. It turned out that the second book of *Krabi lang khaen* (literally, the sword of revenge)³⁵ was so successful that it was printed twice in the same day, six thousand copies in the morning and two thousand copies in the afternoon (ibid). To what extent the language style helped to increase the sales was difficult to verify, but it was certain that the increase gave Wor na Mueanglung symbolic capital which also led to more economic capital in the future. Subsequently Nor Noppharat blended Wor na Mueanglung's style with his own and it became the current model of martial arts novel language style that readers are used to and accept. New translators have a choice to follow the trend or find their own way, and if readers and publishers like their styles, they may become new trends.

From conversations with two translators via email, Kittiphirun, who works with Siam Inter Book, the same publisher as Nor Noppharat, and Joey Dongfang, who works with Matichon Publishing House, interesting different points of views can be observed.

When asked about the martial arts language style, Kittiphirun says that it is a unique language style that is not used in other types of novels. It is not all grammatically correct yet that is part of its charm. Since martial arts novel translation has a model created by Nor Noppharat, Kittiphirun believes that it is necessary to follow this model and if it is not this style it is simply not a martial arts language style. Thus, Kittiphirun chose to strictly follow the existing model of language style and it is also the publisher's policy to maintain it. On the contrary, Joey Dongfang does not think that it is an obligation to follow a particular style. He believes that professionally everyone knows their role, in that an editor works together with a translator who is chosen, and the translator does their best adopting their own way. The concerns and discussion regarding the language style occurs more among groups of readers, especially those who are enthusiastic, loyal fans. In his opinion, the idea that 'if it is not this language style, the novel loses its flavour or aesthetic quality' is a 'norm' made

³⁵ *Yu chai meng* (玉钗盟, literally, jade hairpin association), written by Wolong Sheng (卧龙生).

up by these fans, which leaves translators a choice between following it or not. However, Joey Dongfang argues that this ‘norm’ is not real because it was set up by only a group of fans who are loyal to their favourite translator and wants to support him. Generally, readers are open-minded and as such there is no point in following the ‘norm’ of a group of readers, and translators should be able to be themselves to do their best.

A similar view is shared by Lee Linli, who started translating martial arts novels in 2015 with Siam Inter Book but has gained recognition from doing subtitling translation for martial arts films and television series uploaded to YouTube long before that. Lee Linli (2015) states in interview that what Jamlong, Wor na Mueanglung and Nor Noppharat created are like a frame recognised by readers, outside which readers may not be able to accept. This is perhaps why it is hard to find new martial arts novel translators. Joey Dongfang further adds that those fans who have developed strong loyalties made several calls to the publisher to make complaints about the language style but the complaints were disregarded. When he was signing autographs at the book expo, a fan approached him and criticised his work but was also ignored. For him, this is only an obstacle to overcome, he asserts that for translators who are in the same field there is an unspoken understanding between them. This shows a network of communications among translators, one that becomes a ‘field’. Therefore, in his opinion, there is no norm of language style; each translator has their own style that will become an option for readers.

From a translators’ point of view, both Kittiphirun and Joey Dongfang agree that language style and content are both important. Kittiphirun believes that compromising on either one of them can make it unenjoyable, yet for most readers, Kittiphirun thinks that content is more important because what they want is entertainment. If the story is not entertaining they will not want to read it but will eventually get used to the style, or some probably do not pay attention to it at all. Kittiphirun also adds that there are also readers who pay attention to both style and content. Joey Dongfang asserts that first of all the content has to be correct according to the source text, and if the style is good it will complement the story, help to increase sales and become a readers’ favourite. Therefore, both are important and irreplaceable. He emphasises that good style cannot compensate for bad translation and a good story can be unsuccessful if the translation is poor. Interestingly, he compares it with cooking in which the content

is the ingredients and the style is the cooking and both have to be good so that people will enjoy the food.

When asked about the influence of publishers and the market on the translation, Kittiphirun and Joey Dongfang both agree that the publisher has a very strong influence. Kittiphirun explains that publishers consider which stories are saleable and which are not, and they decide which ones are to be translated. Also, the market of martial arts novel, which is the readers, is narrow and if publishers fail to choose the right book to publish they can incur a financial loss. As a result, publishers only choose good, popular stories to translate. In Kittiphirun's opinion publishers are the ones who build the market and yet from what Kittiphirun explained earlier it can be seen that the publishers' decision-making on which stories should be published are also influenced by the market. Kittiphirun also says that translators cannot choose stories to translate by themselves but they can make suggestions to publishers to consider. However, Nor Noppharat who has been working with publishers for over thirty years has some influence on the publisher, as Kittiphirun mentioned. Similarly, Joey Dongfang points out that publishing house is the system in which translators work and both of them have to be responsible for their duties. Publishers have to know what kinds of books they want to publish and sell and translators have to know what types of systems they want to work with. Joey Dongfang, who does translation as a hobby, does not have to worry much, however, during the few years of his being a professional translator he felt that he could not fully focus on translating because there were several factors that distracted him, and therefore the quality of the product was not as good as that of the ones he did as a hobby. It should be noted that Kittiphirun is not a full-time translator. Joey Dongfang further states that the market has more influence on professional translators than on part-time translators who do it as a hobby because sale figures and fame are important to the profession.

This information gives us an insight into the relationship that pertains between translators, publishers and the market. Translators cannot work on their own without considering the requirements of the publishers, whilst publishers have to take their readership into consideration. This relationship becomes yet another network. Since publishers also have a role in this network of relationships it is therefore necessary to consider the views of publishers as well.

Publishers

Each publisher may have different policies and working styles, as is noticeable from an interview by Kan (2002:38-39) with the editors of two of the largest martial arts novel publishers in 2002, Seksan Sukwatno of Siam Inter Book, and Wanphen Khongman of Sangsan Books. Seksan stated that the first martial arts novel that Siam Sport Publishing (before being changed to Siam Inter Book) published was *Fan fa pha narok* (literally, slash the sky, split the hell, published in 1983)³⁶ translated by Nor Noppharat, which was the complete edition of a serialised version in the newspaper *Thai Rath* (ibid:38). Receiving favourable responses, Siam Sport has continued publishing martial arts novels ever since (ibid). Seksan also explained that most of their works were translated by Nor Noppharat, and the reason that the publisher chose Nor Noppharat, the first martial arts novel translator whose work was published in *Thai Rath*, was because of the relation between Nor Noppharat and the publishers – both *Thai Rath* and Siam Sport – as well as their being at the top of the field (ibid). According to his statement we can see that at that time Nor Noppharat had accumulated enough capital to send them to take a higher position, even the top position, in the field of martial arts novel translation. This status earned him a preference from the publisher and this preference earned them a connection that formed into what Herbert Phillips terms as a *phuak* (group) affiliation. Members who are in the same *phuak* usually receive opportunities before outsiders and the publisher gave the job to Nor Noppharat because they knew each other, had worked together before and, of course, were in the same *phuak*. Wanphen pointed out that Sangsan Books, which started publishing martial arts novels in 1992, was different from Siam Inter Book in that they did not focus on one particular translator but rather chose alternatively to publish works from Wor na Mueanglung, Jamlong Pitsanakha and Nor Noppharat (ibid:39). She also said that Sangsan was the first publisher who published paperback editions before which the novels were hardback and they also designed the covers to attract young readers (ibid). Nowadays both publishers still publish and sell martial arts novels although Sangsan Books mostly reprint old titles, especially those translated by Wor na

³⁶ Written by Gu Long, Chinese title *Fengling zhong de dao sheng* (风铃中的刀声, literally, the blade sound in the wind bell). Later titled *Kradueng, sailom, khomdap* (กระดังงายลม คมดาบ, literally, wind chime, breeze, blade), published by Siam Inter Book.

Mueanglung and others rather than by Nor Noppharat. By contrast, Siam Inter Book publishes both new and old titles, mostly by Nor Noppharat and new translators.³⁷ This is because of the copyright issue. Nevertheless, this interview provided no mention of language style.

In more recent years, talking about the language style in my personal interview with Sitthidet Saensombunsuk, managing editor of Siam Inter Book,³⁸ from his perspective the martial arts genre has a specific language style. When doing a translation it cannot be too much different from the original model, therefore editors' advice is necessary for new translators. Editors will adjust a translator's language style to the standard martial arts novel one, presumably the one that readers are familiar with. During the translation process some descriptive parts can be omitted yet the same content must be maintained. This is because, according to the managing editor, readers prefer a concise, fast-paced, straight-to-the-point story rather than a long-winded descriptive one. Hence the finished product, instead of saying 'translated by', says 'adapted by or edited by'³⁹ followed by the name of the translator. Translating a book's title is the work of a translator-editor team. Both translator and editor suggest some choices and then discuss, the aim being to come up with a title that is both striking and meaningful.

Sitthidet points out that a book chosen for translation has to suit the tastes of the Thai readership. Translators, foreign agencies, and editors can make recommendations but the final approval is from the editors before purchasing the copyright. The managing editor states that choosing good stories and translating well will always have a positive outcome. Nowadays, according to him, the publisher publishes three thousand copies per title, seven to eight titles per month, and fifty to a hundred titles per year. Some classic titles can be reprinted and sold for several years, meaning that altogether there can be over twenty thousand copies. The managing editor also reveals that Nor Noppharat alone produces three to four books per month. In addition, he says that the martial arts novel market is booming; the status of the genre and quality of

³⁷ See the lists of martial arts novels published by Siam Inter Book at SMM Publishing (2015), and by Sangsan Books at Sangsan Books (2015).

³⁸ Personal interview on 27 February 2014.

³⁹ ๔๕๖๗๘๙๐

works are better; the plots are more varied; and besides, online games, comics, television series and films also help the sale of the genre.

It can be noticed that this information emphasises that the publisher works with its translators and considers what the readers like in order to produce a piece of work. The publisher is the one who makes the final decision and the translators comply with it. Thus, hierarchy-wise, the publisher ranks higher than translators. Nonetheless they cannot work apart, each agent is connected together and they have influence on one another during the translation process.

The Interrelationships Between the Three Agents

As we now see, each agent is connected to one another and if we consider the sphere of the martial arts genre in Thailand we will see that it is like a community. Not only is it a group of people who share the same passion, but there is also a considerable amount of interaction between each agent. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities, the members in the communities never know or meet most of the other members but they have an understanding of their existence (Anderson 2006:6). Publishers, translators and writers will not know every one of their readers but for them it is clear that there are readers who buy their books as shown in sales figures. Writers wrote messages, as shown in pictures 16 and 17 below, to Thai readers whilst they have not the slightest idea who these readers are individually. Anderson (ibid:26-28) points out when he makes some observations about a sociological organism in his examples of fictions that 'while Rizal has not the faintest idea of his readers' individual identities, he writes to them with an ironical intimacy, as though their relationships with each other are not in the smallest degree problematic.' In such a manner, the writers gain immediate celebrity as it is the obverse side of the readers' anonymous obscurity (ibid:28). Nowadays the imagined community and relationships have developed to another level where members can communicate virtually, such as, for example, the group page on Facebook (Facebook 2015) and the club on Pantip (Pantip 2015). This virtual community enables the members nationwide or even outside the country to be able to interact with one another conveniently even though they do not know each other's real identities. Besides, it is another way for publishers to get in touch with their readers, especially those who are fans. Nonetheless, the

martial arts genre is not limited within the community. Its elements have been adopted and used outside the sphere, appearing in everyday life, as discussed earlier in this chapter.



Picture 15 Talk on 'The 10 Must-Read-Before-Dead Chinese Novels'

The talk on *The 10 Must-Read-Before-Dead Chinese Novels* held at B2S, B floor, Central Ladprao on 21 February 2015, posted on the Facebook page of Siam Inter Book on 23 February 2015.

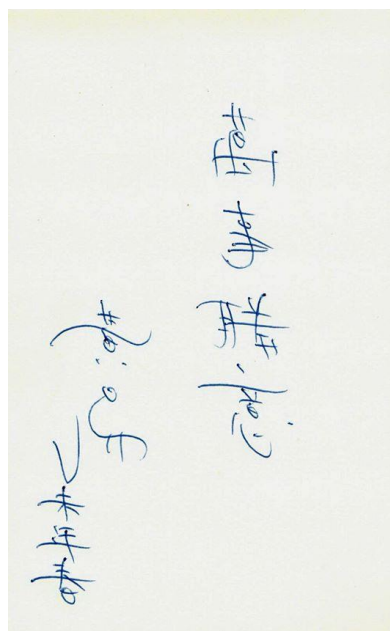
In both photos, Nor Noppharat is in the middle. Lee Linli is on his right.

Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.958053780872977.1073741836.137618732916490&type=1>, last accessed 5 June 2015.

Publishers and translators have been reaching out to their readers, establishing communication and relations. This occurs in several forms such as talks, book launches, autographing by translators, online competitions and activities, and news updates on the Facebook page among others (see picture 15). Publishers like Siam Inter Book not only act as a medium between translators and readers but also between writers and readers and, in so doing, the publisher keeps in touch with the writers. As stated on the publisher's Facebook page, it is the tradition that Siam Inter Multimedia and Nor Noppharat visit Huang Yi in Hong Kong before the Chinese New Year every year, and in 2015 they brought greetings from the writer to the readers along with news regarding new books from the conversation between Huang Yi and Nor Noppharat, posted on the page on behalf of Nor Noppharat (see picture 16 and 17). In 2016, the publisher also shared a photo and news from a meeting with Huang Yi during the Lantern Festival or Yuanxiao (see picture 18). It can be observed that the publisher Siam Inter Book and Nor Noppharat have been working as a team or *phuak*. To promote a book, the publisher also promotes its translator and its writer, especially with new translators who the publisher has to introduce to readers. When its translators are interviewed in

magazines or online articles the publisher spreads the news, for example by posting on the Facebook page, making sure that readers know about them. On the one hand, it is a way to bring the writer and the translator closer to the readers while on the other, readers feel included into the community and the production.



Picture 16 Huang Yi's message

A message from Huang Yi to Thai readers on the occasion of the Chinese New Year 2015 saying:

May all your wishes come true.

Huang Yi

New Year's Eve, spring [2015]

Posted on the Facebook Page of Siam Inter Book on 16 February 2015.

Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/siaminterbooks/photos/a.155650347779995.32461.137618732916490/954763144535374/?type=1&theater>, last accessed 5 June 2015.

Picture 17 Yue Guan's message

A message from Yue Guan to Thai readers on the occasion of the Chinese New Year 2015 saying:

Dear Thai reader friends,

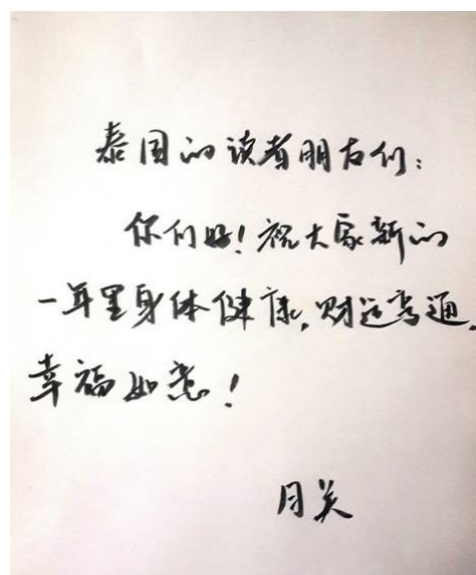
Hello everybody! This New Year, wish you all health, wealth, happiness, and may all your hopes be fulfilled!

Yue Guan

Posted on the Facebook Page of Siam Inter Book on 19 February 2015.

Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/siaminterbooks/photos/a.155650347779995.32461.137618732916490/956048314406857/?type=1&theater>, last accessed 5 June 2015.





Picture 18 Huang Yi and Nor Noppharat

Posted on the Facebook Page of Siam Inter Book on 26 February 2016.

Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/siaminterbooks/posts/1143920832286270:0>, last accessed 25 March 2016.

Here we can also see that this is a kind of promotional strategy to accumulate symbolic capital in order to increase economic capital in the form of sales figures. According to Bourdieu (2012:148)

‘Economic’ capital cannot guarantee the specific profits offered by the field – and by the same token the ‘economic’ profits that they will often bring in time – unless it is reconverted into symbolic capital. The only legitimate accumulation, for the author as for the critic, for the art dealer as for the publisher or theatre director, consists in making a name for oneself, a name that is known and recognized, the capital of consecration – implying a power to consecrate objects (this is the effect of a signature or trademark) or people (by publication, exhibition, etc.), and hence of giving them value, and of making profits from this operation.

The publisher Siam Inter Book, who has already built a name for itself, tries to help build and strengthen a name for its translators, both new and old, by the different methods mentioned earlier. Some of the translators, like Nor Noppharat, who has become famous in the field, have their own fans who will follow and buy their work. Some enthusiastic readers would want to have their books signed by the translators, as

seen at the book expos where translators are stationed at the booth of the publisher to sign autographs. Successful translators can also help new translators be recognised, for example, by mentioning them in their interviews or appearing at events with them. In the magazine *Kullasatri*, an interview with a new young translator is laid out next to an interview with Nor Noppharat (Anon 2015:68-69), or as seen in picture 15, the publisher organised a talk where guest speakers included Nor Noppharat and Lee Linli. Writers' names are also important in that books of writers who are already known by Thai readers, such as, Jin Yong and Gu Long, can be reprinted and sold for years and years and become classics in the field. In the case of books of new writers, translators' names can help to promote them. There is a trust built in the relationship between translators and readers where readers trust their favourite translators' choices of books they work on and the quality of their translations. After reading them, readers may or may not like them but they decide to buy because, among other reasons, they are translated by their favourite translators. The publisher has to promote these new writers they want to introduce to their readers as well. For example, in order to introduce and promote work by a new writer translated by Nor Noppharat and published by Siam Inter Book, Nor Noppharat gave an interview to the television programme *Art Club* (*Sin Samoson*) talking about the new era of Chinese martial arts novels and introducing the writer of the new book he translated to the Thai audience (ThaiPBS 2014). Besides, Siam Inter Book organised a talk on 'The Fiftieth Writer of Nor Noppharat: Yue Guan, *Phayakkharat son lep*' to promote both the book and its writer by using Nor Noppharat's name (SMMPublishing 2014). Bourdieu (2012:149) explains that '...new entrants without capital can make an impression on the market by proclaiming the values in the name of which the dominants have accumulated their symbolic capital (more or less reconverted since into "economic" capital)'.

Whether to be successful or not, Bourdieu (ibid:147-148) argues that:

Symbolic and economic success in long-cycle production depends (at least in the beginning) on the moves of a few 'talent-spotters', that is, on authors and critics who make the firm's reputation by gaining it credit (by the fact of publishing there, bringing manuscripts there, speaking favourably of its authors, etc. – and success also depends on the educational system, which alone is capable of offering, in time, a converted public.

...Thus the opposition is total between bestsellers with no tomorrow and the classics, lasting bestsellers which owe to the education system their consecration, hence their extended and durable market. Inscribed in minds as the fundamental principle of division, it grounds two opposed representations of the activity of writer and even of publisher, as simple

merchant or as audacious discoverer; and the latter can only succeed by fully acknowledging the specific laws and stakes of 'pure' production. At the more heteronomous pole of the field, that is to say, among the publishers and writers oriented to sales, as well as among their public, success is in itself a guarantee of value. This means that in this market success goes to success: announcing a print run contributes to making a bestseller; critics can do no better for a book or a play than to 'predict its success'...Failure, of course, is a condemnation without appeal: the person who has no audience has no tale (the same critic speaks of 'authors without talent and without an audience in the manner of Arrabal').

To be successful publishers have to work with translators, by supporting and promoting them. Translators rely on publishers to help sell their books and gain recognition. Well-known translators can help publishers introduce new translators into the field and it is a kind of relationship where each agent has influence on, relies on or benefits from each other in order to be able to take a better position in the field of martial arts fiction. After gaining enough symbolic capital, the position of the agent can move higher with more power. To give an example, Nor Noppharat, having built his name and accumulated symbolic capital for over half a decade, now became a main figure in the field of the martial arts genre. His name in a way is a guarantee of the quality of the translation. Being accepted by readers, his language style became a model that the publisher makes sure the later generation of the field follows. He has more say in the translation production than new translators and this relation between publishers and translators also develops into *phuak* or group with loyalties among its members.

Conclusion

Literary production and the struggles within the field are to a different extent bounded by autonomy and heteronomy. For martial arts novel translation it seems that translators decided to play this game when seeing its potential to be profitable albeit being new in the market. They struggle to pursue economic capital rather than cultural capital and, in this heteronomous way, it is hardly possible for translators to achieve a higher position in the field by themselves. In order to gain economic capital, symbolic capital and better status in the literary field, the three agents - that is, the reader, the translator and the publisher - must collaborate with one another. They have to consider one another's conditions and requirements and therefore they are all related and influence each other. Translators also act as 'representatives' of the writers of the

works they translate, and promote the books by appearing at the Book Expo or book launching events to give a talk and autographs to their readers. It can be said that, like Thai writers, it is possible for Thai translators to achieve higher positions in the field. Once the books are recognised, earn more value and move up to a better position, albeit still at the mass production or the low consecration end, the translators also gain recognition and fame.

When a language style of translation catches much attention, and is adopted as the default style by a publisher for its products by which an editorial committee is set up to make sure that future translations follow the default style to please the readers, it leads to a kind of censorship in the editing process as occurs in the case of Siam Inter Book. However, it should be emphasised that this trend is not permanent. When the society changes, *doxa*, *illusio*, and the stake of the game may change accordingly, as happened when the model of Chinese literature translation changed.

We should also bear in mind that the field of martial arts novel translation is situated within the field of power and culture and cannot escape from those external influences. On the one hand, the case that the publisher decided to publish martial arts stories in newspaper when political news was not allowed due to the political and social situations, for example the coup in 1977, shows that the field of power has an influence on the production of martial arts novels translation. Fortunately at that time it was a positive influence on the field that boosted the production and potentially increased the number of readers. On the other hand, the martial arts genre has been used as a tool to undermine the political power of dictatorship and military governments and has been used to criticise the injustice. Moreover, because of the heroism, excitement and the many other qualities it contains, the genre has been adopted in various other contexts from politics to pop-culture. Even those who have never read martial arts novels have heard something about the genre even though they may not realise what it is from. Undoubtedly it is because of the fact that Thai culture has enjoyed a hybridised and integrated relationship with Chinese culture for such a long time which has in turn played a major role in intensifying the pervasiveness of the genre in Thai society that martial arts novels are widely accepted.

CHAPTER SIX

Martial Arts Novels in Thai Translation

This chapter focuses on a textual analysis of martial arts novels in Thai translation within the framework of Bourdieu's notions of field and habitus. It examines the strategies and style of language adopted in the translation process from a sociological perspective, bringing socio-political and cultural factors into consideration in relation to translation production as a whole. It is to explain their acceptability, the popularity of the genre and the translators' decision-making processes and outcomes.

Before looking at the textual analysis, information on the background and history of Nor Noppharat, drawing on interviews conducted by Prasit Chakattam and Pranit Phosiwangchai and published in *60 Years Nor Noppharat* and 'The Writer's Secret: Nor Noppharat Yutthajak Suantua' in *Writer* vol. 2:24 respectively, is provided here to appreciate the disposition of the translation agent. Relations between the translators and publishers, along with those between Nor Noppharat and Wor na Mueanglung are also discussed in this chapter.

Behind the Pseudonym 'Nor Noppharat'

The pseudonym Nor Noppharat had been initially shared between two brothers, Anon (1948-2000) and Amnuai (1950-present) Piromanukul since 1966 until Anon died in 2000. Since then, Amnuai has been working alone under the same pseudonym.

Anon and Amnuai are *lukjin* whose father migrated from Shantou, Guangdong province when the Japanese army invaded China during The Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945). Like some other *lukjin* in Thai society, they went to a primary school that provided Mandarin Chinese classes alongside Thai lessons. However, the Mandarin classes were mostly taught and communicated in Teochew, the dialect spoken in the Chaoshan region of eastern Guangdong including Shantou. From the late 1950s Anon and Amnuai started reading Chinese daily newspapers delivered to their home in which Jin Yong's and Wolong Sheng's martial arts stories were serialised.

Amnuai states that his attention was drawn to martial arts novels when he saw one of his friends at school who came from China reading Jin Yong's novel in a daily newspaper (Panit 2014:112). They also read Wor na Mueanglung's translations such as *Krabi lang khaen* (revenge sword) and *Thianhutjia* (Teochew transliteration of the Chinese title *Tian fo zhang* (天佛掌), literally, Buddha's palm)⁴⁰ when they were in high school. It was not until 1965 that Anon and Amnuai started their careers as martial arts novel translators.

The first novel they chose to translate was *Thepphabut phetchakhat* (literally, angle killer)⁴¹ that won the fifth prize in a martial arts novel competition in Taiwan and was one they enjoyed reading. Their first translation was published by Banluesan publishing house in eighteen volumes under the pseudonym Or Phirom where they were paid 150 Baht per volume, 2,700 Baht in total, which according to Amnuai was quite a good rate at the time (ibid:49).

In early 1966, Phloenjit Publishing House planned to produce *Chumnum rueang jin* (Chinese Story Club), an eight-page-newspaper-sized periodical of a collection of Chinese stories. Five translators, including Or Phirom, were assigned to different stories and the editor of Phloenjit also assigned Anon and Amnuai to another story to translate under a new pseudonym. The pseudonym Nor Noppharat was therefore invented and has been adopted ever since. However, the periodical was not well received by readers and the publisher withdrew it after five issues. Amnuai noted that readers preferred reading a large chunk of one story at a time rather than small chunks of five stories, hence its unpopularity (Prasit 2010:54).

After graduating from school the brothers helped their father with the family business of making mirrors during the day and worked on translation as a part-time job in the evening. After working with Phloenjit for a while, translation became their full-time job and they translated thirty-five foolscap pages a day which was a book per day, and were paid 10 Baht per page which was enough for both of them at that time.

In 1968 Phloenjit encountered financial problems which resulted in fewer publication and less income, so Anon and Amnuai had to find another publisher to publish their work. At that time the daily newspaper *Thai Rath* began to serialise a

⁴⁰ Written by Liu Canyang (柳残阳).

⁴¹ *Zhui hun shusheng* (追魂书生, literally, Scholar the soul chaser), written by Liu Simao (刘四毛).

martial arts story every Wednesday but was not successful. Amnuai observed that a martial arts story being published once a week would not work; it had to be every day to be successful (Panit 2014:117). Motivated by *Thai Rath*, Anon and Amnuai presented their work to several newspapers but with no success until early 1969 when *Thai Daily* agreed to publish their work. This attracted readers to come to the press and wait for the next chapter early in the morning.

In the same year the brothers were introduced to Bandansan Publishing House where they worked until 1976 when the publishing house developed financial problems. Then they worked with Bannakit Publishing House shortly before moving to *Thai Rath* in 1977. In that year there was an attempted coup⁴² leading to unrest in society and journalists were unable to provide news articles. *Thai Rath* decided to publish Chinese stories after seeing that there were potential readers who enjoyed reading novels in Bangkok. Nor Noppharat was successful in getting the job and did the translation of *Insi pha-ngat fa* (literally, the soaring eagle),⁴³ which helped increase the circulation of the newspaper from four hundred thousand to six hundred thousand copies per day. It can be speculated that the stress of the political situation played a part in drawing more readers to the entertaining Chinese stories. Besides, the editor also asked the columnists to say something about the story in each issue to promote it. This also expanded the limited sphere of the readership of martial arts stories that used to be about three thousand nationwide. However, it is difficult to know for sure how many readers there were. In the meantime, the competitor publication *Daily News* also published Wor na Mueanglung's translations of martial arts novels.

In 1981 another coup attempt⁴⁴ caused a similar level of political instability. *Thai Rath* resolved news reporting limitations by having Nor Noppharat translate a television script of an upcoming Hong Kong television series *Suek sai-lueat* (literally, blood war)⁴⁵ to serialise instead. It can be again seen here that political crises therefore had an immediate effect on stimulating the publication of alternative forms of reading material. Some publishers opted for entertainment stories to fill their pages, as in this case, however, in television scripts there was no description of fighting scenes. Using

⁴² The coup by General Chalat Hiransiri against the Thanin Kraiwichian's regime on 26 March 1977.

⁴³ *Yuanyue wandao*, (圓月彎刀, literally, the full-moon curved blade), written by Gu Long.

⁴⁴ The Young Turks' Rebellion or Mesa Hawaii Rebellion against General Prem Tinsulanonda's regime, 1 April to 3 April 1981.

⁴⁵ *Da nei qun ying* (大內群英, literally, hero of the royal palace).

their experience, Nor Noppharat described the scenes themselves but it turned out that the descriptions did not match the motion pictures on screen. To solve the problem the videos of the second part of the series brought in from Hong Kong were transcribed from Cantonese for Nor Noppharat, who could not understand the language.

1980s was a period when the martial arts genre was on a downward trend and moved its base from pocket books and newspapers to television. When there were too many Chinese series occupying the eight-pm-primetime slot that was usually reserved for Thai dramas that almost disappeared, the Chinese series were moved to other timeslots and gradually decreased in amount and so *Thai Rath* turned to serialising Thai drama scripts instead. The brothers worked there until 1983 before moving to Siam Sport Publishing.

According to Amnuai, Siam Sport Publishing gave second priority to Chinese novels after the daily newspaper (Panit 2014:124). Then in around 1990 the pocket book publication section of the publishing house was separated to have its own publishing house called Siam Inter Book and was where Anon was based until he died in 2000 and where Amnuai continues to work until the present day.

Martial arts stories made a comeback in 2000 when Huang Yi's *Jo wela ha Jinsi* (literally, travel back through time to find Jinsi)⁴⁶ became popular with a new different plot combining martial arts with science and history. It marked a new era of martial arts genre, and *Jo wela ha Jinsi* was the first martial arts novel whose copyright was legally purchased from the author and has subsequently been reprinted several times. Amnuai says that Huang Yi's *Mangkon khu su sip thit* (literally, twin dragons fighting ten directions,⁴⁷), which consisted of twenty-one volumes and has been reprinted three times, was the bestseller that gave him a seven-figure income. It should also be noted that pocket book prices in this era were higher than in the past, in line with the cost of living. The first volume of *Mangkon khu su sipthit* is currently priced at two hundred and seventy Baht.

Since the two brothers started their career they have received professional support from several writers, editors, translators and other people in the field. When they were still teenagers a writer who worked at Banluesan and whose relative

⁴⁶ *Xun qin Ji*, (寻秦记, A Step into the Past), written by Huang Yi (黄易).

⁴⁷ *Da tang shuang long zhuan* (大唐双龙传, Twin of Brothers), written by Huang Yi (黄易).

happened to be their neighbour persuaded them to translate Chinese stories. Eventually they agreed and had their first translation published. When they moved to new publishers it was by a personal introduction and so it can be seen that in this field, as in Thai society as a whole, apart from ability, having some connections or social capital can be beneficial. This also demonstrates the nature of relationships in the field in which connections play an undeniably important role.

Unlike writers, it is not common for translators to stick to one genre of fiction throughout their career. Translators in the martial arts genre are an exception, at least for Nor Noppharat and Wor na Mueanglung. Two major factors that enable martial arts novel translators to stick to the genre are the bulk source texts and the market. It can be said that their status is equivalent to being a writer and not someone who works backstage. Readers acknowledge their names as they acknowledge the writers' names. Nowadays Amnuai, who has accumulated both symbolic and economic capital for five decades and earned a prestigious status in the field of martial arts novel translation, is seen as the best in the field and is often referred to as *ajarn*, the term used to refer to a teacher.

Nor Noppharat and Wor na Mueanglung

I am not the best swordsman. Wor na Mueanglung is.
(Amnuai; interviewed in Panit 2014:113)

It is clear that Amnuai has great respect for Wor na Mueanglung who was like a mentor for him and his brother. Although people consider him to be the best 'swordsman', he insists that he is the second best and that Wor na Mueanglung is the best swordsman to whom no one can compare with (ibid). He says that 'in the field of Chinese literature translation, there will not be a second Wor na Mueanglung in the next hundred years' (ibid:113). This is also the saying referring to Jin Yong, the best author of the martial arts genre.

Wor na Mueanglung, the pseudonym of Chin Bamrunghong (1928-2004), was active from 1963 to 1980 and translated over three hundred stories during that time. The first story he translated was *Krabi lang khaen* (revenge sword) that immediately became a hit. He met Nor Noppharat at Phloenjit Publishing House when the brothers had just started working there. Amnuai says that when they first met, Wor na Mueanglung told them that a reader asked him whether he had changed his pseudonym

to Or Phirom because of the similarity of their language styles (ibid). After that Wor na Mueanglung kept in touch with them and gave them advice on matters such as where to find source texts and which stories were good to read and translate.

Amnuai says that Wor na Mueanglung socialised with a group of famous writers of that time such as Nopphon Bunyarit, Rattana Yawapraphat and Ajin Panjaphan (ibid; Prasit 2010:59) and was the only one among Thai writers who owned a BMW. Clearly, a writer owning a European car in that era was prestigious and, after drinking with his friends and before going home, he would drive to Amnuai's home and talk with him in the car, mostly about books. When he was ill before he died he welcomed only a few visitors and Amnuai was one of them. Obviously, Wor na Mueanglung was very fond of him.

It is interesting to see that the relationship between them was special, they were like mentor-disciple or even brothers. However, such a relationship is hardly unquestionable and it is doubtful whether it came out of mere fondness without any agenda behind it. On the one hand, intentionally or not, what Wor na Mueanglung might gain was respect or admiration from Nor Noppharat and their colleagues and it cannot be denied that being a mentor is prestigious. On the other hand, he found someone whom he could share his passion for martial arts novels with and he made friends with him which, friendship aside, also created a sense of being in the same group or *phuak*. No matter what was behind this relationship, he helped guide new young translators in the field. Amnuai says that there were times that they accidentally translated the same stories, as Wor na Mueanglung did because of the limitation of the source texts, and he was afraid that Wor na Mueanglung, who was more senior, would be angry with them (Panit 2014:119). Later, when he asked Wor na Mueanglung about this, his response was that 'there are not many translators, so what is the point of bothering to be angry with each other. No matter writer or translator, the person who can kill your name is no one else other than yourself. One must not worry about contestants' (ibid). Apparently, competitiveness was out of the picture here. Wor na Mueanglung did not see Nor Noppharat as his rival nor vice versa. Since there was merely a handful of martial arts novel translators the sense of competitiveness was not intense although the intensity fell more on publishers to keep their businesses going.

Now that we have learnt about Nor Nopparat's background, position and relationships in the field, we can explain the habitus and social trajectories they acquired from what they internalised along the way, leading to a better understanding of their translation strategies.

Nor Noppharat's Translation Method and Strategies

From acquiring source texts to working on translation

Nor Noppharat acquired the source texts from several sources such as rental bookstores, daily newspapers, magazines, and ordering from publishers in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Amnuai says that Wor na Mueanglung suggested they acquire source texts from his friend's bookstore Nam Heng opposite a cinema in Chinatown (Prasit 2010:58). The rental bookstore ordered books, which were originally from Taiwan and Hong Kong then distributed to other bookstores around Chinatown in the central area. Sometimes if they could not find the books they wanted from Nam Heng they rented them from another store called Tang Kuai in Chinatown which had someone carry in books. Amnuai also says that Wor na Mueanglung told readers he met in Nam Heng that they could suggest books to him and if he liked them and translated them he would give them some money as a reward for their suggestions (ibid). Therefore he received many suggestions from enthusiastic readers. When Nor Noppharat ordered books from Jin Siang Mui Publishing House or Sing Tai Publishing House in Taiwan, they enclosed five US dollars in an envelope and the publisher there would send them the books they ordered. They obtained the list of books from Mr Song of Jin Siang Mui with his suggestions of his favourite writers. After Nam Heng closed down, Nor Noppharat also ordered books from Hi Ki, a publishing house in Hong Kong. Amnuai says that he was summoned twice for Chinese books he ordered because the authorities randomly checked suspicious parcels in search of communist-related items (ibid:60). Then they would return the books to them if they did not find anything related to communism. Later, Amnuai asked the publisher to send the books to the publishing house to avoid being summoned again; at that time they were with Bandansan.

Nor Noppharat selected texts to translate from a variety of criteria. When they chose *Thepphabut phetchakhat* (Angel Killer) it was because the story won the fifth award and they enjoyed reading it. They did not like the first four stories so they did

not choose them. Sometimes they had suggestions from publishers, readers or Wor na Mueanglung or they picked stories that were popular or written by famous authors.

When Nor Noppharat was two translators working together, Amnuai read the Chinese source text and translated orally into Thai. This was written down by Anon and then both of them edited and polished the language. When they worked with Phloenjit they translated into thirty-five foolscap pages (which equals a print copy) a day; ten pages in the morning, fifteen in the afternoon and ten more in the evening then Phloenjit would send a messenger to collect the copy every day. As can be imagined, this way of working was a race-against-time task. Subsequently, Amnuai had fifteen foolscap pages and Wor na Mueanglung recorded his translation on audio tape two hours per day which would be the copy after a secretary at the publishing house transcribed it. When Anon died, Amnuai was working on translating Huang Yi's work, which was problematic because he was not familiar with the writer's style of language. He had to write it down on notepads and then edit it while copying the end result to foolscap paper. Later on, when he was more familiar with the style, he wrote it directly on foolscap paper.

It should be emphasised here that Nor Noppharat adjusted their translation language style according to that of the writers' in order to maintain the writers' identity. However, Amnuai points out that a negative aspect of writers nowadays is that they do not pay much attention to the language but instead focus on marketing (Panit 2014:121). He stresses that if a writer wants to write a period story they ought to use period language as well, but when he was translating a particular novel and he found that the writer compared the smile with Mona Lisa's smile, he had to cut it out (ibid). When talking about his language style, Amnuai says that he copies and adapts in order to find his own way which he has been doing all these years (Prasit 2010: 78). He never stopped studying and trying to figure out how a writer works and how he will render the work and therefore, up until now, when he sees a particular style of Chinese language he automatically knows how to translate it. In order to improve and increase his language repertoire he also reads Yakhop's and Chao Phraya Phrakhleng (Hon)'s works, listens to Thai songs, and looks up words and phrases in collections of songs.

Starting from scratch without any symbolic or economic capital, Nor Noppharat struggled to secure a place in the field. Even though they were not professionals or trained as translators when they started working on their first martial arts novel,

experience over decades and accumulated capital sent them to the top of the field and, as a result, they have more power in the field. Hence, they have some autonomy to invent their own style thanks to the pioneering works of Wor na Mueanglung and, intentionally or not, set the model for martial arts novel translation which has been supported by the publishers with whom they work. With all the capital and power some other translators in the field give them a great deal of respect and follow their model of translation as it is a safer way to play this game, be accepted and climb the status ladder in the field. It is therefore necessary to note what Nor Noppharat has contributed to this field by examining their translations. It is so that we can also learn how much socio-political, cultural and literary factors influence their translation process and style.

Translating martial arts novels

There are always concerns when translating a text as culturally rich as martial arts novels. Yet considering how successful the genre is in Thai society it proves that a culturally hybrid society between Thai and Chinese cultures can be advantageous to the translation practice. It is now crucial to look into the translations themselves to see how Nor Noppharat translated the novels and their language style. The points that should be considered here are transliteration of proper nouns and forms of address, title translation, wording and phrasing, and omission and adaptation.

Transliteration of proper nouns and forms of address

Before 2000, proper nouns like names of places, characters, organisations, swordplays and stances were transliterated into the Teochew dialect. It is assumed that Teochew was chosen instead of Mandarin because at that time there were more Teochew people in Thailand than others and naturally they still used Teochew in everyday life, not to mention the fact that the translators – Nor Noppharat, Wor na Mueanglung, Jamlong Phitnakha – are/were also Teochew or familiar with the Teochew dialect. Thus, growing up and living in this society it is not surprising to see Nor Noppharat's habitus was expressed in this way of using Teochew which at the time was also a common practice in the field of Chinese literature translation. Therefore Thai readers know these characters, *Linghu Chong* (令狐冲) as *Lenghu Chong* (เหล็งฮู้ซ่ง), *Yue Buqun* (岳不群) as *Ngak Pukkhung* (อักปุกคั้ง), *Guo Jing* (郭靖) as *Kuai Jeng* (ก้วยเจ้ง), and *Wei*

Xiaobao (韦小宝) as *Ui Siaopo* (ฮุยเซี่ยวป้อ), for instance. Sometimes the same names are transliterated slightly differently by different translators. For example, *Li Xunhuan* (李寻欢) was transliterated as *Li Chimhua* (ลิซิมฮัว) by Nor Noppharat, and *Li Khimhuang* (ลิคิมฮวง) by Wor na Mueanglung; *Yang Guo* (杨过) was transliterated as *Ia Kuai* (with the second tone, เอียก้วย) by Nor Noppharat and *Ia Kuai* (with the third tone, เอียก้วย) by Jamlong; *Hong Qigong* (洪七公) was transliterated as *Ang Chikkong* (อังฉิกกง) by Nor Noppharat and *Ang Chitkong* (อังฉิดกง) by Jamlong.

In 2000, Huang Yi's *Jo wela ha Jinsi* marked a change of the transliteration from Teochew to Mandarin. Even though the author is from Hong Kong, their native Cantonese was not a natural choice because Mandarin is the standard and official Chinese dialect and Nor Noppharat does not know Cantonese. Hence, character names and proper nouns are transliterated into Mandarin, such as *Siang Saolong* (เซียงเส้าหลง, 项少龙 – *Xiang Shaolong*), *Liang Woenjing* (เหลียงเหวินจิง, 梁文靖 – *Liang Wenjing*), *Li Si* (หลี่ซี, 李旭 – *Li Xu*). It should be noted that *Li si* is not an accurate transliteration. In the Thai language the sound of *xu* (旭) does not exist so it is difficult to spell it in Thai. It is pronounced สวี (*sui*), which can be confusing for Thai readers who do not know Mandarin. The translator then decided to transliterate it as closely as possible. It is also interesting to point out that in the title *Jo wela ha Jinsi*, the name *Jinsi* is the Teochew transliteration of *Qin Shi Huangdi* (秦始皇帝), the first emperor of Qin dynasty. It is because Thai readers are already familiar with *Jinsi Hongte* (จีนซีฮ่องเต้), the Teochew sound of it, therefore the translator kept the Teochew transliteration for the name.

Characters' names usually contain significant meanings, which are sometimes referred to in the stories. What Nor Noppharat did was to put the meanings in brackets, such as “จักปักคั้งแม้อื่อ ‘ปักคั้ง’ (ไม่รวมผู้) แต่ชมชอบคบหาสหาย” (Nor Noppharat 2006:246, original emphasis), following the original emphasis, meaning Ngak Pukkhung, despite having the name ‘**Pukkhung**’ (*isolated*), enjoyed socialising.⁴⁸ When *Li Chimhua* (Li

⁴⁸ English translations in this chapter are my translations unless stated otherwise.

Xunhuan) is mentioned for the first time in the story, Nor Noppharat added a footnote to explain the meaning of his name that says “ลี้เป็นแซ่ ชิมฮัวแปลว่าแสวงหาความสุข” (Nor Noppharat 2011a:6), meaning *Li* is a family name and *Chimhua* means seeking for happiness.

Many characters in the novels also have nicknames and Nor Noppharat transliterated them into Teochew and gave the translations in brackets but tended to use the translated nicknames throughout the stories rather than transliterated ones. Amnuai explains that, using himself as the parameter, although he knows Chinese, when he read Wor na Mueanglung’s translations that use Chinese nicknames he felt that it was difficult to read. He considered that it must be difficult for readers who do not know the language and therefore he translated them into Thai (Prasit 2010:90). However, this approach is more work-intensive as he has to note them down whilst doing the translation so that he would not forget (ibid). For example:

เผ่าค่อมนอกกำแพงใหญ่เห็นคนผู้หนึ่งคือเจ้าสำนักฮั่วซัว ฉายา **กุนจื้อเกี่ยม** (กระบี่วิญญูชน) จักปุกคั้งจริง ๆ ในใจมันบังเกิดความเกร็งเกรงต่อคนผู้นี้
(Nor Noppharat 2006:211, original emphasis)

Once Old Hunchback outside the Great Wall recognised that this person really was the Huoshuo Sect’s leader, nicknamed **Kunjue kiam** (*Krabi winyuchon*) Ngak Pukkhung, fear of this person arose inside him.

กุนจื้อเกี่ยม (*Kunjue kiam*) is the Teochew transliteration of *Junzi jian* (君子剑) which means Gentleman Sword or in the Thai translation *กระบี่วิญญูชน* (*Krabi winyuchon*) and is the nickname of *Ngak Pukkhung* (Yue Buqun). When the nickname is mentioned again, Nor Noppharat chose the translated nickname as seen in:

กระบี่วิญญูชนจักปุกคั้งหลังจากรับลี้มั่งเฟ่งจื้อเป็นศิษย์ ก็นำศิษย์ทั้งหลายไปเยี่ยมค่านับ
เล่าเจี่ยฮวงที่คฤหาสน์
(ibid:245)

After *Krabi Winyuchon Ngak Pukkhung* accepted *Lim Phengjue* as his apprentice, he took all his apprentices to pay respect to *Lao Jiahuang* at his mansion.

As explained earlier, *Krabi Winyuchon Ngak Pukkhung* is Gentleman Sword Yue Buqun. The order is usually nickname followed by name. It should also be mentioned that *Ngak Pukkhung* (Yue Buqun) is also known as a ‘hypocrite’ (伪君子) or *winyuchon jom plom* (วิญญูชนจอมปลอม). The nickname, *winyuchon jom plom*, has been adopted in

the real world, especially to name corrupt politicians, as shown in the previous chapter. From this example, *Lim Phengjue* (ลิมเพ้งจือ) is *Lin Pingzhi* in Mandarin (林平之) and *Lao Jiahuang* (เล่าเจียฮวง) is *Liu Zhengfeng* (刘正风). Some nicknames only appear in Thai translations without the Teochew transliterations, such as *Thao khom nok kamphaeng yai* (เต๋าค่อมนอกกำแพงใหญ่, Old Hunchback outside the Great Wall) which is from the nickname *Saibei ming tuo* (塞北明驼, Hunchback of the North) of Mu Gaofeng (ibid:203). *Saibei* (塞北) means north of the Great Wall, hence the Thai nickname. *Phit prajim Ao 'iang Hong* (พิษประจิมฮาวเอี้ยงฮง) or Western Venom Ouyang Feng (西毒欧阳锋) also appears without the Teochew transliteration (Nor Noppharat 2004:106). It is the nickname of Ao'iang Hong (ฮาวเอี้ยงฮง) or Ouyang Feng (欧阳锋) in Mandarin and he is also known as Old Venomous Creature (老毒物) which is *Thao phit rai* (เต๋าพิษร้าย) or *Thao saraphat phit* (เต๋าสารพัดพิษ). *Thao saraphat phit* was adopted as the title of a Thai folk song by the National Artist Chai Mueangsing (a pseudonym of Somsian Phanthong). In *Jo wela ha Jinsi*, if there is a name with a nickname the translator tended to keep only the Thai translation of the nickname after its first appearance. For instance, after the first appearance of นางงามน้ำแข็งเงินชู่ยจือ (*Nangngam namkhang Joen Chuijue*, 冰霜美人郑翠芝, literally frost beauty Zheng Cuizhi), the translator referred to her by nickname *Nang-ngam nam khang* (frost beauty, 冰霜美人) instead of her name *Joen Chuijue* (*Zheng Cuizhi*, 郑翠芝), which is also apparent with ยอดพญแห่งบาร์เหล้าโจวเซียงเม่ย (*Yot phathu haeng balao Jou Siangmoei*, 酒吧皇后周香媚, literally the bar queen Zhou Xiangmei or the bar empress Zhou Xiangmei).

In *Mahakap phupha maha nathi ton pathombot phukla* (literally the mountain and lake epic: the hero prequel episode)⁴⁹ there are titles and military ranks that Nor Noppharat tried to find an equivalent word for in Thai. For example: แม่ทัพปาเยียน (*maethap Payian*, commander-in-chief or army leader or general Payian) for 伯颜将军 (*Boyan jiangjun*, General Bayan); พระยาแซ่สี่ (*phraya sae sue*) for 史世侯 (*Shi Shihou*. *Shihou* is an army rank in the Jin and Yuan dynasties) but he put the Thai translation

⁴⁹ *Kunlun qianzhuan* (昆仑前传, literally Kunlun Prequel), written by Feng Ge (凤歌).

in the bracket and called him สี่ชื่อโฮว (*Sue Suehou*); นายพล (*nai-phon*, general) for 马军万夫长 (*majun wan fuzhang*, general of the cavalry) which was also put in brackets after the transliteration ว่านฟูจาง (*wan fujang*). It should be noticed that *phraya* (พระยา) is a Thai civil or military peerage conferred on commissioned officers who were commander-in-chief before the Siamese coup d'état of 1932 and that *nai-phon* (นายพล) is a high ranking officer in the army, navy and air force in the present day. Thus they are words from different eras. In *Jo wela ha Jinsi*, Nor Noppharat (Nor Noppharat 2007:151) explained the Chinese feudal nobility title *houyae* (โหวเหย, from *houye* (侯爷), a term to call a noble) in a footnote that during the feudal era there were five ranks of nobility: the first one was *kong* (กง) which is *chao phraya* (เจ้าพระยา); the second was *hou* (โหว) which is *phraya* (พระยา); *houyae* (โหวเหย) means *than phraya* (ท่านพระยา). It shows his attempt to find equivalent words but unfortunately the Thai system was several centuries later which gives the impression of being in the wrong time and wrong place, and also renders the work more Thai than Chinese. Nevertheless, these terms are familiar to Thai readers. This is an example of non-equivalence or even untranslatability in translation. Nor Noppharat tried to solve the problem by using the Thai system. In his translation his strategy is still the same, in that he put the meaning of the title in brackets after the Mandarin transliteration for the first usage and after that he called the character by the meaning of the title. He called *Julu Hou Zhao Mu* (巨鹿侯赵穆) *Phraya jao maruek Jao Mu* (พระยาเจ้ามฤคเจ้ามู่). *Julu* (巨鹿) is a place name, literally meaning large deer. *Maruek* (มฤค) is a literary word for wild animal including deer. However, *jao maruek* (เจ้ามฤค) is the king of animals, that is a lion and not a deer.

In Chinese culture there are several ways to address a person and the Chinese forms of address are mostly maintained through transliteration into Teochew. It is possible that Nor Noppharat decided to borrow the terms because he thought that people in Thai society were already familiar with them. Nor Noppharat also added their meanings in brackets the first time they appear or occasionally for some words throughout the stories, for instance:

อวเฉียงซินแซ (ท่านผู้แซ่อวเฉียง) (Nor Noppharat 2004:110)

Ao'iang Sinsae (mister who named Ao'iang).

Sinsae is from *xiansheng* (先生), which means mister.

พัวพัว (ท่านย่า) อย่าให้ซือแป๋จับตัวข้าพเจ้ากลับไป (ibid:250)

Puapua (grandma), don't let suepae take me back.

Puapua is from *popo* (婆婆), meaning grandmother. In Chinese culture, young people can call old ladies grandmother even though they are not related which is the same as in Thai culture. *Suepae* is from *shifu* (师傅), which means a master who teaches skills to his apprentice. Besides, forms of addresses such as *kounia* (โกวเนี้ย, Mandarin *guniang* (姑娘), meaning miss), *tuako* (ตั่วกอ, Mandarin *dage* (大哥), meaning big brother), *taihiap* (ไต้เฮียป, Mandarin *daxia* (大侠) meaning martial hero or martial artist) and others are commonly used in the stories. After the transliteration was changed to Mandarin Nor Noppharat still keep using the Teochew transliteration for terms that Thai readers were familiar with but he translated the names into Mandarin such as: *Ya Huyin* (หยาฮูยิ่น) instead of *Ya Furen* (雅夫人, meaning Mistress Ya or Mrs Ya); *Wai'an Ong* (ไหวอันอึ้ง) instead of *Huai'an Wang* (淮安王). It should be noted that the way of addressing a person in Thai culture is similar to that in Chinese culture and therefore the concept is not so alien to Thai readers although the dialect may be for some.

Names of sects or organisations that are transliterated into Teochew are such as *Samnak Huashua* (สำนักฮัวซัว, Mandarin *Huashan Pai* (华山派) or Mount Hua Sect), *Samnak Butueng* (สำนักบู๊ตึ้ง, Mandarin *Wudang pai* (武当派) or Wudang Sect). Some sects or organisations are translated into Thai as well, for example “ฮกอุ้ยเปี้ยเก็ก (สำนักคุ้มกันภัยบุญบารมี)” (Nor Noppharat 2006:31, original emphasis) or **Hok Ui Pia Kek** (*Samnak khumkan phai bun barami*), literally Merit and Virtue Convoy Agency, is from *Fu Wei Biao Ju* (福威镖局, Fuwei Convoy Agency, literally, Fortune and Power Convoy Agency). In *Jo wela ha Jinsi*, Nor Noppharat transliterated the name *Mojia* (墨家, literally School of Mo, or Mohism) into Mandarin.

In the same manner, swordplays and stances are transliterated into Teochew and translated into Thai which are then used throughout the stories, for example:

“เคล็ดวิชาตึกโกวเกาเกี่ยม (เก้ากระบี่เดี่ยวดาบ) เจ้าเคยฝึกปรี๊ดหรือ?”

“หลานศิษย์ไม่เคยเรียนมาก่อน ไม่ทราบว่าเป็นเก้ากระบี่เดี่ยวดาบ” (ibid:440)

‘The swordplay **Tokkou Kao Kiam** (*Kao krabi diao-dai*), have you learnt before?’

‘I have never learnt it. Did not know it is called Kao krabi diao-dai.’

ตึกโกวเกาเกี่ยม (*Tokkou kao kiam*) is transliterated from *Dugu jiu jian* (独孤九剑), which means Nine Swords of Dugu. *Dugu* is the surname of the creator of the swordplay that means single and lonely, hence the Thai name เก้ากระบี่เดี่ยวดาบ (*Kao krabi diao-dai*, literally nine lonely swords).

We can see that since 2000 transliteration has been made into Mandarin as China had opened its country to the outside world, and thereafter there have been more people learning Mandarin Chinese whereas fewer of the younger generation know Teochew. Therefore Nor Noppharat and the publishers decided that it was time to change. Here we can see the influence of society and readers on the field of martial arts novel translation and production. Besides, from this period the plots of martial arts novels are more varied with the combination of history, sci-fi, fantasy, war and strategies among others. Albeit still *wuxia* novels, some of them do not contain or focus closely on traditional internal power (*kamlang phai nai*) anymore. A result of this is that in Thailand people in the field call them *yutthaniyai* (literally, fighting or battle novel) although basically they are still in the *niyai kamlang phai nai* genre and as such is a new generation of martial arts genre. Nor Noppharat (only Amnuai from 2000) still adopts the same strategy, transliterating and explaining where required, and tends to choose Thai translated terms over transliterated ones. Some nicknames and swordplays even appear in Thai translation without their transliterations. Considering Nor Noppharat’s dispositions of habitus it is clear that he tends to make decisions based on his own experience of growing up in this hybrid culture as well as considering the reader and the publisher. He keeps in mind what would be easier to read or understand that would not disrupt the flow and what would be too alien for readers. However, it should be noted that Nor Noppharat’s Mandarin transliterations are not always standard pronunciations but this is understandable considering that he is more fluent in Teochew than Mandarin. Besides, some sounds in Mandarin are difficult to transliterate since the Thai language does not have those sounds. These changes in

society and the relationship between China and the world not only affect the transliteration method but also how Nor Noppharat translates the novels' titles.

Title translation

It is fascinating looking into title translation. There is no rule for translating martial arts novels' titles except that the translators and the teams of editors have to arrive at a title that can attract readers and is meaningful at the same time. Amnuai says that Wor na Mueanglung told him that if he could not translate any titles then just to transliterate them instead but now Amnuai believes that this method no longer works since readers would not understand what the titles meant, unlike in the past when readers still understood a little Teochew (Prasit 2010:82). It also implies that in the past Teochew was the first, if not the only, choice of transliteration. Amnuai also praises Wor na Mueanglung in that his command of Thai was very good as seen from his titles such as จอมโจรจอมใจ (*Jomjon jomjai*), but with some titles like พยัคฆ์ร้ายบูลิ้ม (*Phayak rai bulim*) he had help so Amnuai cannot be certain whether Wor na Mueanglung got the ideas for the titles from his drinking friends or not (ibid:81-82). *Jomjon jomjai* (จอมโจรจอมใจ, meaning my dear bandit) is from Gu Long's *Fragrance in the Sea of Blood* (血海飘香) which is the first book in *The Legend of Chu Liuxiang* series (楚留香传奇). Nor Noppharat also translated this series of novels. They named this one ซอหลิวเซียง ตอนกลิ่นหอมกลางธารเลือด (*Cho Liuhiang: Fragrance in the See of Blood*) which is a more literal translation. *Cho Liuhiang* is of course a Teochew transliteration of *Chu Liuxiang*. *Phayak rai bulim* (พยัคฆ์ร้ายบูลิ้ม, literally *wulin* mighty tiger, referring to the great swordsman of *wulin* or the martial artists' community) is from Gu Long's *The Sword and the Exquisiteness* (名剑风流).

To give more examples, Gu Long's *Sentimental Swordsman, Ruthless Sword* (多情剑客无情剑) was titled ฤทธิมีดสั้น (*Rit mitsan*, literally the might of the flying dagger) whilst Nor Noppharat's title is มีดบินไม่พลาดเป้า (*Mitbin mai phlat pao*, literally, the flying dagger never misses its targets). Gu Long's *The Full-Moon Curved Blade* (圓月彎刀) is titled อินทรีผงาดฟ้า (*Insi pha-ngat fa*, meaning the soaring eagle referring to the protagonist whose name means eagle) by Nor Noppharat. They titled Jin Yong's *The*

Deer and the Cauldron (鹿鼎记) as อู่ยี่เหวินโป๊ (Ui Siaopo) which is the name of the male protagonist in the story and gave กระบี่เย้ยยุทธจักร (*Krabi yoei yutthajak*, meaning the swordsman sneering at *jianghu* or the martial arts world) as a title to Jin Yong's *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* (笑傲江湖). In fact, the title of the first martial arts novel that was translated by Jamlong has nothing to do with the story at all. Its title is มังกรหยก (*Mangkon yok*, literally, jade dragon) whilst its Chinese title is *She diao yingxiong juan* (射雕英雄传, literally, the legend of the condor-shooting heroes) and is known in English as *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*. Nor Noppharat's title for this novel is ก๊วยเจ๋งยอดวีรบุรุษ (*Kuai Jeng yot wiraburut*, literally Kuai Jeng, the great hero). *Kuai Jeng* is *Guo Jing* (郭靖) in Mandarin who is the protagonist. Wor na Mueanglung translated this novel as well and he titled it มังกรเจ้ายุทธจักร (*Mangkon jao yutthajak*, meaning dragon, the king of *jianghu*).

It can be noticed that the words chosen to be used in the titles are quite fanciful, exciting and striking. Protagonists' names, animals that represent Chinese-ness like dragon, tiger or eagle, as well as weapons are commonly seen in martial arts novels' titles which are distinct from the titles of Thai novels, giving it away that they are Chinese novels. Jade is also an ornamental rock that represents Chinese culture and the inspiration behind the title *Mangkon yok* (jade dragon) was perhaps to introduce to Thai readers a new genre of Chinese novel that is powerful and precious as is the notion of dragons and jade. It is clear that maintaining the Chinese-ness is one of the selling points of the genre, in fact, it is screaming Chinese-ness from cover to cover. Illustrations on the covers of martial arts novels, no matter whether it is the drawing, painting, colouring or font styling, all depict Chinese-ness as well as the stories inside (see picture 19-24).



Picture 19 *Krabi Ammahit*

The cover of *Krabi Ammahit* (literally, fiendish sword), published by Phloenjit in 1966.

Source:

<http://bbznet.pukpik.com/scripts2/view.php?user=devilhand&board=1&id=880&c=1&order=numview>, last accessed 26 April 2016.



Picture 20 *Jap it nueng*

The cover of *Jap it nueng*, published by Bandansan in 1971.

Source:

<http://www.manager.co.th/AstvWeekend/ViewNews.aspx?NewsID=9530000171043>, last accessed 26 April 2016.



Picture 21 *Krabi yoei yutthajak*

The cover of *Krabi yoei yutthajak*, published by Siam Sport Publishing in 1985.

It displays the picture from 1984 Hong Kong television series *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer*, produced by TVB.

Source:

http://www.su-usedbook.com/product.detail_45749_th_5309328, last accessed 26 April 2016.



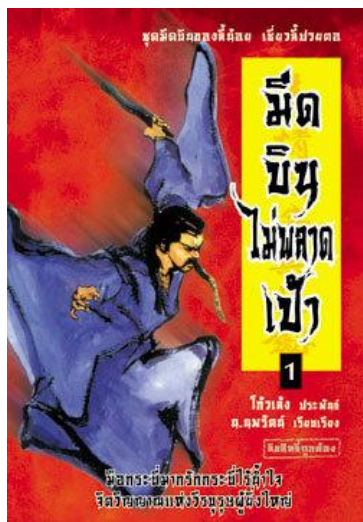
Picture 22 *Kuaijeng yot wiraburut*

A cover of *Kuaijeng yot wiraburut*, published by Siam Inter Comics, in 1994.

The cover illustrates the protagonist *Kuaijeng* shooting the eagles, and the heroine *Uengyong* who would become his wife.

Source:

<https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/23168939-1>, last accessed 26 April 2016.



Picture 23 *Mitbin mai phlatpao*

A cover of *Mitbin mai phlatpao*, published by Siam Inter Book in 2004.

Source:

<http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3310508-1>, last accessed 26 April 2016.



Picture 24 *Phayakkharat son lep*

A cover of *Phayakkharat son lep*, published by Siam Inter Book in 2014.

Source:

<https://www.bfriendstore.com/book-detail/1420>, last accessed 26 April 2016.

These examples of the covers of martial arts novels from 1966 to 2014 show us how the Chinese-ness is perceived and interpreted in Thai society. Clothes, hairstyles and the weapons of the characters on the covers are in traditional Chinese styles and the titles are written in Thai fonts with a Chinese style, imitating brush strokes. In the

early period nude illustrations, as seen in pictures 19 and 20, were also used to attract more readers, especially male readers, who were presumably the target group. The Otherness of the Chinese-looking women on the covers made it, in a sense, acceptable to the imagination of the readers. Since they were not Thai or lived in the society it might allow them to feel less worried about the moral code. When television series became popular in Thailand a picture from the series would be used as a book cover (see picture 21). This indicates that the publisher wanted to attract more of the television series audience to martial arts novels and that television series had, to some extent, an influence on the increase in the number of readers. There was also the hope that some readers may also be interested in a television version after reading the novel. Wuxia heroes or weapons in the stories are common choices for the cover as seen in pictures 22 and 23. In recent years adding the Chinese titles on the covers has become fashionable, as in picture 24, which emphasises that they are Chinese novels and unable to be mistaken. It is the era that Chinese and Korean novels in various genres – romance, period, action, suspense etc. – are popular and there is greater competition for these novels in the field. It also implies that in this generation learning Chinese is a trend, both for Thais and Chinese descendants, as China has had more roles globally. It is also important for some Chinese-Thai families that their children know their ancestral language and culture to enable them to (re)connect with their origins. We can also see the development of the art and graphic design in it becoming more sophisticated during these years. It seems that in a later era nude illustration is not necessary for attracting readers anymore because the genre has gained more recognition and capital that increases its value in the Thai literary field. And, as the society has changed, nude pictures have become regarded as vulgar and lowbrow, which is the opposite of the position that the genre is attempting to take in the field.

Apart from the content itself, it is not only the transliteration, title translation and illustrations on book covers that present Chinese-ness but also the word choices and phrasing in the stories that show its foreignness.

Wording and phrasing

อ่านตอนแรกก็งงมาก ไม่เคยรู้จักพวกลมปราณ วิชาตัวเบา จุดตั้งขี้ การสะกดจุด คลายจุด สารพัด มีศัพท์แปลก ๆ ส่วนใหญ่ทับศัพท์มาจากภาษาจีน เช่น เล่าฮู เล่าอิว เสียวเจียะ

ชื่อเจี ชื่อม่วย ชื่อกอ ฮูหยิน ปังจู้ และภาษาที่ใช้ก็ไม่เคยอ่านเจอที่ไหนมาก่อน เช่น คำว่า หมิงสาวก็ใช้คำว่า “ดรุณี” คำว่า เด็ก ใช้คำว่า “ทารก” หรือ “ทาริกา” ส่วนคำสรรพนาม บุรุษที่สามที่ใช้ก็มาแปลก คำว่า เขา กลายเป็น “มัน”

ที่น่าขำอย่างก็คือ เสียงหัวเราะของคนร้ายหรือตัวประหลาด คือ “เคี้ยก ๆ” ซึ่งจนบัดนี้ผม ก็ยังไม่เข้าใจว่ามนุษย์หรือลิงตระกูลไหนหัวเราะเสียงแบบนี้

(Win 2002:51)

At first it was very confusing. I never knew about energy flow, light skill, *tangchang* points, pressing and releasing points, etc. There are strange terms that mostly are transliterated from Chinese, such as *laohu*, *laohiu*, *siaojia*, *sueje*, *suemuai*, *sueko*, *huyin*, *pangju*. And the words used are the one that never found in any books I read before, for example, the word for a young woman is ‘maiden’; the word for a child is ‘babe’ or ‘baby girl’; the pronoun for third person is also strange, using ‘it’ instead of ‘he’.

The funny thing is that the laughter of bad guys or weird creatures is ‘*kiak kiak*’, which until now I still don’t know which species of human or monkey laugh like this.

(My translation)

This description may speak for many readers in that it captures the characteristics of the language used in martial arts novels in Thai translation. Reading only my English translation of the quote without knowing Thai, Chinese or Teochew might create a similar effect for these terms are as foreign for some Thai readers. Let us tackle these terms. In martial arts novels there is a lot of jargon, some of which has invented or equivalent terms in Thai, whilst some of which is transliterated. Energy flow, light skill, *tangchang* points, pressing and releasing points are a few examples. Energy flow is *qi* (气, literally air), also known as natural energy, life energy or *lom pran* (ลมปราณ) in Thai. Light skill or *qinggong* (轻功) or *wicha tua bao* (วิชาตัวเบา) is a skill of martial artists that enables them to move swiftly and lightly, jump higher, scale walls, and walk on water for instance. *Tangchang* points (จุดตั้งช้าง) or *dantian* points (丹田) in Mandarin refers to an energy centre. Pressing and releasing points are techniques that can make a person become unconscious, paralysed or unable to speak or can release them from these conditions. Some transliterated words that Win mentions, namely *laohu*, *laohiu*, *siaojia*, *sueje*, *suemuai*, *sueko*, *huyin*, and *pangju*, are used as loan-words for forms of address throughout the stories. Sometimes there are meanings given in brackets, as mentioned above, but sometimes they are used on their own. *Laohu* (เล่าฮู) is from *laofu* (老夫, used by old males to modestly call themselves). *Laohiu* (เล่าฮิว)

is from *laoxiu* (老朽, another term used by older males to modestly call themselves). *Siaojia* (เสี่ยวเจี๋ย) is from *xiaojie* (小姐, meaning lass or miss). *Sueje* (ซื่อเจี๋ย) is from *shijie* (师姐, used to call a senior female apprentice who has the same teacher or master). *Suemuai* (ซื่อเมว้ย) is from *shimei* (师妹, is used to call a junior female apprentice who has the same teacher or master). *Seuko* (ซื่อกอ) is from *shige* (师哥, is used to call a senior male apprentice who has the same teacher or master). *Huyin* (ฮุยอิน) is from *furen* (夫人, meaning Mistress or Mrs), and *pangju* (ปังจู) is from *bangzhu* (帮主, used to call the leader of an organisation). For some of these forms of address, television versions tend to opt for Thai translations, for example *sit phi* (ศิษย์พี่) for senior apprentice, and *sit nong* (ศิษย์น้อง) for junior apprentice. Win (ibid) points out that word choices in martial arts novels are peculiar such as the use of *ดรุณี* (maiden or lass), *ทารก* (babe or infant), and *มัน* (it). The examples of sentences containing these words are as follows:

เสียงเพลงขับขานดังจากเรือน้อยลำหนึ่ง ภายในเรือบรรทุกดรุณีสาวห้านาง ร้องเพลง
สรวลเสเฮฮา พายนาวาเด็ดดอกบัว

(Nor Noppharat 2004:28)

The sound of music came from a little boat. It carried five young **maidens** who were merrily singing, laughing, talking, rowing the boat and picking up lotuses.

หากดรุณีที่ทั้งชาญฉลาด ทั้งสวยงาม ทั้งดีมีสุราเป็น แม่นับว่าจะมีปากมากไปบ้าง บุรุษก็
ทนทานได้อยู่...แต่นอกจากสตรีเยี่ยงนี้แล้ว สตรีอื่น ๆ ยังคงอย่าได้ปากมากนักจะ
ประเสริฐกว่า

(Wor na Mueanglung 2006:571)

If a maiden who was clever, beautiful and could drink would be sometimes too talkative, a man could still endure...but other than this kind of women, they had better not be talkative.

It is not easy to find *ดรุณี* (maiden) used in prose as normal as this in other types of literature. Both Nor Nopparat and Wor na Mueanglung used *ดรุณี* in their translations.

ทารกนั้นเมื่อเห็นมารดา เปล่งเสียงร้องไห้ดัง ๆ ขึ้นอีกครั้ง ตะเกียกตะกายโถมเข้าไปใน
อ้อมอกมารดามัน

(ibid:147)

When the **babe** saw mother, it started crying loudly again, struggled and flung into its mother's arms.

เล้งเซียวฮุ้นพอพบเห็นมารดา ก็เปล่งเสียงร้องไห้ออกมาอีกครา ขยับตัวดิ้นรนโถมไปในอ้อมอกของมารดามั่น

(Nor Noppharat 2011a:153)

When **Leng Siaohun** saw mother, it started crying again, struggled and flung into its mother's arms.

For the same sentences Wor na Mueanglung used the word ทารก (babe) for 孩子 (child) (Gu Long 1997a:121) whereas Nor Noppharat used the child's name.

“ทารกที่เพิ่งออกสู่อุบัติ์ จะรู้เรื่องอันใดกัน?”

(Wor na Mueanglung 2006:205)

‘A **babe** who has just stepped into bulim, what would he know?’

“เด็กน้อยที่เพิ่งเข้าสู่อุบัติ์ มีความเข้าใจอันใด?”

(Nor Noppharat 2011a:211)

‘A **little child** who has just stepped into bulim, what would he understand?’

In the source text, it is 毛头小伙子 (Gu Long 1997a:168) which means lad, boy or young man. Again Wor na Mueanglung translated it into ทารก (babe) whilst Nor Noppharat translated it into เด็กน้อย (little child). In this novel it can be noticed that Wor na Mueanglung tended to use ทารก (babe) whilst Nor Noppharat used เด็กน้อย (little child) or เด็กชาย (boy or lad).

บุรุษหนุ่มบางครั้งเปิดเผยไร้เดียงสาราวกับทารก แต่บางครั้งคล้ายซุกซ่อนความลับมากมาย

(Nor Noppharat 2011a:29)

The young man was sometimes as frank and innocent as a **babe** but sometimes as though hiding many secrets.

In this sentence Nor Noppharat compares a young man with a babe instead of a child (孩子) (Gu Long 1997a:24) that is used in the source text. ทารก (babe) is also used in nicknames for characters who behave like children or have childlike characters such as เต่าทารก (*Thao tharok*, 老顽童, Old Imp).

ลีซิมฮัวทอดถอนใจยาว พิมพ์ว่า “ดินฟ้าอากาศเช่นนี้ คิดไม่ถึงยังมีคนตรากตรำเดินทาง
กลางพ้าน้ำแข็งดินหิมะ ข้าพเจ้าคาดว่ามันคงต้องเป็นคนที่เดียวดายยิ่ง น่าเวทนายิ่ง”

(Nor Noppharat 2011a:8)

Li Chimhua let out a long sigh, murmured ‘with this kind of weather it is unexpected that there would be someone suffering a walk under an icy sky on a snowy ground. I reckon **it** must be a very lonely, very pitiful person.

แต่แผ่นหลังของ**มัน**ยังเหยียดตรง ตัว**มัน**คล้ายหล่อหลอมจากเหล็ก หิมะน้ำแข็ง ความหนาวเย็น ความเหน็ดเหนื่อย ความอ่อนเพลีย ความหิวกระหาย ล้วนไม่อาจสะกดให้**มัน**ย่อท้อยอมจำนน

(ibid:9)

Yet, **its** back was held straight. **Its** body was as though casted from iron. Icy snow, coldness, tiredness, weariness, hungriness, all could not make **it** be discouraged and give in.

In Thai vernacular, มัน (*man*) can be used to refer to the third person albeit other words such as he, him, his would be commonly preferred in narration or description, depending on the kind of literature. For female characters, she is usually translated as นาง (*nang*) or แม่นาง (*mae-nang*) whereas if it were dated Thai literature we would perhaps see หล่อน (*lon*) or เจ้าหล่อน (*jao-lon*). It seems that the translators have set up a particular language for martial arts novels. The issue is that when readers keep reading until the end they might find that they have unconsciously adjusted to the language in the novels. This is how changeable a norm or trend in the field can be, and as such it is not a permanent condition and may change when the stakes of the field also change.

Furthermore, in the Thai translations there are also uses of Chinese words such as ชิวเทียน (*chiuthian*) which is from 秋天 (*qiutian*), meaning autumn instead of using Thai words. It appears in sentences such as:

บรรยายกาศชิวเทียน (ฤดูใบไม้ร่วง) นอกกำแพงตึกคล้ายรุนแรงกว่าในกำแพงอีก

(Nor Noppharat 2011b:221, original emphasis)

It seemed that the chiuthian (*autumn*) weather outside the wall was even harsher than inside.

ลมชิวเทียนโชยพัด ต้นหญ้าข้างทางแห้งเหี่ยวเหลืองซีด

(ibid)

The *chiuthian* wind was breathing. The grass on the sides had withered to pale yellow.

ชีวเทียน (*chiuthian*) would have been easily replaced by ฤดูใบไม้ร่วง (*ruedu baimai-ruang* meaning autumn) but it can be assumed that the use of the word is to create the effect of a Chinese autumnal atmosphere for Thai readers, after all, there is no autumn in Thailand. However, instead of using *chuntian* (春天, spring), Nor Noppharat used วสันตฤดู (*wasanta-ruedu*), an ornate word for spring as in:

เมื่อวสันตฤดูนี้มีดอกไม้ป่าที่ไม่รู้จักนามชนิดหนึ่งบานสะพรั่งอยู่รอบข้าง
(Nor Noppharat 2011a:45)

In spring this place has a wild flower with its name unknown blossoming all around.

For descriptive parts, the translators tend to choose literary words which make it sound poetic. For example:

อาทิตย์ลับฟ้าจันทร์หาแสง หมูดาวเคลื่อนดาราคล้อย
(Nor Noppharat 2007:79)

日消月出，星换斗移
(Huang Yi 2016, chapter 7)

The sun set. The moon beamed. The stars moved.

คนยังสะคราญกว่าบุปผา
(Nor Noppharat 2007:90)

人比花娇。
(Huang Yi 2016, chapter 8)

The person was even more beautiful than flowers.

โลหิตขโมยธารา
(Nor Noppharat 2009:224)

鲜血染红水
(Feng Ge 2016, chapter 9-1)

Blood spread in the water

It can be observed that the words in these examples – จันทร์ (moon), ดารา (star), สะคราญ (beautiful) บุปผา (flower) โลหิต (blood) ธารา (water, river) – are all literary words. It is possible that Nor Noppharat chose to use literary words in his translations because, in a sense, it was a way to enhance the novels' sophistication and make it sound like a piece of fine literature. In this way, the novels might not be seen as lowbrow literature

but highbrow with the hope of having a status equal to that of other works in the Thai literary field.

Moreover, profanity, slang or swear words are mostly translated directly from Chinese, for instance:

“ประเสริฐ เจ้ากล่าวเช่นนี้แสดงว่ามีไช้วิญญูชนที่แอบอ้างรั้มมะ ลูกผู้ชายชาติวีรคิตทำ
อะไรก็ทำเช่นนั้น กระทำตามใจปรารถนา กฎเกณฑ์บัญญัติหรือข้อบังคับสำนักอันใด ล้วน
ถือเป็นลมสุนัขของมารดาฉัน”

(Nor Noppharat 2006:445)

‘Great, speaking like this, you are not a hypocrite. A gentleman does what he thinks, and what he wishes. Bulim’s rules or sects’ doctrines are all their mothers’ dog wind.’

“好，好！你说这话，便不是假冒为善的伪君子。大丈夫行事，爱怎样便怎样，行云流水，任意所之，什么武林规矩，门派教条，全都是放他妈的狗臭屁！”

(Jin Yong 1996:408)

ลมสุนัขของมารดาฉัน (literally, its mother’s dog wind) is translated from 放他妈的狗臭屁 (literally, pass its mother’s smelly dog wind), which means nonsense or rubbish. Another variation of swear words for nonsense is ผายลมของมารดาท่าน⁵⁰ (Nor Noppharat 2011a:219) (literally, pass your mother’s wind, 放你妈的屁！(Gu Long 1997a:174.)). As a matter of fact, it is interesting that both ผายลม (pass wind) and มารดา (mother), as well as ท่าน (you) and สุนัข (dog) are all polite words. However, when used like this they can still create the effect of slang and sound old-fashioned at the same time whilst avoiding being vulgar. Albeit unfamiliar, it is rather effective, unique and foreign. It seems that the both Nor Noppharat and Wor na Mueanglung did not want to use impolite words. From the same example, a common use of ประเสริฐ (great, excellent) for 好 (good) in martial arts language can also be seen. It is not an everyday word or used as commonly in other types of novels. Besides, ประเสริฐ (great) is also used as in “ด่าได้ประเสริฐ ด่าได้ประเสริฐ” (Nor Noppharat 2011a:259) (‘Great scold. Great scold’, “骂的好，骂的好！” (Gu Long 1997a:208)). It seems that choosing polite words or literary words is a strategy to create an archaic feel and this became a distinct characteristic.

⁵⁰ Translated as ผายลมมารดาท่าน! in Wor na Mueanglung, 2006:213.

More examples of the uses of formal or literary words in other kinds of sentences are as follows:

“แพ้ชนะเป็นเรื่องปรกติธรรมดา มาตราว่าปราชัยก็ต้องเชือดคอตาย ชื่อเสียท่านต่อให้มี ศีรษะอีกสิบแปดหัว ก็ต้องถูกเชือดหมดสิ้นแล้ว”

(Nor Noppharat 2004:280)

‘Winning or losing is a normal thing. If one is defeated and has to cut one’s throat, *suehia*, you even though had eighteen more heads, they would have already been all cut.’

In the Thai translations ถ้า (if) will usually be translated as มาตราว่า. In this example, มาตราว่า (if) was translated from 若是 (Jin Yong 1999:171). ปราชัย (lose or be defeated) is also literary. ศีรษะ (head) is a polite word.

สตรีมีนิสัยรักสวยรักงาม มาตราแม้จะทาสีหน้าจนดำ กลับคล้ายใช้แป้งฝุ่นขาดแดง ประทับใจ

(Nor Noppharat 2004:483)

A lady was conscious of her appearance, even though painting her face black, it was as if applying make-up to enhance the appearance.

มาตราแม้ (although, even though, or even if) is another word that can be seen often in martial arts novels. In this example it was translated from 虽然 (Jin Yong 1999:310).

What is more, there are words coined or invented specifically for martial arts terms such as *wuxia* (武侠, meaning martial hero or martial artist or swordsman), *jianghu* (江湖, literally rivers and lakes, referring to martial arts’s world), *wulin* (武林, literally martial forest, referring to martial artists’ community), and *wuyi* (武艺, martial arts). *Wuxia* (武侠) is usually translated as จอมยุทธ์ (*jomyut*). However, *wuxia xiaoshuo* (武侠小说, martial arts novel) is นิยายกำลังภายใน (*niyai kamlang phai nai*) in Thai. กำลังภายใน (*kamlang phai nai*, literally internal skill or internal energy), which was coined by Jamlong, was literally translated from 内功 (*nei gong*). Nor Noppharat translated *jianghu* (江湖) as ยุทธจักร (*yutthajak*, literally martial world) although Wor na Mueanglung tended to translate it as วงพวกนักเลง (*wong phuak nak-leng*, literally a sphere of outlaws or rogues). *Wulin* (武林) is usually transliterated into Teochew as 𠵼𠵼

ลิม (bulim) or sometimes also translated as ยุทธจักร (yutthajak) However, sometimes *jianghu* was translated as *bulim*. Wuyi (武艺) is วิทยายุทธ (witthayayut, meaning martial arts). In addition, โรงเตี๊ยม (rongtiam, meaning inn or tavern) is an invented word for 客棧 (kezhan, inn or tavern) that is commonly seen in martial arts novels and also widely used in other types of Chinese period novels. It is composed of the Thai word โรง (rong, a noun classifier for building) and Chinese word เตี๊ยม (tiam, Teochew transliteration of *dian* (店), which presumably is from *ludian* (旅店, meaning inn). Obviously, word invention like this is another example that shows the assimilation of Chinese culture into Thai culture in the Thai literary field, which is also the result of the habitus and social trajectories of the translators.

Wording is not the only interesting issue; phrasing is also a point that needs to be addressed. In Thai translations most phrases and sentences were translated directly from the source texts, no matter whether the approach was conscious or instinctive. For instance:

ทอดตาทั่วแผ่นดิน อาจบางที มีแต่ ท่าน จึงสามารถ นับเป็น วีรบุรุษ
(Nor Noppharat 2011b:224)

普天之下, 也许 只有 你 才能 算得上是 英雄。
(Gu Long 1997b:463)

Under the sun, perhaps it is only you who can be called a hero.

ลิ้มซิมฮั่ว ถามโพล่งว่า “ท่าน...ท่าน ไฉน ยัง ไม่ ไป?”
(Nor Noppharat 2011a:290)

李寻欢 道：“你……你 为何 还 不 走？”
(Gu Long 1997a:233)

Li Chimhua blurted out asking ‘you...why have you not left?’

From these two sentences it can be seen that the order of the words in the source texts and the translated ones are the same. In such a way we can see the Chinese-ness left in the Thai translations. The fact that they are period foreign fiction, fantasy even, makes it easier to be approvable as it shifts the stories away from the reality.

ลิ้มซิมฮั่วถามว่า “ข้าพเจ้าเพียงคิดถามให้กระจ่างชัด ท่าน...ท่านที่แท้ใช่เป็นโจรดอกเหมยหรือไม่?”
(Nor Noppharat 2011a:290)

林诗音道：“我只想问清楚，你……你究竟**是不是**没花盗？”

(Gu Long 1997a:234)

Lim Si'im asked, 'I would just like to ask to make sure that you...are you actually the Plum Blossom Thief?

Nor Noppharat tended to translate this 是不是 question as ใช่เป็น...หรือไม่, and they also translated every word and arranged them in the same order.

มิผิด มัน**เป็น**เราชักนำกลับมา (Nor Noppharat 2011a:226)

不错，他**是**我带回来的 (Gu Long 1997a:180)

Not wrong, it was me who took it back.

The 是...的 structure is used to emphasise what the speaker wants to say. In this sentence it emphasises that it was the speaker not anyone else that took the person back. Nor Noppharat followed the structure to translate it.

ดังนั้นมัน**มิอาจ**ไม่ฆ่าท่าน (Nor Noppharat 2011a:28)

所以他就**非**杀你**不可** (Gu Long 1997a:23)

Therefore, it **could not not** kill you.

非...不可 is usually translated as มิอาจไม่... (could not not...), which is a double negative equivalent to 'must'.

การก้าวเท้าของก๊วยซงเอี้ยง**ยิ่ง**มา**ยิ่ง**ยาว รอยเท้าที่ทิ้งอยู่บนพื้นกลับ**ยิ่ง**มา**ยิ่ง**ตื้นจึน
(Nor Noppharat 2011b:222)

郭嵩阳的步子**越来越**大，留下来的脚印却**越来越**淡了。
(Gu Long 1997b:462)

The footsteps of Kuai Song'iang were longer and longer, yet the footsteps left on the ground were lighter and lighter.

Nor Noppharat tended to directly translate the 越来越... structure as ยิ่งมายิ่ง... It is a mixture of Chinese and Thai structure. In Thai we might say ยิ่งยาวขึ้นยาวขึ้น or ยิ่งยาวขึ้นเรื่อย ๆ which is more similar to the English structure.

นี่นับเป็นครั้งแรกที่เต็งฟงพบว่า โลกมนุษย์ยังคงงาม**ปานนี้** น่ารัก**ปานนี้**
(Nor Noppharat 2013:89)

丁鹏第一次发觉人间竟是**如此**美丽，**如此**可爱。
(Gu Long 2010:110)

This was the first time Teng Phong found that the human world was so beautiful, so lovely.

ข้าพเจ้าความจริงเข้าใจว่ามันคงผ่านโลกมาอย่างโชกโชน คิดไม่ถึงคำพูดที่กล่าวกลับไว้
เพียงสาปนั่น สัตย์ซื่อปานั้น

(Nor Noppharat 2011a:11)

我本来以为他必定已饱经沧桑，谁知他说起话来却那么天真，那么老实。

(Gu Long 1997a:10)

I thought he must have been through a lot. Who would have thought his words would be so naive, so honest?

...ปานนี้...ปานนี้ (如此...如此...) and ...ปานนั้น...ปานนั้น (那么...那么...) appear often especially in Gu Long's novels.

ท่านเรียกว่าอะไร (Nor Noppharat 2013:51)

你叫什么名字? (Gu Long 2010:65)

What are you called?

Instead of translating this question as ท่านชื่ออะไร (what is your name?), Nor Noppharat usually translated it as ท่านเรียกว่าอะไร (What are you called?, 你叫什么) because 叫 (*jiao*) means call. To give one more example, ท่านสบาย? (you well?) (Nor Noppharat 2013:162) as a greeting was directly translated from 你好 (*Ni hao*) (Gu Long 2010:189), literally, you good, instead of using contemporary greeting words like hello. These examples show that even though it sounds unnatural, direct translation like this can serve the purpose of making it sound archaic and foreign which differentiate the novels of this genre from others.

Each of the above examples derive from novels that are set in one particular period of time throughout the story so the language, wording and phrasing in each book are all in the same era. Yet in *Jo wela ha Jinsi* the main character, Xiang Shaolong, was sent back in time to the Qin dynasty (221 – 206 BC) by a time machine. Thus there is a difference between the language used in the present and in the past. When the translator translated the part that happened in the present time he used twenty-first century everyday language; and when he translated the part in the past he switched to the archaic literary martial arts novel style. In the story the people in the past had difficulty understanding the twenty-first-century Xiang Shaolong because they spoke in an old-fashioned way with different accents. Sometimes he said words and ideas

from the present, which confused the people there. At one point he realised that he already spoken seventy to eighty per cent like the people in that era (Nor Noppharat 2007:70-71). However, in the translation Xiang Shaolong seems to switch to old-fashioned language right away.

Of course, to flavour the stories, carefully selecting the best words and arranging the sentences in a fluent and smooth way were not the only tricks that translators adopted. They also used omission and adaptation of the content making sure that they were not left unpolished.

Omission and Adaptation

เรื่องเทพบุตรเพชรฆาต ถ้ามีเล่มนี้อยู่ก็เอาไปเผาทิ้งนะ...เพราะผมหาเค้าเดิมของ
ต้นฉบับภาษาจีนแทบไม่เจอ มีคนบอกว่าถ้าจะให้เรื่องสนุกต้องเติมฉากไปเข้าไป ผมเลย
เติมจนกระทั่งตัวคนเขียนเขากลับมาอ่านยังจำไม่ได้ว่าเป็นของเขา

(Amnuai interviewed in Panit 2014:112)

If you have a copy of *Thepphabut phetchakhat*, burn it...Because I can hardly find the original outline of the Chinese source text. Someone told me that to spice up the story, just added some erotic scenes to it. So I did. If the writer himself read it he would not recognise his own work.

(My translation)

As discussed in the previous chapter, adaptation in the translation process in the Thai literary tradition has been practiced for a long time to a varied extent. Martial arts novel translation is no exception, especially when there was no copyright issue before the year 2000. Adaptation has been commonly practiced. Some parts of a story are cut out in order to make it more succinct, whilst some information is added to season the story. Even though translations were produced more in a word-for-word fashion, Amnuai (Prasit 2010) admitted that sometimes he and his brother did not translate everything and they also added their own ideas, such as more exciting fighting scenes or erotic scenes, into their translations to try to attract the readers' attention. In addition, when they serialised their works in a newspaper they had to edit the translation by omitting some detail to make the story more concise and develop faster at the request of the publisher (ibid). Evidently this is a practice that has been done in the Thai literary field, which would be internalised by the agents in the field. Thus it is common to find appropriation, adaptation and omission in Thai translations. We can say that the position of the translators in the field is not lower than Thai writers as translators see

themselves as one of them. The practice is also encouraged by the publishers who have power over the translators.

To give an instance, in *Krabi yoei yutthajak* (The Smiling, Proud Wanderer) a fighting scene was shortened as follows:

เหลียงชู่ซ่งยิ้มพลางกล่าวว่า
“ท่านเมื่อหลงกล ตอนนี้อย่าได้คิดก็ไม่ทันท่วงที่ รับกระบวนท่า”
เสียงดังจู่โจมกระบี่ออก ทางใส่ทรวงอกมัน จังหวะยกดาบปิดป้อง กลับปิดป้องผิด
เหลียงชู่ซ่งแทงกระบี่ที่สองไปอีก **จังหวะยกดาบรับขวางดาบตั้งรับ**
เหลียงชู่ซ่งกระบี่แทงกระบี่ที่สามที่ไล่ตามติดออก **พอลงมือก็จู่โจมกระบี่แล้วกระบี่เล่า**
กระบี่ยิ่งมายิ่งรวดเร็ว **นับว่าบรรลุถึงแก่นแท้ของเพลงกระบี่เดียวดาย** “ถ้ากระบี่
เดียวดาย มีแต่รุกไม่มีถอย” ทุกกระบี่ล้วนเป็นท่ารุกจู่โจม

(Nor Noppharat 2006:447)

令狐冲笑道：“你这当已经上了，此刻就算醒觉，也来不及啦！田兄，看招！”剑随声出，直刺其胸。田伯光举刀急挡，却挡了个空。令狐冲第二剑又已刺了过来。田伯光赞道：“好快！”横刀封架。令狐冲第三剑、第四剑又已刺出，口中说道：“还有快的。”第五剑、第六剑跟着刺出，攻势既发，竟是一剑连着一剑，一剑快似一剑，**连绵不绝**，当真学到了这独孤剑法的精要，“独孤九剑，有进无退”，每一剑全是攻招。

(Jin Yong 1996:409)

Lenghu Chong smiled and said: ‘you were tricked. Even though you have realised it now, it is too late. **Chang brother**, ready.’ Following the voice, the sword was struck out aiming at its chest. Chang Paekuang raised the sabre in defence, but missed. Lenghu Chong already launched the second thrust. **Chang Paekuang said with approval, ‘very fast!’ and hurried to block it.** Lenghu Chong continuously launched the third and the fourth thrusts, **saying ‘can be faster.’ The fifth and the sixth thrusts were at once drove out. Once the attack had started,** one sword was right after another, continuously and fast, **uninterruptedly, achieving the essence of the Tokkou swordplay,** ‘Nine Swords of Tokkou, only advance no retreat’. Every sword was an attack.

In my English translation I combine the Thai and Chinese versions. The bold parts are the parts that were omitted and the bold italic parts mark where the left out pieces should be. It can be observed that the dialogues in the source text were omitted in the Thai version and some parts were cut to shorten it and get to the point faster so that they would not interrupt the scene.

In *Jo wela ha Jinsi* (A Step into the Past), the fighting scene at the beginning of the story also has some parts left out:

โคตึกเดินเข้ามา กระซิบบอกต่อเสียงเล่าลงว่า “คนที่อยู่ด้านหลังเทพหน้าดำทั้งสองคน เป็นแชมป์คิกบ็อกซิ่งของ**สำนักนกแก้ว** ค่ะนี่พวกมันเตรียมพร้อมมาก่อน คิดโดนพวกเรา ให้งงได้”

(Nor Noppharat 2007:20, original emphasis)

小张移到他旁，低声警告道：“小心点！这小子很厉害。”

不知是谁怪声怪气尖叫道：“有人怕了！”

好看热闹的旁观者笑得更厉害。

蛮牛也走过来低声道：“黑面神后面那两个人是**本地洪馆最辣**的两个冠军拳手，他们今次是有备**而战**，存心落我们的颜脸。”

(Huang Yi 2016: chapter 1)

Xiao Zhang moved to his side, warning him in a low voice to ‘be careful! This guy is very good.’

Someone yelled in a strange voice that ‘somebody got frightened!’

The onlookers who loved a scene burst into bellows of laughter.

Wild Ox came closer and whispered to Xiang Shaolong that ‘the two persons behind Black Face God are the **best** kick boxing champions of **the local** Hongguan Camp. Tonight they came prepared **to fight**. Intend to defeat us.

I translated this example based on the Thai translation. The bold parts are those omitted in the translation. We can see that the translator left out the dialogue of the antagonist which shows his focus on, and his taking sides with, the main character. He also left out the dialogue of the onlookers, presumably because in his opinion it is not important in the scene and by omitting it the story will go faster and get to the main part of the fighting sooner. Unnecessary modifiers are cut out as well.

Sometimes, when Nor Noppharat translated descriptive parts, he did not translate word-for-word but adapted it in an attempt to make it sound poetic, archaic and beautiful. For instance:

สวรรค์ เมื่อเพ่งพิศในระยะใกล้ คนยังจะคร่ำครวญว่าบุปผา บาดตาบาดใจยิ่งนัก

(Nor Noppharat 2007:90)

Goodness! Close up she was even more beautiful than flowers, **really striking**.

天哪！近看的她更是人比花娇，**媚艳无匹**。

(Huang Yi 2016: chapter 8)

Goodness! Close up she was even more lovely than flowers, **incomparably charming and gorgeous**.

He adopted a Thai idiom บาดตาบาดใจ (striking or extremely), literally meaning ‘hurting one’s eyes’, ‘hurting one’s feelings’, to translate 媚艳无匹 which means ‘incomparably charming and gorgeous’. When comparing the beauty as บาดตาบาดใจ, it means so beautiful that your eyes are sore and your heart aches. The idiom also matches the Chinese four-word phrase.

Amnuai also admits that when he translated *Khlui phetchakhat* (literally, the killer flute)⁵¹ in 1966, volume two of the series was missing so he wrote the missing part himself (Prasit 2010:55). When he first translated *Insi pha-ngat fa* to publish in the daily newspaper *Thai Rath* the editor told him to revise it because there were too many characters at the beginning of the story before the appearance of the protagonist Tengphong. He therefore shortened it, making it more concise and run faster (ibid:65). Over a month later he had the feeling and then discovered that the story was not written by Gu Long anymore and wanted to stop translating it (ibid:66-67). However, due to the dramatically increased sale figures of the newspaper, from four thousand to six thousand copies, the publisher asked him to keep the story going and as such he and his brother had to write the story themselves (ibid). Thus the latter half of *Insi pha-ngat fa*, both the newspaper and the pocket book versions was written by Nor Noppharat, and not by Gu Long (ibid). Besides, the newspaper and pocket book versions are slightly different as the pocket book is more complete although some parts included in the newspapers were left out of the pocket book whilst some parts in the pocket book were left out of the newspaper. For example, the newspaper version started from chapter one without the prologue because of the reasons mentioned earlier.

From all these examples how do we then make sense of a translator’s decision-making and what makes her/him translate the way he/she does? According to Bourdieu’s notion of habitus, ‘practices occur when habitus encounters those competitive arenas called fields, and action reflects the structure of that encounter’ (Swartz 1997:141). Thus, action is ‘the outcome of a relationship between habitus, capital, and field’ (ibid:141). It is worth noting that ‘practices cannot be “deduced either from the present conditions which may seem to have provoked them or from the past conditions which have produced the habitus... [but from their] interrelationship” (Bourdieu 1990h:56).

⁵¹ 笛震武林 written by Chen Qingyun.

Practices are not to be reduced to either habitus or field but grow out of the “interrelationship” established at each point in time by the sets of relations represented by both’ (ibid:141-142).

Conclusion

If we want to comprehend why Nor Noppharat was inclined to make certain decisions in their translations, we have to consider the interrelationship between habitus, capital and field from which these actions are produced. The translators are *lukjin* of a Teochew origin who went to Chinese schools and grew up in a society where Thai and Chinese cultures have been hybridised and mixed together. Nor Noppharat entered the martial arts novel translation field, which is situated in the literary field, after they graduated from high school, so Amnuai has been in the field for over fifty years and his brother thirty-five years. Throughout this time the field and the society structured their habitus and trajectory. They chose to transliterate into the Teochew dialect because they knew Teochew and readers at that time could understand it, but when the society changed and there were not as many readers who could understand Teochew they changed it to Mandarin. This decision was also taken in consultation with the publisher. Here we can see how external conditions such as society, demands and orders can affect the decisions of the translators. Also, in a way, their capital and status in the field helped to ease the change. They have accumulated enough symbolic capital so that the readers know their name and trust the quality of their work. Moreover, if we consider Thai literary tradition, it is not surprising to see martial arts novel translators acting as writers because such practice is acceptable in the field, especially when there was no copyright to be a concern. The publisher and the translators are in a position to decide what to do with the source texts that would best satisfy their readers. Therefore the translators omit, add or adapt certain details of the source text. It can be observed that Nor Noppharat also made decisions partly based on the requirements of the publisher they worked with and on readers’ preferences. We can see that the erotic scenes were added to try to draw readers to the genre, or that some parts of the stories, such as fighting scenes, were shortened because they considered that the readers did not like reading long-winded descriptive stories.

Being in the field for such a long time, the capital they have accumulated allows Nor Noppharat to take a better position in the field. Nor Noppharat has been regarded as the best Chinese novel translator, therefore their habitus, over all this time, has also structured the field. Their language style has been accepted as the model for translating Chinese novels, especially martial arts novels, and new translators who wish to enter the field have to follow Nor Noppharat's language style of translation, which is also a requirement of the publisher. In the next chapter I therefore go on to examine the influence of Nor Noppharat's language style on other translators' work.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Martial Arts Novel Language Style

Since Wor na Mueanglung decided to pursue a more heterodox path and to divert from the trend of the language style of Chinese literature translation, the martial arts genre attained its own style. Nor Noppharat followed in Wor na Mueanglung's footsteps and created his own as well. The more books that were translated and sold, the more readers grew used to the language. From the personal interview with the managing editor Sitthidet Saensombunsuk of Siam Inter Book in Chapter Five, we learned that translations done by translators other than Nor Noppharat, especially new ones, are needed to be edited to ascertain that their language style follows the model and is not too different from it. In this chapter I will look at translations by other translators in the field such as Kittiphirun, Li Linli, Bupphahima, Joey Dongfang and BiscuitBus in comparison with the model of Nor Noppharat's.

The Language Style(s)

The following examples that I will examine are from the translations of the translators who work with the same publisher as Nor Nopppharat – namely Kittiphirun, Li Linli and Bupphahima – and the translator Joey Dongfang and the writer BicutBus who work with different publishers. They all entered the field of martial arts novels translation later than Nor Noppharat at a time when he was already regarded as the best in the field, a situation that could understandably lead to a certain amount of pressure that might be reflected in their work. Working with the same publisher as him could also influence their habitus and performance whereas working with other publishers may have allowed less pressure but more freedom of style and strategies and yet still be challenging. For the former group the publisher could use Nor Noppharat's name to help introduce and promote them to become recognised in the field. Other publishers cannot play that card so have to find another way to attain a better position in the field. Their ultimate goals and how they are willing to invest in the game are also different in each case. Therefore whether or not they hold to

orthodoxy depends on various factors and other forces in and outside the field. Now that we have already established that the translation practice is influenced by translators' habitus and social trajectories coupled with field and capital, looking at these translators' and writer's work would indicate what forces impact upon them and whether they follow Nor Noppharat's language style or not. We can also then observe the influence of Nor Noppharat's language style and strategies on other translators' translation methods and strategies.

Kittiphirun

In the Translator's Preface of *Yot phayak phithak ratchawong thang* (literally, the great tiger guarding the Tang dynasty),⁵² one of the persons Kittiphirun thanks is Nor Noppharat. Respecting him as a teacher, Kittiphirun calls him *ajarn* Nor Noppharat, which is a term to refer to a teacher (Kittiphirun 2013:15-16). With the respect directed towards Nor Noppharat, and the publisher's requirements, it is therefore expected and not surprising to find that the translation follows the model of martial arts novel translation. It is worth noting that in the Thai tradition reference/copying is a form of reverence and following in the footsteps of the master is therefore a sign of respect.

Kittiphirun transliterated proper nouns into Mandarin and put their meanings in brackets, for example, ฉายาเฮ้อเสิน (ผู้วิเศษเทพกระบี่เรียน) จี๋เซี่ยววอวิน (เมฆสววล) (Kittiphirun 2013:23, original emphasis), is transliterated from *He shen Qi Xiaoyun* (鹤神齐笑云, meaning Qi Xiaoyun, the Crane God, Xiaoyun meaning laughing cloud). In this case Kittiphirun gave meanings for both nickname and real name and called him Qi Xiaoyun after that, as in the source text (Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 1). ฝูงงเลี้ยวอิง (ซ่อนเงางำประกาย) (Kittiphirun 2013:23, original emphasis), literally hiding shadow, shielding flash, is from *fuguanglüeying* (浮光掠影, meaning fleeting). Kittiphirun chose to translate it creatively. เพลงดาบอินหลงฉางเฟิง (มังกรเมฆามหาวาตะ) (ibid:23) is from *Yun long changfeng daofa* (云龙长风刀法, literally cloud dragon storm swordplay). In the same way as Nor Noppharat, Kittiphirun chose literary words to translate these words

⁵² 大唐行镖, written by Jin Xunzhe (金寻者).

which make the name sound fanciful, and also tended to use the Thai translation after the first appearance.

In the same way as Nor Noppharat, Kittiphirun borrowed forms of address from Chinese by transliterating them into Mandarin then putting their meanings in brackets and using the transliterations to refer to those characters as in the source text, for example: **ซือฟู** (อาจารย์) (ibid:23), meaning master (*shifu*, 师傅); **เม้งจิงกูเหนียง** (แม่นางเม้งจิง) (ibid:45), meaning mistress Mengjing (*Mengjing guniang*, 梦菁姑娘); **ฟ่งเซียนเจิง** (ท่านผู้แซ่ฟ่ง) (ibid:50), meaning Mister Fang (*Fang xiansheng*, 方先生, ท่านผู้แซ่ฟ่ง, literally mister who named Fang); **เส้าเปียวโถว** (หัวหน้ำน้อย) (ibid:51), meaning young master (*shao biaotou*, 少镖头).

It is also interesting to see that Kittiphirun followed the style and strategy of Nor Noppharat by using words and phrases that readers are already familiar with from reading Nor Noppharat's work. For instance, the phrase **ร้อยเปลี่ยนพันแปลง** (literally, hundred changes, thousand transforms) is obviously influenced by Nor Noppharat's **พันเปลี่ยนหมื่นแปลง** (thousand changes, myriad transforms) in *Mitbin mai phlat pao* (flying dagger never misses its target) (Nor Noppharat 2011b:185). The phrase appears in contexts such as the following:

虽一刀也可化为百刀，千刀

(Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 1, my emphasis)

ดาบเดียวก็สามารถร้อยเปลี่ยนพันแปลง

(Kittiphirun 2013:23-24, my emphasis)

One sword can change into a hundred, and transform into a thousand.

他的动作虽然缓慢，然而他的身影却幻化万千

(Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 1, my emphasis)

แม้ท่าอรหันต์จะเชื่องช้า แต่ร้อยเปลี่ยนพันแปลง

(Kittiphirun 2013:23-24, my emphasis)

Although the Arhat movement is slow, it changed into a hundred, and transformed into a thousand.

From these two examples the source texts that were translated to **ร้อยเปลี่ยนพันแปลง** are different but with the similar meaning of innumerably transformable. **化为百刀，千刀**

means change into a hundred swords, a thousand swords, and 幻化万千 means myriad transformations.

Moreover this practice of following Nor Noppharat's model can also be seen when translating profanities. Kittiphirun translated the variations of an exclamation of annoyance meaning nonsense, bollocks or bullshit – 奶奶个雄, 妈呀!, 我的妈呀!, 妈了个球, 球了个蛋。 – all as มารดามันเถอะ (literally, its mother), using a polite word, mother, to translate impolite swear words. Kittiphirun also used the same strategy as Nor Noppharat to translate nobility titles. 卫国公 (Duke of Wei) is transliterated into Mandarin with an explanation in brackets saying that it is a noble title equivalent to *Chao phraya nakhon wei* (*chao phraya* is a title, and *nakhon wei* is *Wei state*) (ibid:115). In this translation we can also see the use of words that usually appear in Nor Noppharat's translations such as: ประเสริฐ (excellent) for 好 (good); เนื่องจาก (because) for 因为 (because); เด็กน้อย (little child) for 小子 (lad or boy). Besides this usage, literary and polite words are also used to make the language sound archaic and to separate the story from the real world. Also, the way Kittiphirun arranges sentences is in the same manner as Nor Noppharat, directly translating from the source texts. For example:

“咦，方家，方梦菁，这个名字怎么会这么熟？”

“方家，你怎会不知？”

(Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 2)

“อืมม... ฟังเมิงจิงแห่งตระกูลฟ่ง เหตุใดนามนี้ฟังคุ้นหูนัก”

“บ้านตระกูลฟ่ง ท่านเหตุใดจึงไม่รู้จัก?”

(Kittiphirun 2013:45)

‘Uhm...Fang Mengjing of Fang family. How come this name sounds so familiar?’

‘The Fang family, how come you do not know them?’

是你二哥要下聘了。

(Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 2)

เป็นพี่รองของเจ้าจะเป็นฝั่งเป็นฝาแล้ว

(Kittiphirun 2013:43)

It is your second brother getting married.

It can be observed that Kittiphirun changed some sentence structure, possibly to make it sound like Nor Noppharat's style and to make it sound smoother or to create more effect. For example, in the source text it says:

师傅，是您说的

(Jin Xunzhe 2016, Chapter 1)

Master, it is you who said so.

In the Thai translation the affirmative sentence above was changed into a question in the style of Nor Noppharat's mixed with her own.

ซีอฟู มีใช่ท่านบอกเองดอกหรือ?

(Kittiphirun 2013:23)

Master, is it not you who said so?

Overall, Kittiphirun's translation follows the Nor Noppharat model of martial arts novel translation. Noticeably, albeit keeping all the characteristics of this style, it can still be differentiated from Nor Noppharat's work as Kittiphirun's own style is also embedded in it. This implies that Kittiphirun's experience and previously acquired habitus is also expressed in the translation. It is possible that this may well also be the case of the translator's colleagues.

Li Linli

As mentioned in Chapter Five, before translating a martial arts novel Li Linli had worked in subtitling martial arts television series. From *Burut burapha thamniap langya* (The Gentleman of the East of Langya Hall), her translation of *Langya bang* (琅琊榜, Nirvana in Fire),⁵³ it can be observed that it is possible that her succinct language style is influenced by her experience of subtitling, and therefore the influence of Nor Noppharat is not as clear as the work of Kittiphirun's. Nevertheless, it still follows the martial arts language model – archaic yet fanciful with a Chinese style.

Li Linli tended to translate proper nouns into Thai without transliterating them first. For instance: เสาศิลาลพิทักษ์แผ่นดิน (Li Linli 2015:13) from 护国柱石, meaning Guarding the Country Pillar; บ้านสกุลจ้าวแห่งหมูบ้านน้ำพุสวรรค์ (ibid:17) from 天泉山庄卓氏

⁵³ Written by Hai Yan (海晏).

门, meaning Heaven Spring Villa of Zhuo Family; ชูฉิงเทียน ประมุขพรรคมังกรผงาด (ibid:44) from “峭龙帮” 帮主束擎天, meaning Shu Qingtian, the leader of Soaring Dragon Association; พรรคบูรพาวันที่ (ibid:44) from 江左盟, meaning River East Alliance. For some proper nouns, Li Linli transliterated them and put their meanings in brackets such as: เทศกาลจงชิว (ไหว้พระจันทร์) (ibid:18, original emphasis) from *Zhongqiu* (中秋); ประตุนานเซิง (สยบทักษิณ) (ibid:33, original emphasis) from 南胜门 (*Nan sheng men*), meaning Victory South Gate.

Unlike Nor Noppharat and Kittiphirun, for royal and nobility titles that do not have equivalent words Li Linli did not translate them, rather transliterated them into Mandarin and gave an explanation in a bracket or footnote such as ‘จวนหนึ่งกั๋วโหว’ (ibid:13) from *Ningguo hou fu* (宁国侯府). She gave an explanation in a footnote that *hou* (โหว, 侯) is the third rank of the ancient Chinese peerage after *wang* and *gong* (ibid:13). โหวเหย (คำเรียกเจ้านายที่มีบรรดาศักดิ์ชั้นโหว) is from *houye* (侯爷) which she explained that it is the word to call a noble who has the rank of *hou* (ibid:14). จวนกั๋วจิว (国舅府, Guojiu Residence) is given an explanation in a footnote that กั๋วจิว (*guojiu*, 国舅) means a male sibling of *huanghou* (empress) (ibid:21). ชิงกั๋วกง (บรรดาศักดิ์ชั้นกง) นามไปเย (ibid:21) is from *Qinguo gong Baiye* (庆国公柏业) with the explanation given in brackets. Another example is หนิงหวางจวินจู๋ (*Nihuang junzhu*, 霓凰郡主). Li Linli explained จวินจู๋ (*junzhu*, 郡主) in a footnote that it means the daughter of a noble with the rank of *wang* (ibid:24), and after the first appearance she referred to this character as *junzhu*.

For forms of address that can be translated Li Linli tended to translate into Thai, for example พี่ใหญ่ (大哥, big brother), ท่านซู (苏先生, Mister Su), พี่ซู (苏兄, brother Su), whereas Nor Noppharat and Kittiphirun tended to borrow the Chinese terms using the transliteration. For some words that do not have an equivalence, Li Linli transliterated them and explained in brackets such as: ‘ฟู่หม่า’ (น้องเขยจักรพรรดิ) from *fuma* (驸马,

brother-in-law of the emperor)⁵⁴ (ibid:34); หวงไท่โฮ่ว (พระราชชนนี) from *huangtaihou* (皇太后, meaning empress dowager) (ibid:34); ฟู่เหริน (คำเรียกภริยาเจ้านาย) from *furen* (夫人, meaning wife of the master or mistress) (ibid:14); เจิ้น (คำแทนตัวเองของจักรพรรดิ) from *zhen* (朕, a term the emperor used to call himself).

Interestingly, when translating metaphors or idioms, apart from translating them directly, sometimes Li Linli used equivalent Thai metaphors, for instance:

等得我都快长毛了！

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 2)

I have been waiting that my hair almost grows!

ข้ารอจนรากจะงอกอยู่แล้ว!

(Li Linli 2015:20)

I have been waiting that the root almost grows!

This is a metaphor that is commonly used in Thai society. One can assume that using an equivalent metaphor would be more acceptable for Thai readers.

谁知天有不测风云

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 1)

Who would have known the unforeseen that always happened?

เมฆจะไปลมจะมาสุดที่ผู้ใดหยั่งรู้

(Li Linli 2015:14)

The clouds go; the wind comes; who would have known.

It is possible that Li Linli translated this idiom by adapting the Thai idiom เลือดจะไปลมจะมา (the symptoms of women approaching the menopause). It is also based on the source text although not directly.

说曹操，曹操到

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 6)

พูดถึงเฉาเซา (โจโจ) เฉาเซาก็มา

(Li Linli 2015:38)

Speak of Cao Cao, and Cao Cao appears.

⁵⁴ In this novel, *fuma* (son-in-law of the emperor) is used to refer to brother-in-law of the emperor.

This idiom was translated directly into Thai and the equivalent idiom in English is “speak of the devil and he shall appear”. Instead of using the Thai equivalent expression ตายยากจริง (so hard to die) or พูดถึงก็มาพอดี (just talk about and one came), she kept the meaning of the original text possibly because Cao Cao or Jo Cho in Teochew is a famous character from *Sam kok* (Romance of the Three Kingdom) that Thai readers would be familiar with. It is also possible that the direct translation fits within the context better both in the sense of atmosphere and the literary style.

Furthermore, in the translation Li Linli used royal language when appropriate and the wording and phrasing in general are in an old-fashioned literary style, for example:

พอคิดถึงท่านอาจารย์ก็อดรู้สึกสลดใจกับเรื่องราวในอดีตมิได้ เลื่อนหาดั่งหมอกควัน
แตกสาดั่งหยาดพิรุณ มีอาจหวนคืน

(Li Linli 2015:12)

想到先师，不免要感慨前尘往事如烟如尘，仿若云散水滴，岂复有重来之日。

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 1)

Thinking about the master, could not help feeling melancholy about things happened in the past, fading like mist, drizzling like rain, never returning.

Li Linli translated this phrase in a literary poetic way using literary archaic words.

ข้าไม่ใช่ทำนาย **ไหนเลย**ทราบได้?

(Li Linli 2015:27, my emphasis)

我又不是算命的，**哪里**会知道？

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 4, my emphasis)

I am not a fortune teller. **How could** I know?

ความลึกลับของชะตาชีวิต ชนชั้นโง่เขลาเช่นข้า**ไหนเลย**หยั่งรู้ได้

(Li Linli 2015:27, my emphasis)

命理之玄妙，**岂是**我一介愚人能窥算的？

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 4, my emphasis)

The mystery of fate, **how could** I, a man of the ordinary fool, fathom?

คุณชายชู่มาเป็นแขกของที่นี่ มิใช่ชักแสดงสร้างความบันเทิง **ไหนเลย**เรียกใช้ไปมาได้?

(Li Linli 2015:36, my emphasis)

这位苏先生来此是客，并非取乐的伶人，**岂能**这样召来唤去？

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 5, my emphasis)

Mister Su came as a guest not entertainer. **How could** he be summoned here and there?

ข้ารู้ว่าทุกคนทำสิ่งใดย่อมมีเหตุผลของตัวเอง เชื้อปี่ก็เช่นกัน เพียงแต่ทุกคนคำนึงถึงตัวเองมากเกินไป ความทุกข์มากมายบนโลกอาจเกิดขึ้นเพราะสาเหตุนี้ ยุทธภพก็ดี ราชสำนักก็ดี ไยมิใช่ไม่แตกต่าง? ทั้งแคว้นเป่ย์เอี้ยนและต้าอวี่ เกิดการช่วงชิงบัลลังก์ เช่น ฆ่าฟันกัน แคว้นต้าเหลียงของพวกเราไยมิใช่เช่นกัน?

(Li Linli 2015:52, my emphasis)

我知道任何人做任何事都有自己的理由，谢弼也是这样。只不过大家都太为自己考虑了，世间许多烦恼也就因此而生。江湖也好，朝廷也罢，**何尝有什么两样？**北燕大渝为了夺嫡刀光剑影，我们大梁又**岂会例外？**

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 8, my emphasis)

I know that everyone has one's own reasons, Xie Bi as well, only that they all think too much for themselves. Many troubles in this world also happened because of that. Whether it is Jianghu or the royal court, **how are they any different?** Beiyan and Dayu fought and slaughtered each other to seize the throne, **how is our Daliang not the same?**

In such rhetorical questions Li Linli tended to translate into ไหนเลย... or ไยมิใช่... making them unnatural yet sound old-fashioned and more sophisticated. However, it can also cause confusion in that readers might need to translate Thai into simpler Thai. What is more it seems that sometimes Li Linli also made some sentences sound like Nor Noppharat's style such as:

谁要见我们啊？

(Hai Yian 2015, Chapter 7, my emphasis)

Who want to meet us?

เป็นผู้ใดต้องการพบพวกเรา?

(Li Linli 2015:47, my emphasis)

Who is it want to meet us?

Instead of translating it directly as ใครต้องการพบพวกเรา? (Who want to meet us?) which sounds contemporary, she adapted the sentence to emphasise the subject and make it sound old-fashioned.

Yet again, these examples give us the idea that the translation of this novel is the product of the martial arts language model plus the translator's own style. Li Linli's experience as a subtitler tangibly affected her translation. So far we have seen the

translations of Chinese martial arts novels of the two colleagues Kittiphirun and Li Linli, which follow and refer to a particular model. However, there is as yet no model for Korean martial arts novel translation. It is therefore intriguing to see whether or not the strategies and style adopted in translating a Korean novel of the same genre by their colleagues are the same as translating the Chinese ones.

Bupphahima

Bupphahima's translation of *Tamnan rachan haeng phukla* (The Legend of the Hero), a Korean martial arts novel written by Woogak, *The Chronicle of Myung Wang*, is an interesting example. Although I cannot compare it to the original Korean text, because I do not read Korean, it is still interesting to look at because we will find that the translation follows the model of Chinese martial arts novel translation as shown in the examples below.

In the same manner of Chinese martial arts novel translation, wording and phrasing in this translation are in the archaic, literary and martial arts novel style, such as the use of มัน (it) as a pronoun for a man or men, as found in this translation.

ลมหนาวพัดมาปะทะร่างของชินฮวัง แต่มันหาได้สะทกสะท้านไม่

(Bupphahima 2016:39, my emphasis)

The cold wind hit Shin Hwang's body, but **it trembled not**.

เนื้อตัวของมันชุ่มไปด้วยเหงื่อ แต่พอมันหยุดใช้หระบวนท่า เหงื่อตามร่างกายก็กลับกลายเป็นหยดน้ำเย็นทันที แต่กระนั้นชินฮวังก็หาได้รู้สึกเหน็บหนาวไม่

(ibid:42, my emphasis)

Its body soaked with sweat, but when **it** stopped the movement, the sweat became cold drops of water, *but even so* Shin Hwang **felt cold not**.

From these two examples, we can also notice that the structure หาได้...ไม่ and แต่กระนั้น are used to make the negative sentence sound as if they have been written in an old-fashioned style.

ร่างกายของมันคล้ายเกิดการค้นพบอะไรบางอย่างจากไอน้ำเย็นของทะเลสาบน้ำแข็งแห่งนี้

(ibid:42, my emphasis)

Its body **as though** discovered something from the coldness of the frozen lake.

นี่คล้ายจะเป็นสิ่งตอบแทนที่บิดาของอารยงช่วยทำสนับเหล็กให้มัน

(ibid:63, my emphasis)

This **seemed** to be payment to Aryung's father for making him the metal guards.

It seems that using คล้าย (seem, as though, as if) as in these sentences is an attempt to make them sound like Nor Noppharat's or a martial arts novel style in that they seem as though they have been translated from Chinese. Moreover, the structure ยิ่งมา...ยิ่ง... (the more... the more...), which is directly translated from Chinese 越来越... can also be found in this translation, as in the following example:

อารยงรู้สึกว่าการเดินทางติดตามชินฮวังไปตามปกติ แต่ยิ่งมามันกลับรู้สึกว่าชินฮวังยิ่ง
เดินทางออกไปทุกที

(ibid:56, my emphasis)

Aryung thought he followed Shin Hwang as normal, but he felt that **the further** he went, **the longer** the distance left between Shin Hwang and him was.

ยิ่งมา...ยิ่ง... is how Nor Noppharat translated this structure. In addition these phrases ขอขอบคุณท่านแล้ว (thank you) and ขออภัยแล้ว (sorry) sound like direct translations of Chinese texts 谢谢了 (thanks) and 对不起了 (sorry). 了 at the end indicates that the person feels thanks or feels sorry for something that is done. To be certain it is necessary to compare this with the Korean source text.

It can be seen that word choices in this translation are also literary and archaic words.

เดรัจฉานแม้ตัวใหญ่เพียงใด ก็ยังเป็นเดรัจฉานอยู่วันยังค่ำ

(ibid:59, my emphasis)

No matter how large was the **beast**, it was still a **beast**.

Using the word เดรัจฉาน (beast) instead of สัตว์ (animal) is a way to make it archaic and literary. The use of this word can also be seen in Nor Noppharats' work.

กลางค่ำคืน วิกาลดึกสงัด ม่านฟ้าเป็นสีนิลประดับดารา

(ibid:31)

In the middle of the night, the sky was the colour of a black sapphire decorated with stars.

เย็นเยียบประดุจแสงจันทร์ และกระหายโลหิตประดุจยมทูต นี่คือแนวทางของวิชาดวงจิต
เงาจันทร์อาของมัน

(ibid:34)

Piercing cold as the moonbeam and blood craving as the angel of the death,
this was the way of its Shadow Moon Soul.

Literary words were used, especially in the descriptions of nature or martial arts, making them sound poetic, fanciful and exciting. It also creates more distance between reality and fiction.

Furthermore it is interesting to see that some martial arts related words are in the Chinese transliteration and not Korean, for instance จุดตันเกียน (*dantian* (丹田), energy centre) and เส้นลมปราณทั้งแปดเส้น (*qi jing ba mai* (奇经八脉), the eight channels). Bupphahima (ibid:35) gave an explanation with the Chinese name for the latter in a footnote.

From these examples it is therefore not exaggerating to say that if one did not know that this novel was translated from a Korean novel, one might mistake it as another Chinese martial arts novel. These examples let us learn the pattern of some work from the same publisher. Nonetheless, other publishers may have different requirements and ways of working for their translators.

Joey Dongfang

In Chapter Five, we learned that Joey Dongfang has his own position on the language style of martial arts novel translation, in that he does not think that it is necessary to follow the trend or the norm that the readers set up. From his translation of *Manut thongkham khonthi paet haeng shaolin* (literally, the eighth golden human of Shaolin)⁵⁵, we will see that his language style is different from the model of martial arts novel translation. It is still old-fashioned but more casual. To give some examples:

“เฮ้อ... อักษรมิเขียนก็ช่าง หนังสือจะเผาเป็นพืนก็ช่างปะไร แต่จิตแห่งธรรมะและความ
ภักดีต่อชาติบ้านเมืองนั้นจักต้องสืบทอดไปเป็นนิจ อะแฮ่ม พวกเจ้าฟังให้ดี กลียุคมักให้
กำเนิดวีรชนผู้กล้า... ซีลัว เจ้าว่าจริงไหม?”

(Joey Dongfang 2006:20)

⁵⁵ Translated from *Shaolinsi di ba tongren* (少林寺第八铜人) written by Giddens (九把刀).

‘Huh... letters, cannot write, do not care. Books, burn them as firewood, do not care. Yet, the mind of morals and loyalty to the country and people must be carried on. Ahem, you all listen carefully. Turbulent days bring forth the hero... Qisuo, do you think it’s true?’

“字可以不会写，书可以当柴烧掉，可是那忠孝节义、为国为民的侠心是定要代代相传的。咳，有句话说，时势造英雄，七索，你说是也不是？”

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2)

‘Letters, cannot write is fine. Books, can be burnt as firewood. Yet, the loyalty, righteousness, and the chivalrous spirit towards the country and people must be carried on from generation to generation. Ahem, as the saying goes, the trend of events brings forth the hero. Qisuo, do you think it is true or not?’

This example shows us the strategy of Joey Dongfang in that he translates it by sense-for-sense and not word-for-word. He keeps the meaning of the original text and renders it in a way that in his opinion makes a better translation for his readers. The language style in this dialogue of a character of an old man is old-fashioned but not as literary or formal as that of other translations in the genre since it is a spoken language. In Nor Noppharat’s translations, we hardly see the contracted form of question words such as ไหม that is contracted from หรือไหม. In this example the old man is telling children a story as well as teaching them morality. Joey Dongfang translates the part where the old man is being serious as when teaching children, into a more formal language than the part where the character is just asking them questions or talking to them. This gives a sense of reality to the character and the dialogue.

“เฮ้อ... ข้าละเป็นห่วงจริงจริง ยุทธภพนั้นอันตรายกว่าที่เจ้าจินตนาการมากมายนัก อีกทั้งเจ้าเองก็มีข้อเสีย ชอบหยิบยกภษาผิดเพี้ยน ๆ ผิด ๆ ดีไม่ดีวันไหนเจ้าพูดอะไรไม่เข้าหูคนอื่น ชีวิตเจ้าจะหาไม่โดยไม่รู้ตัว...” ชายชราถอนหายใจลำบากกว่าเดิม เจ้าสุนัขขราได้แต่มองซีสั่วอย่างไม่เข้าใจ

(Joey Dongfang 2006:24)

‘Huh... I’m really worried. Jianghu is much more dangerous than you have imagined. Besides, your mistake is that you always use wrong idioms or mix them up. If one day you say something that annoys other persons, your life might end without realising...’ The old man sighed with more difficulty. The old dog looked at Qisuo confusingly.

“七索啊，江湖险恶，你又这么爱乱用成语，一不留神讲错话，命就没了。”老人叹气，老黄狗傻愣愣地看着七索。

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2)

‘Qisuo, jianghu is dangerous, and you always use wrong idioms or mix them up. If you are not careful about the things you say, your life will end.’ The old man sighed. The old yellow dog stared at Qisuo foolishly.

In this example, we can observe that Joey Dongfang adapts the text when translating it into Thai to stress the old man's worries and warning. In the same manner as the previous example, the old man speaks with informal old-fashioned spoken language which does not usually appear in Nor Noppharat's work.

“พ่อหนุ่ม ขึ้นเขาฝึกวิทยายุทธสิทำ?”

(Joey Dongfang 2006:27)

“小兄弟，上少林学武功啊？”

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2)

‘Lad, going to Shaolin to learn martial arts?’

“กงจื๋อท่านนี้กำลังขึ้นเขาเพื่อฝึกวรยุทธ์ใช่ไหม?”

(Joey Dongfang 2006:28)

“公子爷，上少林学武功是吧？”

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2)

‘Gongzi, going to Shaolin to learn martial arts, are you not?’

These two sentences are the same questions asked by different persons. One is an ordinary boy, the other one is the son of an official or nobility. Joey Dongfang uses an informal tone to ask the boy, whereas he uses a formal tone to ask the character from the higher class. He also borrows the word *gongzi* (公子, mister or young master, a polite term to call a young man respectfully, especially a man or a son of nobility) from Chinese to use in his translation and gives an explanation in the footnote (Joey Dongfang 2006:28).

Furthermore, when translating idioms and metaphors Joey Dongfang sometimes domesticates them and sometimes translates them directly. For instance:

“รู้แล้วนะ โบราณว่ากินปูนร้อนท้อง ปลาหมอคเลียดตายเพราะปาก”

(ibid:25, my emphasis)

‘I knew that. As the saying goes, conscience does make cowards of us all, so men cause themselves trouble with their mouths.

“知道啦，这就叫祸从口出、童言无忌！”

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2, my emphasis)

‘I knew that. This is called trouble comes from speech; do not mind a child's ominous words.’

The idioms in this sentence are all mixed up but the meaning of this dialogue is to be careful about what one says. Joey Dongfang chooses Thai idioms that convey the same meaning so that Thai readers can easily understand the message of the dialogue.

ท่าทางท่านอาท่านนี่คงต้องบรรลุนิติวิชาป้อยอกจากสำนักชเลียร์เป็นแน่

(Joey Dongfang 2006:30, my emphasis)

It seemed this uncle must have achieved a course in flattery from the licking-boots school.

大叔拍马屁的表情已练到出神入化

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2, my emphasis)

The way the uncle buttered him up already reached perfection.

Joey Dongfang adapts this sentence by using contemporary expression and slang, presumably to suit his audience of young adults. ชเลียร์ or เซลียร์ (*chalia*) is from the English word ‘cheer’ plus the Thai word ‘เลีย’ (*lia* meaning lick) meaning to support or fawn on somebody which is 拍马屁 in the source text. We can notice here that the practice of coinage has been done, not only with Chinese words, but is in fact common practice in Thai culture.

วาจามีดีโกน แต่จิตใจต่ำหู้

(Joey Dongfang 2006:36)

刀子口豆腐心

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 2)

Mouth of a knife but heart of bean curd.

Joey Dongfang translates this metaphor, directly, possibly because it is comprehensible to Thai readers.

In addition the fighting scenes in his translation are described in a simple succinct way. Sometimes, still keeping the meaning, he adapts them to make them more exciting and smoother, as we can see from the following excerpt:

ได้จังหวะชี่สั่วก็เปิดฉากโจมตันทันที ปกติชี่สั่วเป็นคนที่สมดุลยอดเยี่ยมอยู่แล้ว พวงท่าของชี่สั่วเดี๋ยวซ้ายเดี๋ยวขวาเหมือนวนรียิ่งกว่าวนรเสียอีก จังหวะออกหมัดนั้นรวดเร็วไม่อาจคาดเดา ทำให้จวินเป่าได้แต่ปัดป้อง

(Joey Dongfang 2006:66)

Getting the opportunity, Qisuo started the attack at once. Normally, Qisuo's physical balance was excellent. His movement was like a monkey more than the monkey itself, one moment moving to the left, another moving to

the right. His punches were thrown out so quickly that they were unpredictable, giving Junbao merely a chance to avert them.

七索天生的平衡感本来就好，在屋顶上像猴子般与君宝斗了起来，一下子踢一下子连续快拳，打得君宝几乎无还手机会。

(Giddens 2012, Chapter 3)

Qisuo's sense of physical balance was good. He fought with Junbao on the rooftop like a monkey; one moment kicked; another threw a quick punch, leaving Junbao almost no chance to counter-attack.

Reading his translation, it can be observed that Joey Dongfang, without pressure from the publisher, followed his habitus and adopted his own language style and strategies to translate this novel. According to the conversation with him, as discussed earlier in Chapter Five, as translation is a hobby for him he does not aim to pursue fame or gain economic capital in the field of martial arts novel translation, and thus the forces from the market do not much affect him, but nevertheless he still keeps his target readers in mind when translating this novel. Therefore the amount of autonomy the translators seek and earn is different in each case. Whether other translators would get the same kind of autonomy, their works, habitus and capital need to be investigated.

BiscuitBus

Before examining this novel, it should be noted that BiscuitBus is the penname of a Thai writer who wrote a 'Chinese' martial arts novel titled *Ratchabutkhoei jaosamran* (literally, the lively royal son-in-law) and so it is a good case for study. In the Writer's Preface, BiscuitBus (2015, Writer's Preface) says that when she was in the primary school she watched martial arts television series after coming back from school, and the next day she would talk about it with her friends. She also enjoyed reading martial arts novels and wished that one day she would write one herself (ibid). Her book was published by Arun Publishing after receiving good feedback from online readers on the Dek-D website.⁵⁶ Albeit not a translation, it is a good example because we can observe the influence of the martial arts language style on her work. It also shows the pervasiveness of the genre that led to the creation of the Thai-Chinese martial arts novel.

⁵⁶ See: <http://my.dek-d.com/Night/writer/view.php?id=944701>, last accessed 26 June 2016.

In *Ratchabuthkhoei jaosamran*, as we can observe from the following examples, the overall language style is undoubtedly of the genre. It is old-fashioned and literary, and yet concise.

ได้หย่ตกใจจนส่งเสียงอา ได้ซื่อยืนห่างออกไปถึงสองสามก้าว พริบตาเดียวก็ถึงตัวมัน
นับเป็นวิชาเท้าอันยอดเยี่ยม มันเบี่ยงกายหลบแทบไม่ทัน กิ่งไม้แห้งผ่านอากาศบังเกิด
เป็นเสียงลมวูบหนึ่ง ครั้นกิ่งไม้ของได้ซื่อฟันตัวมันไปก็พลันหักเหหมายเข้าโจมตีท้องน้อย
แต่มันใช้กิ่งไม้ของตนบ่ายเบี่ยงออกได้ทัน ได้ซื่อกล่าว “ประเสริฐ” แล้วหันเหกระบวณท่า
ขึ้นจู่โจมศีรษะ

(ibid:38)

Startled, Taiyi let out a cry. Taisue was standing a few steps away. He charged forward and reached *it* in a split second. That was a great foot move. *It* could barely dodge in time. The dried stick whipped through the air making a whoosh sound. The Taisue's stick once missed *its* body, it suddenly changed the target to attack the lower abdomen. But *it* used its stick to shift it away just in time. Taisue said 'excellent' and shifted the movement to attack the head.

This excerpt is an example of a fighting scene in the novel and gives the impression of being a translation of a Chinese martial arts novel, with the fast-paced descriptive scene being one of the characteristics of the translation of the genre. BiscuitBus also used words that are often seen in the translations such as ประเสริฐ (excellent), and *Taisue* (a Teochew dialect of *daishi* 大师, a term to call a Chinese monk in a high rank). It can be noted here that she used the Teochew dialect instead of Mandarin, presumably because she is more familiar with Teochew. Besides, she called Taiyi มัน (it), which in my English translation could be replaced by the word child. Although มัน (it) is used to refer to male more than female, in this novel it is also used to avoid specifying the gender of the character that always dresses like a male which leads to a misunderstanding from other characters.

In addition, wording and phrasing also follow the model as can be seen from the examples below:

“ตงซิน...ดาบนั้นร้ายกาจอย่างยิ่งใช่หรือไม่”

(ibid:12)

‘Tongsin... that sword was very vicious, was it not?’

“บิดา...ได้ซื่อประหลาดนั้นบุตรไม่ทราบความเป็นมา วรยุทธ์ของบิดาบุตรก็ยังไม่เคยจำ
เรียน ไหนเลยจะคิดเรียนวรยุทธ์ผู้อื่น”

(ibid:12)

‘Father... that odd Taisue, I do not know his background. Father’s martial arts, I have never learnt yet. How could I learn martial arts of other people?’

“ฮุยอินใหญ่สอบถามกับข้า ไม่ทราบจะตอบประการใด”

(ibid:51)

‘The first Huyin asked me. I did not know how to answer.’

These three examples show the formal spoken language with polite words and an old-fashioned style as we have seen from other translators’ work. In the last sentence the word ฮุยอิน (huyin, the Teochew sound of *furen* 夫人) is borrowed to refer to the wife of the master, as has been practiced in the field.

“เรียนคุณหนู บ่าวเป็นบ่าวในสกุลมู่ เรียกว่าได้หยี่”

(ibid:48, my emphasis)

‘Miss, I am a servant of the Mu family **called** Taiyi.’

Using เรียกว่า (called) the direct translation of 叫 (*jiao*, call) instead of named can be seen often in Nor Noppharat’s translations.

คิดแล้วเจ้าบ้านวัยชราก็ทอดถอนใจ ยิ่งมายิ่งหดหู่

(ibid:21, my emphasis)

The more he thought about it, the old master sighed, **the more** dispirited he grew.

Again, the structure of ยิ่งมายิ่ง... is seen in this martial arts story as well as in the others.

แม่นาง! อย่าได้ร้องแล้ว!

(ibid:44, my emphasis)

Miss! Do not cry!

“พี่สาวใจดีอย่างยิ่งแล้ว ได้หยี่ข้างมีวาสนา”

(ibid:52, my emphasis)

‘Sister is very kind. I am so fortunate.’

These two sentences, with the word แล้ว at the end, are as if directly translated from Chinese sentences with 了 at the end as seen in other translations in the genre.

ได้หยี่หันกายมองมู่ต่งซินด้วยกังวลว่าจะผายลมเหลวไหลอันใดอีก

(ibid:60)

Taiyi turned to look at Mu Tongsin with worry that he might say something absurd again.

The word ผายลม (to pass wind) as in the context of speaking nonsense is a Chinese expression rather than a Thai one and appears commonly in translations of the genre.

Although the editor of the novel merely required that it should be written in the language style that presented Chinese-ness and suited the time of the story,⁵⁷ from these examples it is fascinating to find that the language imitates that of translations of Chinese martial arts novels. It is then the decision of the writer herself to follow the model. The novel could be mistaken for a translation, albeit an original piece of work written by a Thai writer. Therefore it is an example of a Thai-Chinese novel, a half-blood, a hybrid.

Conclusion

There are several factors that can affect the language style of a translator: these include the trend of the genre; the publisher; the readers; the society and culture; the literary tradition; and the translator him/herself. It is not a question of simply following or not following the model of the translation. Kittiphirun, Li Linli and Bupphahima work with a publisher that requires them to follow Nor Noppharat's language style of translation. This shows the influence of Nor Noppharat's style on the practice of martial arts novel translation. At the same time, it also implies that he is at the top of the field with the most capital and power. Nevertheless, as we have observed, due to the differences of each translator's habitus and social trajectories, the language styles are not exactly the same as the model. In addition, we should not forget that apart from the difference between each translators' habitus, writers' styles are also different which can result in the translations being produced in different styles. Thus we can see that their translations are a mixture of the model style, the writers' styles, and their own styles of writing which make their language styles different from one another, albeit still under the same pattern of the model. To put it another way, external forces, capital, habitus and trajectory clearly all influence on language style and decision-making.

In the case of Li Linli, working on subtitling for a period of time can, to some extent, affect her translation strategies and her use of language. With BiscuitBus growing up enjoying watching and reading martial arts series and novels, it is no

⁵⁷ Personal conversation on 21 May 2016.

wonder that her writing follows the martial arts novel translation style. Imitating it can also be a way to disguise her work and make it easier for her to be included in the field. Joey Dongfang, having no pressure to follow the model, has been able to make his own decisions and create his own style. Even with the translation of the Korean martial arts novel, it is in the same manner as the translations of Chinese martial arts novels that are already well known in Thai society. Following the familiar model can help ease the unfamiliarity of the newcomer, making it easier to be welcomed and accepted by the readers, especially those who prefer the martial arts language style.

From what we have observed, following the accepted language style also indicates their wishes and struggles to be approved and accepted in the field in the hope of progressing to a better status and earning more capital. It is necessary to bear in mind that, with the field being in such a state of flux, the model is not a permanent one and is open to change. Nevertheless, at present the translation style of Nor Noppharat is still at the centre of the field.

Conclusion

This thesis sets out to examine how the language style of Chinese martial arts novel translation became acceptable to Thai society. To understand a piece of translation and why particular translation methods and strategies are adopted, it is not enough to analyse the source text and its target text alone. As a socially situated activity, there are various factors – social, political, cultural, literary – that affect the translation process. Certainly, translators' themselves are also influenced by the social surroundings that they live and grew up in and this is why any understanding of the translation process must include an awareness of sociological perspectives. Bourdieu's notions of field, habitus and capital are adopted for this purpose to shed some light on the acceptability of the language style of translation and the martial arts genre in Thai society, and to answer the following research questions:

- What drives a translator to adhere to (or break) accepted translation trends?
- Does the translation style influence the trend in translation and how?
- What is the relationship between translation agencies and society?

This study therefore commenced with research into the socio-political and cultural contexts of the production of martial arts translations in Thailand in order to establish what kind of society and culture, or *field* in Bourdieu's terms, that the translators, readers and the translation production can be located in; and what forces come to bear upon them. The literary field was then investigated, which helps us to produce an understanding of the Thai literary tradition in relation to society and the impact of the field on the translation agents and the production. Interviews with editors and translators, a survey of readers, the archives of newspapers and textual analysis serve as the sources of evidence and insights for this study.

In Siam/Thailand - one of the destinations to which the Chinese immigrated - Thais encountered and experienced the culture of the Chinese newcomers whilst the Chinese assimilated into Thai society. It is apparent that it was not merely the Chinese people that were assimilated into the host culture, but also that the host culture responded by actively assimilating that of those migrating in, resulting in turn in the hybridisation of the recipient culture. The translators Nor Noppharat, who are *lukjin*,

grew up in this hybrid society and internalised these social surroundings that have determined their habitus and social trajectories. The entire body of their translation work clearly reflects both Chinese-ness and hybridisation, particularly in the transliteration of proper nouns, the translation of the titles and the illustrations on the covers, together with wording and phrasing within the text itself. The unnatural sound of the language used in their translations became one of the genre's distinct characteristics. The hybridised society and culture has made it possible for the language style to be accepted more easily. The information obtained from readers shows that for some of them, this kind of language style is important for the purposes of enjoying the novel, whereas some believe that content matters more than the language. Either way, the language style is not rejected by the Thai readers. This style has also been supported by the publisher who requires its translators to follow the Nor Nopppharat model of martial arts novel translation, even when translating a Korean martial arts novel. The language style is also adopted by Thai writers for the purpose of writing, for example, political satire. This is to be seen in Jiupaethong's *Siamlo yutthajak*, and BiscuitBus's 'Chinese' martial arts novel *Ratchabutkhoei jao samran*. The latter is a novel written by a Thai writer in Thai language and is therefore an original Thai Chinese martial arts novel, just as Khru Liam's *Nang neramit*, which is an imitation of an English adventure novel, is an authentic Thai novel (see Thak 2007, and Harrison 2014a). With their settings of foreign places and their foreign characters, both Khru Liam's *Nang neramit* and BiscuitBus's *Ratchabutkhoei jao samran* are imitations, hybrids or bi-cultural novels. They tell stories that originate from foreign cultures but are then filtered through a Thai lens. It is through the Thai writers' understanding and perceptions of these cultures that a cultural mix is produced in a local assimilation of outside influence and inspiration. Thus, we can see that assimilation is itself a feature of 'authentic' Thai literature.

The nature of the Thai literary tradition is therefore another factor that facilitates the acceptability of the language style and the genre. In the Thai literary field, Thai literature originated from a mixture of foreign literature and its own literary tradition, from appropriation, adaptation and reinvention of foreign literature no matter whether it was from the West or the East. These are common practices in the Thai literary field. Hence, Thai readers have developed a taste for foreignness over a long period of time. This Thai literary tradition coupled with the hybridisation between Thai and Chinese

cultures explain why the genre and its unfamiliar language style are not too alien to Thai readers when they are introduced to martial arts novels.

These practices of appropriation, adaptation, addition and omission are also common for the translators in that they adapt, add or omit some parts of the story as they feel appropriate. They act as if they were the writer of the story and not someone working in a shadow or behind the curtain merely as a translator. Their status in the field is no lower than that of writers who possess a similar amount of capital and readers wish to have their autographs, meet and talk to them. Nor Noppharat has attended book launching events and given talks on martial arts novels and new books on several occasions to promote his books and the martial arts genre more widely. He has enjoyed a good relationship with the writers of the books he has worked on and, with the publisher working as a team, has acted as a medium connecting readers to the original authors. By promoting the writers of the books, the books themselves are also promoted since the symbolic capital of the writers or the publisher and the translator who promote them, in a sense, can help to guarantee the quality of the books to their readers. If the writers are new to Thai readers, they will get to know the writers more, which may increase their interest in the books. It is clear, therefore, that Nor Noppharat has put himself in an indispensable position with the publisher and has accumulated enough cultural capital to give him power and enough autonomy to enable him to have some space to move more freely in the field full of forces and struggles.

The martial arts genre used to be seen as lowbrow, even in its homeland. Its status in the literary field was low without much capital but still it sparked concerns over the social stability that might be upset by the genre's rebellious implications embedded in the stories in China and other countries in South East Asia during a time of political instability. The genre was banned in China and the centre of production shifted to Taiwan and Hong Kong and the status of the genre improved after gaining more symbolic and economic capital that enabled it to take a better position in the field. Academics paid more attention to martial arts fiction and some pieces of work made their way to the West, having been translated into French and English. However, the genre was not successful in Western countries, due mainly to the gap between the cultures and the tastes of the readers. In contrast, however, the genre was comparatively well accepted in Asia. In Thailand the genre, albeit considerably popular, had a low status and publishers felt the need to fill the covers with nude

illustrations to attract more readers. When the genre earned more symbolic capital and economic capital its status also improved. The production of martial arts novel translation is hence heteronomous, with its success measured by its sale figures and popularity. In addition, being in Thai society for over a half century, the pervasiveness of the martial arts genre can be noticed in several aspects of daily life. For example, the martial arts language was adopted for newspaper articles especially in political satires, children played pretending to be martial arts heroes, and martial arts-related words are borrowed to use in other types of media and popular culture.

In summary, after considering the data and contextual material provided here, the answers and explanations to the research questions can be concluded as follows:

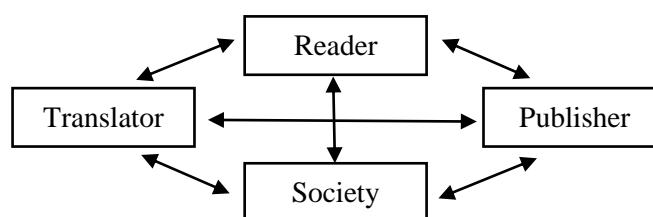
What drives a translator to follow (or break) accepted translation trends?

The decision depends on how much the translator is willing to invest in the game and to take risks. Following the already accepted trend in translation means that the translation has a greater possibility of meeting the approval of publishers and readers. Breaking the trend, on the one hand, can be a risk in a sense that readers may not approve of it but, on the other hand, if it is approved and accepted into the field, then the translator's name may become better known leading to greater recognition. Having enough capital, power, economic, symbolic or social capital undoubtedly gives the translator more control of his/her game. The translator's habitus and social trajectories also play a crucial role in determining how the translator would play such a game.

Does the translation style influence the trend and how?

A translation style can influence the trend in translation and becomes a new trend if it is approved and followed by other translators. In this research Nor Noppharat's translation style has been chosen as the model for martial arts novel translation and is well supported as such by the publisher. Given that Nor Noppharat has been the main translator in the field and translated hundreds of pieces of work, readers have to a certain extent grown used to the language style. He has gained some trust from both readers and publishers and as such his symbolic capital, social capital and power capital have increased over time. The publisher listens to him and new translators give him respect, following in his footsteps with the hope of being successful.

What are the relations between translation agencies and society?



Picture 25 Interrelationships between the agents and the society

The translator, publisher, reader and society are interrelated, as seen in picture 25 above. It is these two-way interrelationships that each agent influences one another in varied degrees depending on the amount of capital they possess. Translator, publisher and reader are in the society that determines their habitus and social trajectories that they have internalised and socialised from social surroundings and interactions and, in turn, their structured habitus that are expressed structure the field. Translation production is affected by forces both internal and external. The publisher, who usually has the most power, makes the final decision on books to translate and publish and has control over translators' language style. The translator listens to, and follows, the publisher's requirements so, hierarchically speaking, the publisher is the the most influential figure with the greatest power. Nevertheless, the translator who has enough amounts of capital can move up to a higher position in the field, so providing him with greater power. The reader is the target of the production in the heteronomous principle. The translator takes the reader into consideration when translating and making decisions on strategies, and the publisher considers which kind of books would be saleable to its reader. Thus, the translator and the publisher shape their reader.

This interdisciplinary research was conducted by following qualitative methods to gain an insight and explanation into martial arts novel translation in Thai society. Until the present there have been merely a handful of studies on martial arts novels, not to mention martial arts novel translation. Albeit situated at a better position in the Thai literary field nowadays, the genre has not yet been seen as valuable in the academic field compared to other kinds of Thai and other world literature. Therefore, one of the aspects that this research wishes to contribute is to draw attention towards study of this neglected genre as well as other genres of literature in the Thai literary field no matter what area of study it is in. This is in order to help learn about and to

better understand the field of translation, the field of literature and the wider context of Thai society and culture in which it operates.

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Appendix

แบบสอบถามงานวิจัย การศึกษาสำนวนการแปลนิยายกำลังภายใน

A Questionnaire on the Study of Martial Arts Novel Translation

แบบสอบถามนี้ทำขึ้นเพื่อใช้เป็นข้อมูลประกอบการทำวิจัยเพื่อศึกษาสำนวนการแปลนิยายกำลังภายในกรุณาตอบอย่างละเอียดตามความเป็นจริง

This questionnaire is designed to collect data for the study of martial arts novel translation. Please answer the following questions truthfully.

Q1 เริ่มอ่านนิยายกำลังภายในฉบับแปลภาษาไทยเมื่อไหร่ (อายุเท่าไร ปีพ.ศ. อะไร)

Q1 When did you start reading Thai translation of martial arts novels? (age, year)

Q2 ทำไมถึงสนใจอ่านนิยายกำลังภายใน (เริ่มอ่านได้อย่างไร อ่านเพื่ออะไร)

Q2 Why were you interested in reading martial arts novels? (How did you start? What did you read them for?)

Q3 ดูซีรีส์กำลังภายในหรือหนังสือฉบับแปลด้วยหรือไม่ เริ่มอ่านก่อนหรือดูซีรีส์ก่อน (โปรดระบุช่วงปีพ.ศ. ถ้าเป็นไปได้)

Q3 Have you watched any martial arts TV series or Shaw Brothers films? Did you read the novels first or watch the TV series first? (Please give the year, if possible.)

Q4 หาอ่านได้ยากง่ายเพียงใด ราคาเท่าไร แพงหรือถูกแค่ไหน แหล่งขายหรือให้เช่าคือที่ไหน

Q4 How easy or difficult it was to get hold of a copy? How much did it cost? Was it cheap or expensive? Where to buy or rent it?

Q5 อ่านฉบับแปลของใครบ้าง

Q5 Whose translations have you read?

☐ จำลอง พิศนาคะ (1) Jamlong Pitsanakha

☐ ว. ณ เมืองลุง (2) Wor na Muanglung

☐ น. นพรัตน์ (3) Nor Noppharat

☐ โจอี้ ตงฟาง (4) Joey Dongfang

☐ อื่น ๆ (5) _____ Others _____

Q6 อธิบายลักษณะสำนวนการแปลของนักแปลแต่ละท่านที่ได้อ่าน

Q6 Please explain the language styles of each translator whose works you have read.

Q7 ชอบสำนวนการแปลของใครมากกว่ากัน เพราะอะไร

Q7 Whose language style do you like the most? Why?

Q8 คิดว่าสำนวนภาษาของนิยายกำลังภายในเป็นอย่างไร

Q8 What do you think about the language style of martial arts novels?

Q9 รู้สึกติดขัดกับเสียงแต่จิวที่ใช้แปลชื่อเฉพาะหรือไม่ เพราะอะไร

Q9 Do you have any trouble with the Teochew transliteration of proper nouns? Why?

Q10 ชอบการถอดเสียงแบบแต่จิวหรือจีนกลางมากกว่ากัน เพราะอะไร

Q10 Do you prefer Teochew or Mandarin transliteration? Why?

Q11 สำนวนภาษาที่ใช้ในการแปลมีความสำคัญมากน้อยเพียงใด หากเทียบกับเนื้อหาหรือองค์ประกอบอื่น ๆ แล้ว อะไรมีความสำคัญมากกว่า

Q11 How important is the language style in the translation? When comparing to the content or other factors, which is more important?

Q12 หากไม่ใช่สำนวนภาษาที่พูดได้ว่าเป็นเอกลักษณ์เฉพาะตัวแบบนี้ ยังจะอ่านหรือไม่

Q12 If it was not this kind of language style that is considered to be its unique characteristic, would you still read it?

Q13 นิยายกำลังภายในมีบทบาทในชีวิตประจำวันบ้างหรือไม่ อย่างไร

Q13 Do martial arts novels have any role in your daily life? How?

Q14 มีสำนวนหรือคำคมติดปากหรือได้ยินคนพูดในชีวิตประจำวันหรือไม่

Q14 Do you have any favourite catchphrase from the novels or hear them in everyday life?

Q15 ผู้อ่านพูดเลียนแบบภาษาจากนิยายกำลังภายในบ้างหรือไม่

Q15 Do you imitate the martial arts language in real life conversation?

Q16 นอกจากอ่านฉบับนิยายแล้ว ได้อ่านฉบับการ์ตูน หรือดูซีรีส์หรือไม่ สำนวนภาษาที่ใช้ต่างหรือเหมือนกับฉบับนิยายมากน้อยแค่ไหน

Q16 Apart from reading the novels, have you read the comic version or watched the TV series? How different or similar are the language styles in each version?

Q17 อยากบอกเล่าเพิ่มเติม

Q17 Tell me more

ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้อ่าน

Readers' personal information

Q18 ชื่อ นามสกุล

Q18 Name

Q19 เพศ

Q19 Gender

☐ หญิง (1) Female

☐ ชาย (2) Male

☐ อื่น ๆ (3) _____ Others _____

Q20 ปีพ.ศ. เกิด / อายุ

Q20 Date of birth / age

Q21 ผู้อ่านมีเชื้อสายจีนหรือไม่ ถ้ามีเชื้อสายจีนอะไร

Q21 Do you have Chinese blood? If yes, what is it?