

From Text to Screen: Lin Haiyin's *Chengnan Jiushi* and Its Cinematic Adaptation

Albert L. Chang

This study is a comparative analysis of Lin Haiyin's seminal work, *Chengnan Jiushi*, and its cinematic adaptation by mainland Chinese director Wu Yigong. The novel, published in 1960, follows the six-year-old protagonist Ying-tzu as she grows up and assimilates into Peking in the 1920s. Being originally from Taiwan, her sense of self and the portrayal of her family as outsiders to Peking are essential to the original narrative. The study investigates the director's adaptation strategies, focusing on how the three elements of setting, characters, and plot are reimagined for the screen. The study found that the meticulous craftsmanship of the set designers allowed audiences to immerse themselves in the world of old Peking, effectively capturing the novel's historical richness and emotional depth. This careful blending of artifice and authenticity enhanced the settings' integral role in the narrative, contributing significantly to the film's success. In character portrayal, the adaptation simplifies the original's cultural complexity by removing accents and distinct linguistic traits, resulting in a homogenized identity and the erasure of Taiwanese elements, reflecting a broader trend toward accessibility over detailed representation. And finally, regarding the plot, the omission of the third story, "Lan I-niang," likely due to its darker themes, streamlines the narrative and softens its emotional intensity. The film adaptation may be seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past between mainland China and Taiwan, particularly during the period in which the film was produced, when the two sides of the strait remained politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remains apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

Keywords: Lin Haiyin, *Chengnan Jiushi*, adaptation, adaptation strategies, comparative analysis

Received: August 25, 2025

Revised: February 12, 2026

Accepted: June 3, 2026

從文字到銀幕： 林海音《城南舊事》與吳貽弓電影改編之比較分析

張梵

本研究對林海音的經典作品《城南舊事》及其由中國大陸導演吳貽弓改編的電影進行比較分析。原著於1960年出版，描寫六歲的英子在1920年代的北京成長與融入的過程。由於英子一家來自臺灣，其自我認同及作為北京「外來者」的描寫，構成小說敘事的重要部分。本文探討導演的改編策略，聚焦於場景、人物與情節三個元素在影像中的重構方式。研究發現，電影場景設計精緻，成功喚起老北京的歷史氛圍與情感深度，強化了場景在敘事中的關鍵作用。在人物塑造方面，電影透過語言的「歸化」處理，刪除原著中的口音與語言差異，簡化了文化複雜性，導致角色文化身分的同質化與臺灣元素的消失，反映出改編作品為求易於理解而犧牲文化細節的普遍趨勢。情節方面，原著中的第三篇〈蘭姨娘〉未被納入電影，可能因其負面意象而遭刪除，使得敘事更為簡化，情感張力亦隨之減弱。此一改編可視為強調兩岸共同文化記憶與懷舊情懷的手法，尤其在電影製作時期，兩岸雖政治分歧，文化上仍有聯繫。儘管影片本身不涉政治，其製作與推廣可能隱含促進認同與緩和緊張的意圖，藉由凸顯共同的文化歷史來達成。

關鍵詞：林海音、《城南舊事》、改編、改編策略、比較分析

收件：2025年8月25日

修改：2026年2月12日

接受：2026年6月3日

Introduction

In comparative literature, translation, in a broad sense, may also refer to adaptations based on a previous work. Referring to this process as the mutual illumination of the arts, Weisstein (1968/1973) explained that comparative literature examines the interaction between literature, cinema, and other forms of artistic expression across national and regional boundaries from an intercultural, interdisciplinary, and global perspective (p. 150). Jakobson (1959) classified such transfers of linguistic and cultural representations as intersemiotic translation, where verbal signs are interpreted through non-verbal sign systems (p. 233). As such, Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) noted that with adaptation, the form changes, but the content persists, allowing audiences to experience the story in a different way (p. 10). Adaptations provide an open and flexible platform for cross-cultural engagement, making it possible to present literary works to a new audience.

Lin Haiyin's 林海音 seminal work, *Chengnan Jiushi* 《城南舊事》, was first published in 1960 in Taiwan. In 1982, the novel was adapted into a film by the Shanghai Film Studio, with Shen Jie 沈潔 portraying Ying-tzu 英子, who serves as the soul of the film. Through Ying-tzu's eyes, the movie conveys the joys and sorrows of life. It vividly captures the atmosphere of old Peking, from the sound of camel bells in its quiet alleys to the presence of street vendors and daily scenes of people fetching water from wells. Director Wu Yigong 吳貽弓 successfully brought to life the "subtle melancholy and deep yearning" of the original novel while also highlighting the most beautiful and timeless aspects of humanity.

Just like translation, the term "adaptation" may refer to either the process or the product. As a product, Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) define "adaptation" as an "announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works" (p. 7), an example of which involves a shift of medium, such as from a novel to a film. They

argue that adaptations exhibit a double nature: Adaptations are not simply reproductions but rather “repetitions with variation” (p. 4). In other words, adaptations themselves are autonomous works that can be valued for their unique presence in time and space; however, they are also texts that echo and allude to an original (p. 6).

This study, a comparative analysis of the novel and its cinematic adaptation, aims to examine the director’s adaptation strategies, particularly how the three elements of setting, characters, and plot are navigated and reimagined in the cinematic format.

Literature Review

The Novel

Published in 1960, the full-length novel *Chengnan Jiushi* is Lin Haiyin’s most famous work. The narrative is primarily based on the author’s childhood memories, depicting the life of an ordinary family in a traditional Peking courtyard during the 1920s. The novel consists of five sequential stories that can be read separately or together as a single work: “Hui-an Hostel” 惠安館, “Let Us Go and See the Sea” 我們看海去, “Lan I-niang” 蘭姨娘, “Donkey Rolls” 驢打滾兒, and “Papa’s Flowers Have Fallen—And I Was No Longer a Child” 爸爸的花兒落了, 我也不再是小孩子. *Chengnan Jiushi* portrays the adult world in Peking during the 1920s as seen through the eyes of a little girl, the I-narrator Ying-tzu. Lin Haiyin presents the events in chronological order, focusing on her experiences as she navigates the challenges of living in the foreign city of Peking as a child. The novel begins in 1924, when Ying-tzu is six years old, and continues until 1930, when she is 12.

The Director and the Film

In 1982, the novel was adapted into a film by the Shanghai Film Studio, directed by Wu Yigong, a prominent member of the fourth generation of Chinese filmmakers. After graduating from the Beijing Film Academy in 1960, Wu worked at Haiyan Film Studio and later became a director. His contributions to Chinese cinema were significant, and he held several prestigious positions, including being the chairman of the Chinese Filmmakers Association. He was also one of the founders of the Shanghai International Film Festival. Wu Yigong passed away on September 14, 2019. For the adaptation, the film studio retained the Chinese title *Chengnan Jiushi* while using a slightly different English title, *My Memories of Old Peking*.

The film received high acclaim both in mainland China and internationally. It won several awards, including Best Director, Best Supporting Actress, and Best Music at the third Golden Rooster Awards in mainland China in 1983. The film also garnered international recognition, winning the Golden Eagle Award for Best Film at the second Manila International Film Festival in 1983 (Ni, 2002/2002, p. 65), Best Picture at the seventh Belgrade International Children's Festival in 1984, and second prize (the Equator Award) at the tenth Quito City International Film Festival in Ecuador in 1988 (China Central Television, 2006). In 1999, it was chosen as one of the 100 best 20th-century Chinese-language films by *Asia Weekly*.

As it is impossible to separate the act of adaptation from the environment in which it is carried out, the adaptation process invariably affects its end result, which is the way the movies are filmed. Adaptations also have to work within economic, social, and political constraints, and thus adapting the social dimension of the original to the new audience becomes an important consideration.

In an interview, director Wu Yigong discussed the financial challenges in filming *Chengnan Jiushi*. The film's budget was RMB 570,000, nearly double the

typical RMB 290,000 allotted for films by the Shanghai Film Studio in the 1980s. Wu faced significant pressure due to this high cost but received critical support from studio director Xu Sangchu 徐桑楚, who authorized additional funding. Despite the financial risk, the film turned out to be a commercial success, grossing RMB 1.1 million, ultimately making a profit and validating the investment (Zhang, 2012). However, as Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) have explained, the appeal of adaptation cannot simply be explained away by economic gain (p. 175). They also cite political motives as a reason to adapt, as it can be used “to engage in a larger social or cultural critique” (p. 94).

The making of the film was politically motivated, which appeared to be tied to improving cross-strait cultural relations between mainland China and Taiwan at that time. Although the film does not contain overt political content, it was produced at a time when the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences began to introduce Taiwanese literature to the mainland in a more systematic way, suggesting a political agenda of fostering cultural exchange (Zhang, 2012). By adapting Lin Haiyin’s autobiographical novel, which depicts childhood memories of Peking, the film serves as a bridge linking the shared cultural heritage between Taiwan and the mainland.

Additionally, the screenplay was strongly endorsed by a vice minister of culture and the Shanghai Film Studio’s leadership (Zhang, 2012), which suggests that the production had governmental backing and political importance. The choice to adapt this particular work may have been seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past, especially during a period when the two sides of the strait were politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remained apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

In short, the adaptation of *Chengnan Jiushi* illustrates the complex dynamics of adapting literature into film, shaped by economic pressures and political contexts. The political backdrop of the film's production suggests a deliberate effort to foster cultural relations between mainland China and Taiwan. While the film itself may not present overt political messages, its production during a time of increasing cultural exchange signifies an underlying agenda to bridge the historical and cultural gaps between the two regions. The endorsement from high-ranking officials further emphasizes the importance of the film as a cultural artifact that seeks to evoke nostalgia and unity amidst political divisions.

Previous Studies

The following literature review starts with studies by mainland Chinese scholars, which focus on its artistic achievements, cultural significance, and its adaptation process. The reviews explain the film's broader role within mainland Chinese cinema, offering perspectives on the film's emotional and aesthetic contributions.

In Mainland China

In an interview, director Wu Yigong stated that he used the emotions “subtle melancholy and deep yearning” (*dandan de aichou, chengcheng de sinian* 淡淡的哀愁、沉沉的思念) to establish a mood for the film that is consistent with the original novel (Zhang, 2012). For this reason, Wang (2007) examined the adaptation with a focus on style, rather than content. After a careful examination of the novel, the adapted screenplay, and the final movie, Wang (2007) notes that the movie retained the novel's emotional tone and mood because director Wu insisted on “adhering to artistic principles” (*anzhao yishu guize banshi* 按照藝術規則辦事) (p. 67). Wang (2007) points out that the director made creative and stylistic

choices based on artistic considerations, rather than strictly following a literal or mechanical interpretation of the source material. As a result, Wang (2007) considers the film a new artistic creation by director Wu Yigong and screenwriter Yi Ming 伊明 (p. 63). Despite the artistic choices, the film successfully preserves the novel's essayistic style, or *sanwen hua fengge* 散文化風格, by capturing and conveying the subtle melancholy and deep yearning that characterize the novel (p. 66). In other words, the film uses a narrative style that is reflective and contemplative, similar to the way essays might explore themes and emotions in a more exploratory or introspective manner.

Li (2009) examines the film's artistic elements, focusing on how it captivates audiences. Li meticulously looked at several key areas, including narrative structure, character development, and thematic depth, in order to understand how these elements come together to evoke childhood memories and convey the passage of time. His findings highlight the director's skillful use of visual and auditory techniques, such as cinematography and sound design, which amplify the emotional tone of the film and enhance its nostalgic atmosphere. Li (2009) also discusses the film's cultural and historical significance, particularly in its preservation of old Peking's social heritage. Moreover, he underscores the film's lasting impact, noting its influence on future filmmakers and its role in shaping Chinese cinema.

In examining the similarities and differences between the novel and its film adaptation, Peng (2010) begins by declaring the adaptation a "model of success" (p. 38), drawing on an earlier review by Zhang Zhilu 張之路 as the basis for this assertion. Peng identifies similarities between the novel and the film in their narrative perspectives, structure, rhythm, and emotional expression. However, he also notes that parts of the plot were deleted, and there are differences in the portrayal of the character's psychology and personality. A notable omission is the

story of “Lan I-niang,” which Peng (2010) explains was left out due to the limited runtime (p. 40). Despite the differences, Peng (2010) credits the film for “respecting the original work” and regards the adaptation as a “success” (p. 42).

Tang (2019) compares the novel and its film adaptation, focusing on the core themes and spirit of the original work. Despite the inherent differences between the two forms of artistic expression, Tang finds the adaptation highly successful. He attributes the film’s critical acclaim not only to its faithful depiction of the novel’s central themes, namely, childhood memories and the inevitable pain of parting and growing up, but also to its deep respect for the novel’s spirit. While pointing out the omission of the story “Lan I-niang” in the film, Tang points out the creative elements that enhance the storytelling, reflecting the challenges and decisions involved in translating a literary work into a visual medium. These observations provide valuable insights into the adaptation process and the interplay between literature and film.

On the other hand, Pang (2021) highlights the film’s poetic style, achieved through the use of long shots, music, and scene mobilization. Pang (2021) explains that director Wu Yigong captured the nostalgic tone and emotional depth of the novel while also introducing creative elements that enhance storytelling. Pang (2021) likewise underscores the film’s success in maintaining the original work’s integrity while also achieving a unique cinematic expression, making it a classic in the history of Chinese film.

The above studies, all from mainland Chinese scholars, provide an understanding of *Chengnan Jiushi* and its adaptation process, highlighting both the film’s artistic achievements and its contribution to mainland Chinese cinema. The film is described as providing a melancholic yet non-harmful aesthetic experience of remembrance. The characters are depicted to reflect the societal atmosphere of southern Peking and the lifestyle during the pre-revolution era, conveying

contemplation of the past. These scholars express a thoughtful appreciation for the film, emphasizing its artistic restraint and its faithful adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel. The studies are in unison, offering praise and focusing on the film's emotional depth, nostalgic tone, and cultural significance. The analyses underscore the delicate balance achieved in translating the novel's themes, childhood memories, and the pain of growing up into a visual format, while also acknowledging the film's respectful treatment of its source material. This appreciation ultimately reinforces the film's artistic achievements and its contribution to mainland Chinese cinema.

In Taiwan

To contextualize studies made by Taiwanese scholars, it is crucial to consider the prevailing political climate during the 1980s, particularly around the time the film *Chengnan Jiushi* was released in 1983. During this time, Taiwan was under martial law, which had been in effect since 1949, creating an atmosphere of political repression and censorship. The "Three Noes" policy of no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise dominated the political discourse, reflecting the government's stance toward mainland China. This restrictive environment made it impossible for the film to be shown in Taiwan, as its themes and narrative were perceived as politically sensitive or contrary to the official narrative. With the eventual lifting of martial law, scholars began to have access to the film, which allowed for a renewed interest in its artistic and cultural significance.

Among Taiwanese scholars, Ying (2007) examines the adaptation of *Chengnan Jiushi*, first published in Taiwan in 1960, into its film version produced in mainland China some two decades later, during the 1980s. Significant differences in time, societal context, and the creators' backgrounds, with Wu Yigong as a male director in mainland China and Lin Haiyin as a female author

from Taiwan who grew up in 1920s Peking, play crucial roles in shaping this adaptation (p. 2). Ying (2007) argues that these factors necessitate transformation due to the differences in artistic form, reflecting the differing emphases between a mainland male director and a Taiwanese female author. In particular, Ying (2007) notes the changes and adaptations made to the film. For instance, as is noted by the mainland Chinese scholars, the story “Lan I-niang” was entirely removed from the film, which represents a deliberate choice to navigate the complexities of familial representation and societal norms (p. 10).

However, the film also has broader political significance beyond just its cultural and narrative content. Focusing on the deep influence of cross-strait dynamics and ideologies on film adaptation, Chuang (2011) argues that the film *Chengnan Jiushi* is a notable example of mainland China's response to the anti-Communist films produced in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1980s (p. 70). Chuang (2011) explains that while Taiwan had adapted scar literature from mainland China into anti-Communist films, China countered by adapting Taiwanese nostalgic literature. By adapting works that evoked shared cultural sentiments such as homesickness, China responded to Taiwan's political stance in a more nuanced manner. One such example is *Chengnan Jiushi*, a film that evokes strong feelings of homesickness, particularly for those who had moved from the mainland to Taiwan (p. 70). This softer, culturally focused response aims to foster shared sentiments rather than engage in direct political opposition. In other words, the strategic use of nostalgia may be understood as a form of narrative diplomacy, wherein shared cultural memory is highlighted to foster emotional affinity across political divides. The film thus functions not merely as a cinematic retelling but as a cultural translation; it reframes Taiwanese literary heritage within a mainland context to promote soft power and symbolic unity.

In summary, studies by Taiwan scholars highlight the intersection of political,

cultural, and artistic dynamics in the context of cross-strait relations. The political atmosphere in Taiwan during the 1980s, marked by martial law and the “Three Noes” policy, initially limited access to the film, framing its reception within the constraints of political censorship. However, with the lifting of martial law, scholars revisited the film, analyzing how the adaptation reflected differences in societal context and artistic direction between Taiwan and mainland China. These analyses emphasize not only the cultural transformations in the adaptation but also how the film subtly engaged with cross-strait political tensions through shared cultural sentiments, notably nostalgia and homesickness, positioning it as a response to Taiwan’s anti-Communist cinematic efforts.

Research Gap

The above studies from mainland China and Taiwan offer valuable insights into the film adaptation, but a significant research gap emerges when considering the socio-political implications and narrative adjustments made in the film adaptation. Chinese scholars focused primarily on the film’s artistic and emotional achievements. For example, Wang (2007) and Peng (2010) examined how director Wu Yigong retained the novel’s melancholic tone while introducing creative elements that align with the visual medium, ultimately viewing the film as a successful artistic transformation. In contrast, Taiwanese scholars approach the film through a political perspective, particularly in the context of cross-strait relations and censorship. Their studies highlight how the film navigates political sensitivities, emphasizing cultural identity and nostalgia while avoiding direct political engagement.

However, a research gap remains in how these artistic and political strategies intersect. Neither group fully addresses how the adaptation’s plot streamlining serves both artistic autonomy and political objectives, particularly in fostering a

sense of shared cultural heritage between Taiwan and mainland China. For this reason, this study aims to analyze the film adaptation with a focus on how the adaptation navigates and reinterprets key elements of setting, character, and plot. The study seeks to explore the cultural and political motivations behind the film's changes, particularly in the context of cross-strait relations between Taiwan and mainland China in the 1980s. By comparing the novel with its cinematic version, the objective is to examine how the film balances artistic expression with political and cultural messaging.

Methodology

Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) have proposed that adaptation can be understood as both a process and a product, which allows for a deeper exploration of how adaptations function across different media. As a process, adaptation involves both (re-)interpretation and then (re-)creation (p. 8), as well as the choices that creators make when translating a source material into a new form. The process is not merely about fidelity to the source but rather about engaging with it in a dynamic way that invites reinterpretation. On the other hand, adaptation as a product refers to new works that arise from the original source material. The works are not mere copies but stand-alone entities with their own artistic and cultural significance (p. 7). In addition, adaptation is also a form of intertextuality. The authors explain that adaptations should be viewed not only as new works but as complex intertextual experiences; adaptations engage with the original text while generating their own meanings. In this context, adaptations resonate with audiences through "repetition with variation," meaning that they echo familiar themes, characters, or narratives while also introducing new elements (p. 8).

This study examines the film adaptation as a distinct work, focusing on how it

is interpreted and tested in its own right (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 6). The initial analysis is based on fidelity criticism, where the adaptation is judged by comparing it directly to the original text. However, as Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) argue, fidelity should not be the only framework for analysis (p. 6). Adaptations are often described as “repetition without replication” (p. 7), allowing for a unique transformation of the source material. The appeal of adaptations for audiences lies in their mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty (p. 22). In this sense, adaptations can be regarded as autonomous works with their own distinct value. Moreover, adaptations often serve various purposes, and the motivations behind them can influence the extent to which they adhere to or deviate from the original narrative. This interplay between the original and the adapted version enriches the understanding of both texts, revealing the complexities that emerge in the adaptation process.

The methodology used in this study involves a comprehensive analysis of the film adaptation in three main areas: setting, characters, and plot. As these elements represent the foundational building blocks of narrative structure and are central to adaptation studies, this approach allows for an examination of how the adaptation processes alter the original material and its cultural representations. In addition, the study also contextualizes the adaptation within its socio-economic and political environment. By investigating the film’s production background, including financial constraints and political motives, the study sheds light on how external factors influence the adaptation process. This approach is consistent with the observations of Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013), who note that adaptations often reflect broader cultural and political narratives (p. 92). The novel and its adaptation to be analyzed are Lin (1960/2002) and Wu (1982).

Results and Discussions

Setting: Ancient City of Peking

Lin Haiyin explains that she wrote *Chengnan Jiushi* because she “missed the people and places of those childhood years” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 6). Spots of local color thus become an important part of the novel. In fact, Lin was particularly detailed in her representation of the “south side of the city of Peking,” trying to bring readers back to the city in the 1920s. The major spots of local color described in the novel include the *hutong* 胡同, *jing wozi* 井窩子, and *Tienchiao* 天橋.

Hutongs, Peking's traditional living quarters that date back to the 13th century, are central to the novel's setting. Evoking the texture of old Peking life, *hutongs* are characterized by narrow grey-bricked alleyways, slanting tile roofs, and enclosed *siheyuan* 四合院 (courtyards). They not only afforded residents easy access to transport and shopping centers but also kept noisy traffic away from the residential areas. The word *hutong* came from the Mongolian word *hottog* Худаг, meaning “water well” (Zhang, 2003, p. 8). While *hutongs* have been demolished annually in recent years to make way for progress and urban development, many continue to regard the narrow *hutongs* as the most salient cultural feature of old Peking (Wang, 2011, p. 17). *Hutongs* are thus culture-specific, and even time- and place-specific; they are distinctively Peking.

Diagonally opposite the *hutong* where Ying-tzu lives is a *jing wozi*. During the 1920s, because of a lack of running water in Peking, there were people who did manual work selling water for a living. They clustered and lived near the well where they drew water from, and local residents called the place *jing wozi* (Qiu, 2005, p. 253). At the *jing wozi*, there are men drawing water from a deep well and others pushing wheelbarrows filled with water to be delivered to households (Lin,

1960/2002, p. 18). The squeaky wheels of the wheelbarrows, together with the icy wet road leading to the *jing wozi* during winter, add to the image of *jing wozi* as a busy place for the water peddlers working under the harsh Peking weather.

A third place of interest, which was also a prominent attraction in Peking, is *Tienchiao*, which literally means Heavenly Bridge. During the 1920s and 1930s, visiting *Tienchiao* was one of the most exciting activities of the locals in Peking (Dong, 2003, p. 180). It was a huge market, offering not only goods at low prices but also entertainment. There were stores that sold daily items, restaurants, drug stores, clothing shops, second-hand stores, and even foreign goods shops. In addition, there were performers who displayed their unique bodily skills, martial artists, and Peking opera singing skills. In *Chengnan Jiushi*, *Tienchiao* is a poignant site of survival and performance. Niu-erh 妞兒, Ying-tzu's six-year-old playmate, was adopted into a family that had fallen into poverty after the Qing dynasty's collapse. Her father, once idle and indulgent, now plays the *huchin* 胡琴 (Chinese fiddle) at *Tienchiao* to earn a living. He trains Niu-erh to sing opera, and it is in *Tienchiao* that she performs to support her family (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 96). The space thus becomes emblematic not only of urban hardship but also of the precarity and exploitation faced by children in transitional times. In short, *Tienchiao* was a microcosm of life in Peking. The mere mention of the place conjures images of crowded stores, herds of people, fun, excitement, and all the noise and neglect that came with the busy activities.

In addition, Lin Haiyin also shapes the local and regional culture of Peking through transportation objects from the 1920s. For instance, in winter, a traveling camel caravan stops in front of Ying-tzu's house. Fascinated by the camel caravan, Ying-tzu stands in front of the kneeling camels, watching them munch straw. She is so mesmerized that her mouth begins to move, mimicking the camel chewing straw (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 2). The rickshaws and draught animals carry heavy loads and

are also symbols that position the city in time and space (Xu, 2013, p. 61). They conjure up images of Peking in the 1920s, an old city slowly moving toward modernization.

Taken together, the above descriptions exemplify what Barthes (1984/1986) refers to as “insignificant notations” (p. 142). Structuralist narratology assumes that every element in a story has a function; it must advance the plot, develop character, or contribute to thematic coherence. However, the slanting tiles of the *hutong*, the squeaky wheelbarrows at the *jing wozi*, the crowded stalls of *Tienchiao*, and the camel caravan do not advance the plot. Instead, they produce a concrete reality (p. 146). The details, useless yet inevitable, convince readers that they are encountering lived experience (p. 142). In this way, Lin Haiyin’s prose achieves realism not through narrative necessity but through the accumulation of seemingly trivial fragments that signify “the real.”

A picture is worth a thousand words, and a single image has the power to convey complex ideas quickly. In motion pictures, this idea is amplified even further. The optics provided by the film recreate the cultural background and the era’s atmosphere, where the visual spectacle and audio effects, including music, carry layers of meaning and move the narrative along. Under the directorship of Wu Yigong, the film adaptation retains the unique Peking flavor, which, according to Wang (2007), allows the film to exude a sense of “subtle melancholy and deep yearning” (p. 64). Wu’s cinematography intensifies this effect by using long tracking shots of *hutongs* that linger on grey brick walls, drying laundry, and idle children, producing a sense of everyday life (Pang, 2021). At the *jing wozi*, close-ups of dripping buckets and wheelbarrows grinding against frozen roads, paired with ambient sound, immerse viewers in the harsh winter of Peking. In *Tienchiao*, wide shots of bustling crowds are intercut with close-ups of Niu-erh’s father tuning his *huchin* or a child’s distracted gaze. Even Ying-tzu’s trivial gesture of mimicking

a camel's chewing is filmed in tight close-up, juxtaposed against the animal's rhythmic movements. These fragments are narratively superfluous, yet they function as Barthesian "insignificant notations," producing the cinematic reality effect and convincing viewers that they are witnessing 1920s Peking.

Because of the realness of the scenes depicting Peking, many believe that the vast number of scenes were shot on location. However, according to the director, because of the drastic changes that Peking had undergone since the 1920s, even if the film crew went to Peking to shoot on location, it was already impossible to find the authentic streets and alleys of the southern part of the city as described in Lin Haiyin's original novel. For this reason, the old Peking scenes were all the handiwork of the brilliant set designers at Shanghai Film Studio, except for the small courtyard of the "mad woman" (Zhang, 2012). Director Wu further confides that the alleys, streets, and even the patch of grass where the thief hid were all built by the set designers at the abandoned Jiangwan Airport 江灣機場 in Shanghai.

In summary, the paradox of artifice enhancing authenticity is especially evident in the film's reconstructed settings. Although the alleys and courtyards were built from scratch at Jiangwan Airport, their careful design evokes old Peking more convincingly than the actual city could in the 1980s, given its rapid modernization. This phenomenon reflects what Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) describe as the adaptive power of visual media to interpret and recreate rather than reproduce (p. 84). In this case, the artificial sets do not detract from realism; rather, they serve as emotionally and culturally authentic spaces that resonate with the nostalgic tone of the original novel. The constructed environment becomes a vessel for memory, allowing viewers to inhabit a version of Peking that may no longer exist physically but persists imaginatively. This blending of artifice and authenticity contributed to the film's success in visually capturing the essence of a bygone era.

Characters: Dialect Suppression and Identity Homogenization

Discussions on the characters in the story will focus on the director's adaptation strategies, particularly on how the multilingual elements and narrative structures of the original text are navigated and reimagined in the cinematic format.

At the very beginning of the novel, Lin Haiyin introduces the main characters and establishes the protagonist Ying-tzu and her family as outsiders to Peking. Having just arrived from “an island surrounded by water” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 34), they are spending their first winter in Peking as the story opens (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 12). On more than one occasion, Lin Haiyin wrote that she and her family came from a “land far away,” without explicitly mentioning Taiwan. During the time the story happened, Peking is a city of people of different backgrounds, traditions, and languages; they come to settle down (Ying-tzu's family), to work for a better future (Sung Ma 宋媽), to study (students at the hostel), or to get away from the past (Lan I-niang). Thus, a distinct image of Peking is the Pekingese dialect spoken with different accents that one hears around the city. These different accents, representing peoples from different origins, cultures, and traditions, interact and project an image of Peking as a congregation of people from all over.

Lin Haiyin's family was originally from *Toufen* 頭份 Village in *Miaoli* 苗栗 County in Taiwan; her father was *Hakka* 客家, and her mother was *Minnan* 閩南. In 1923, when she was five, her family moved to Peking and settled on the south side of the city. Ying-tzu and her family are outsiders to Peking, and in the novel, Lin Haiyin uses eye dialect to represent accents and local dialects to highlight their otherness. Eye dialect, a term coined by the linguist George P. Krapp, is used to describe the use of unconventional spelling to reproduce colloquial usage (Brett, 2009, p. 49). In the novel, Lin substituted Chinese characters with slightly different

pronunciations to achieve the same effect. The way her mother spoke, the retroflex sounds *zh* and *r* (here represented using *Pinyin* 拼音) became *z* and *l*. In addition, the *f* sound, which is not present in the Taiwanese language, was replaced by the *hu-* sound in Taiwanese. Instead of telling the readers that Ying-tzu's family speaks Pekingese with different accents, Lin Haiyin shows the readers how the accents are different by using eye dialect. In fact, none of the members of Ying-tzu's household are native Pekingese. The father speaks Pekingese with a *Hakka* accent, the mother with a Taiwanese accent, the nanny Sung Ma with a *Shun-yi* 順義 accent, and Ying-tzu with a standard Pekingese accent (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 12). There are also occasional *Hakka* expressions used by the father (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 15).

Apart from the non-native accents, the novel also highlights North and South stereotypes. For instance, Ying-tzu hears people telling her mother that maid servants in Peking steal things (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 16), and from her father, she hears that people in Peking are idle all day, so every time people meet, they ask each other if they have eaten (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 18). According to Elliot Aronson, a stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which "incidental characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members" (Aronson, 2005, as cited in Beller, 2007, p. 429). Once formed, stereotypes are difficult to change, and in the novel, they subtly shape how characters perceive one another across regional lines, which reinforces inherited biases that persist beneath everyday interactions.

In addition to the stereotypes, the novel also portrays an "us vs. them" mentality that underscores the family's outsider status. Despite their efforts to blend into the local community, the family's status as an outsider occasionally stands out, either knowingly or unknowingly, in the way they refer to the locals in a disparaging manner behind their backs and vice versa. Ying-tzu's father refers to the locals as "northern devils," while the locals sometimes refer to them as

“southern barbarians” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 24); yet the adults remain cordial when they meet. This name-calling reflects an “us vs. them” mentality, with each side subconsciously using the Self as a standard by which all others are measured against.

However, the film adaptation simplifies this Self-Other dynamic. By stripping away the accents and distinct linguistic characteristics of characters like Ying-tzu's family and Sung Ma, the adaptation eliminates the layers of otherness that contribute to the novel's depth. Absent are the accents, dialects, North-South stereotypes, and name-calling; instead, all characters speak with a standard Pekingese accent. Notably, there is no acknowledgment of the diverse origins of the characters; it is only at the film's conclusion, after Ying-tzu's father has passed away, that the director reveals that the father was buried in *Taiwan yidi* (臺灣義地, literally meaning “public cemetery for people from Taiwan”), with the tombstone displaying the characters *Miaoli*, indicating his birthplace. This choice suggests a homogenization of cultural identity, leading Li (2009) to comment that “not many” Taiwanese elements are present in the film (p. 101).

In conclusion, Lin Haiyin uses multilingualism, in particular, the use of different dialects and accents by the characters, to distinguish between the Self and the Others. Director Wu Yigong, however, uses two adaptation strategies to homogenize the characters. First, the neutralization of the different dialects and accents presented in the book by having all characters in the movie speak Pekingese with standard accents. Second, the omission of the multilingual situations that are present in the book.

These adaptation choices cannot be separated from the broader environment in which the film was produced. Wu Yigong faced not only financial pressures but also political oversight, as the project was endorsed by cultural authorities and situated within a period of cross-strait cultural exchange. The Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences was at the time systematically introducing Taiwanese literature to the mainland, and the adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel was part of this cultural agenda (Zhang, 2012). Within this context, the suppression of dialects in the film reflects not merely an artistic decision but a state-sanctioned policy of linguistic standardization, whereby *Putonghua* 普通話 served as the mandated medium of cinematic expression. As a result, linguistic diversity is erased, and the film is familiarized for a mainland audience, but at the expense of the multilingual realism that Barthes (1984/1986) identifies as central to the reality effect.

In other words, by choosing to apply a standardized *Putonghua* accent for all characters, the director not only homogenizes the linguistic landscape but also engages in a process of domestication, a concept put forward by Lawrence Venuti. According to Venuti (2004), a translated work by way of domestication is immediately recognizable, intelligible, and “familiarized” (p. 5). The work becomes transparent and appears “natural,” i.e., not translated (p. 5); nothing is foreign or strange. In other words, foreign elements are adopted to make them more familiar or accessible to a target audience. In this case, the decision to eliminate the distinctive accents of characters who, in the novel, speak in Taiwanese, *Hakka*, and other regional dialects can be seen as a strategy to make the film more palatable for a broader mainland Chinese audience, where standard Pekingese serves as a unifying linguistic norm.

However, this domestication has its drawbacks. It deprives the audience of a key element of the novel, the linguistic diversity that highlights the characters' outsider status in Peking. The father's *Hakka* accent, the mother's Taiwanese accent, and even the occasional use of *Hakka* expressions all serve to mark the family as different from the native Pekingese speakers around them. By erasing these distinctions, the film loses a layer of cultural richness, and the characters

become homogeneous, their unique identities blurred. Consequently, Ying-tzu and her family's "otherness" is lost, which was a crucial theme in the novel that underscored their journey in an unfamiliar city.

While the film's character portrayals lean heavily on Venuti's (2004) concept of domestication, the trade-offs of this approach are worth noting. A foreignizing strategy, by contrast, might have preserved more of the novel's linguistic and behavioral idiosyncrasies, foregrounding cultural difference rather than smoothing it over. For instance, retaining the original dialects or more ambiguous moral tones could have challenged viewers to engage with the unfamiliar, fostering a sense of estrangement that Venuti (2004) argues is ethically productive. The filmmakers' choice to domesticate thus reflects a prioritization of emotional immediacy and narrative clarity over cultural opacity, a decision that shapes how audiences relate to the characters and their world.

In addition, mainland Chinese audiences are further deprived of the opportunity to experience the sounds of the Taiwanese and *Hakka* accents, as well as the *Hakka* dialect. These linguistic features, which are uncommon in mainland China, would have provided a more immersive and authentic representation of Taiwan's cultural diversity, enriching the film's portrayal of the novel's multicultural Peking. Instead, the use of a standardized Peking accent simplifies and domesticates the narrative, aligning it more closely with mainland sensibilities at the expense of cultural and linguistic specificity.

Plot: Streamlining to Align Political and Cultural Objectives

Notable in the film is the deletion of the story "Lan I-niang." Previous studies have posited on the reasons for the omission of "Lan I-niang." Wang (2007) attributes the omission to weak storytelling and stylistic differences compared to

the other stories (p. 64), while Peng (2010) reasons that it was because of limited runtime (p. 40). On the other hand, Tang (2019) explains that by removing these scenes involving the father, the mother, and Lan I-niang, the characters become more one-dimensional. The father remains loyal and kind throughout the film, while the mother is portrayed consistently as a subservient wife who is gentle and virtuous. This simplification of the characters not only streamlines their personalities but also preserves the warmth of the childhood memories the film seeks to evoke, avoiding the disruption that might have been caused by the complexity and tension in the original story (Wang, 2007).

The above studies focused on the removal of the story as a whole, without going into the specifics of what it is that is actually removed. A close examination of the story itself might offer more insights into why the story was omitted.

In the novel, the story “Lan I-niang” opens against a backdrop of historical events. As the story opens, Ying-tzu and her second sister stand patiently on the crowded streets waiting to watch *chu hongchai* 出紅差, which refers to the execution of condemned prisoners (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 198). Bandits and thieves are paraded through the streets, along with revolutionary students. The story took place when Ying-tzu was eight years old (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 212), which would be sometime in 1926. It was a time of youth activism, with movements driven by young intellectuals and students who played a central role in advocating for change. Barthes (1966/1977) explains that this historical allusion helps “embed fiction in the real world” (p. 96). By removing the story “Lan I-niang,” director Wu Yigong conveniently removes a scene in the story where the author Lin Haiyin attempts to portray “both the images of the old and the new through her novels” (Lin, 1993/2003, p. 266).

In the story, Lan I-niang is a former mistress who was sold to a brothel at age 14. While staying at Ying-tzu’s house, Ying-tzu is fascinated by Lan I-niang, while

her father develops a fondness toward Lan I-niang and starts flirting with her. One evening before dinner, the father and Lan I-niang are reclining on the bed face-to-face, with a set of opium pipes placed between them. Ying-tzu describes how Lan I-niang uses “a silver pick to take a wad of opium from a coin-shaped silver box and waves it over the flame until it sizzles, and rolls it between her rosy palms” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 218) before passing the opium pipe to Ying-tzu’s father. At once, the father grabs Lan I-niang’s hand and admires her rosy palms, which are a sign of good fortune. Lan I-niang quickly slaps the father’s hands away and asks him to stop fooling around (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 218). While the father is flirting with Lan I-niang, the mother, pregnant with their fifth child, is in the kitchen working the wok in front of the stove, her face flushed and dripping with perspiration (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 220).

The above scene projects two “negative” images: A flirtatious father and the smoking of opium, a practice that was prevalent in various parts of China during that time. Ying (2007) considers the removal a deliberate choice to navigate the complexities of familial representation and societal norms (p. 10). Ying (2007) explains that the story as a whole not only challenges the idealized image of Ying-tzu’s father but also defies the conventional standards of the “model family” (p. 10). According to Ying (2007), the dynamic between Lan I-niang and Ying-tzu’s father in the novel complicates the portrayal of family relationships and raises questions about morality and societal expectations. The father, as portrayed in the novel, has a more complex personality. Although strict, he also has less admirable traits. In the story, he is depicted as having indulged in frivolous pleasures during his youth in Japan, showing disdain toward the mother, and having a flirtatious and ambiguous relationship with Lan I-niang. However, as the film also serves an educational purpose, the father needs to be portrayed in a positive light. It is thus inevitable that elements that would disrupt the film’s consistent tone be removed,

which may have prompted the filmmakers to omit it to maintain a more conventional narrative structure (Ying, 2007, p. 11). Although the omission weakens the complexity of the father's character, it aligns with the film's intended theme of "subtle melancholy and deep yearning" (Ying, 2007, p. 10), showcasing a purer sense of human beauty in the main characters.

Although Chuang (2011) does not specifically address this omission, she does point out that the aim of the film was to use nostalgia to send a political message and present a united front to the audience (p. 70). The fact that the screenplay was strongly endorsed by a vice minister of culture and the Shanghai Film Studio's leadership further suggests that the production had governmental backing and political importance. Because images of the public execution of condemned prisoners, a flirting father, and smoking opium send a negative message, they were thus deleted. More importantly, the decision to adapt this particular work may have been seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past between mainland China and Taiwan, especially during a period when the two sides of the strait remained politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remained apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

Barthes's (1984/1986) notion of the "reality effect" is particularly resonant in the story's historical framing. By embedding the plot within the specific socio-political context of Republican-era China, Lin Haiyin does more than evoke period detail; she invites readers to interpret character motivations and narrative tensions through a historical context. This temporal anchoring deepens reader empathy. In this way, the story's historical setting becomes both a narrative device and a reception filter.

Conclusion

The current study analyzed the adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel in three key areas: setting, characters, and plot. Regarding the setting, the set designers' meticulous craftsmanship allowed audiences to immerse themselves in the world of old Peking as envisioned by Lin Haiyin. Although the film was not shot in the actual southern parts of the city, the recreated scenes captured the novel's historical richness and added emotional depth to the narrative. This careful blending of artifice and authenticity made the settings integral to the story, enhancing the overall experience and contributing significantly to the film's success in portraying a bygone era.

In terms of character portrayal, the adaptation simplified the complexities inherent in the original text. By stripping away the accents and distinct linguistic characteristics of characters like Ying-tzu's family and Sung Ma, the film removed the layers of otherness that enriched the novel's narrative. The decision to eliminate various dialects and cultural nuances resulted in a homogenization of cultural identity, leading critics like Li (2009) to note the absence of Taiwanese elements in the film. This reflects a broader trend in adaptations where filmmakers prioritize accessibility and relatability for a wider audience, often at the expense of detailed cultural representation. Finally, in terms of plot, the entire "Lan I-niang" story from the novel was left out, very likely because of the negative images contained within.

The film adaptation may have been intended to highlight a sense of cultural continuity and evoke nostalgia for a shared historical past between mainland China and Taiwan. This was particularly significant during a time when the two sides continued to be politically divided, yet still maintained cultural connections. Although the film itself did not contain overt political content, its production and promotion likely had a subtle objective of promoting unity and easing tensions by

emphasizing a collective cultural heritage.

Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) argue that although adaptations may be regarded as autonomous works, they carry their own aura (p. 6). Adaptations exist in dialogue with their source material. For this reason, despite the omissions and changes made during the adaptation process, the film remains a charming and significant work when viewed as a stand-alone work. The above analysis elements reflect the film’s distinct interpretation of the original novel’s themes and narrative style, demonstrating a careful approach to the adaptation process. The film’s reception and critique highlight its importance in the context of mainland Chinese cinema and its relationship to the source material.

More importantly, Barthes’s (1984/1986) notion of the “reality effect” helps clarify how the adaptation achieves its nostalgic tone. As Barthes (1984/1986) argued, realism is not a transparent reproduction of the past but a coded construction. Seemingly insignificant details, what he referred to as insignificant notations, do not advance plot or character but instead signal “concrete reality,” producing the effect of lived experience (p. 146). In the film, these codes of verisimilitude immerse audiences in a constructed memory of old Peking, producing nostalgia rather than historical accuracy. These codes also convince audiences of authenticity while shaping cultural memory and values. In this way, the adaptation’s nostalgic aura can be understood as both its purpose (the “why”) (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 79) and its strategy (the “how”) (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 113), showing how cinematic representations of verisimilitude serve cultural and political ends.

This study underscores how adaptation is not merely a matter of fidelity but of negotiation between medium, audience, and cultural memory. By highlighting these dynamics, this analysis contributes to a better understanding of adaptation as a historically contingent and ethically charged practice.

References

- Barthes, R. (1977). Introduction to the structural analysis of narratives (S. Heath, Trans.). In S. Heath (Ed.), *Image, music, text* (pp. 79-124). Hill and Wang. (Original work published 1966)
- Barthes, R. (1986). The reality effect (R. Howard, Trans.). In R. Barthes, *The rustle of language* (pp. 141-148). Hill and Wang. (Original work published 1984)
- Beller, M. (2007). Stereotype. In M. Beller & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey* (pp. 429-433). Rodopi. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004358133_115
- Brett, D. (2009). Eye dialect: Translating the untranslatable. *AnnalSS*, 6, 49-62.
- China Central Television. (2006, August 11). *Chengnan jiushi* [My memories of old Peking]. <http://www.cctv.com/movie/20060811/103687.shtml>
- Chuang, Y. W. (2011). Reinvestigation of the anti-communist films, the adaptations of the scar literature: With the attack-defense confrontation and the historical interlock in the 80th cross-strait literature film. *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies*, 12, 51-87. <https://doi.org/10.6458/JTLS.201104.0051>
- Dong, M. Y. (2003). *Republican Beijing: The city and its histories*. University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520927636>
- Hutcheon, L., & O'Flynn, S. (2013). *A theory of adaptation* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203095010>
- Jakobson, R. (1959). On linguistic aspects of translation. In R. A. Brower (Ed.), *On translation* (pp. 232-239). Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674731615.c18>
- Li, Z. (2009). Dui rensheng yongheng cunzai fangshi de shihua chengxian: Dianying *Chengnan jiushi* yishu meili de zai jiedu. *Criticism and Creation*, 5, 100-103.

- Lin, H. Y. (2002). *Memories of Peking: South side stories (Chinese-English bilingual edition)* (N. C. Ing & P. Y. Chi, Trans.). The Chinese University of Hong Kong. (Original work published 1960)
- Lin, H. Y. (2003). Wei shidai nüxing caiyi: Wo de xiezuo licheng. In H. Y. Lin, *Yingzi de xianglian* (pp. 264-269). Jiuge. (Original work published 1993)
- Ni, Z. (2002). *Memoirs from the Beijing Film Academy: The genesis of China's fifth generation* (C. Berry, Trans.). Duke University Press. (Original work published 2002)
- Pang, Y. (2021). *Shiyi zhong de bieli: Qian xi dianying Chengnan jiushi de gaibian yishu*. Zhongguo Gaoxiao Renwen Shehui Kexue Xinxu Wang. <https://www.sinoss.net/upload/resources/file/2021/12/27/30051.pdf>
- Peng, X. Y. (2010). *Chengnan jiushi: Cong xiaoshuo dao dianying de tong yu yi*. *Journal of Beijing Institute of Education*, 24(4), 38-42.
- Qiu, Z. (2005). Shui wozi: Water vendors and domestic water supply in Peking. In X. Li (Ed.), *Urban life in China* (pp. 229-284). Linking.
- Tang, X. (2019, April 3). *Qian xi dianying Chengnan jiushi dui xiaoshuo yuanzhu jingshen de zunzhong*. *Youth Times*, 4. <https://m.fx361.com/news/2019/0403/4926869.html>
- Venuti, L. (2004). *The translator's invisibility: A history of translation*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203360064>
- Wang, J. (2007). *Chengnan jiushi gaibian zhong de sanwen hua fengge wenti tanxi*. *Journal of Tibet Nationalities Institute (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, 28(5), 63-67.
- Wang, J. (2011). *Beijing record: A physical and political history of planning modern Beijing*. World Scientific. <https://doi.org/10.1142/7648>
- Weisstein, U. (1973). *Comparative literature and literary theory: Survey and introduction* (W. Riggan & U. Weisstein, Trans.). Indiana University Press.

(Original work published 1968)

- Wu, Y. (Director). (1982). *My memories of old Peking* [Film]. Shanghai Film Studio.
- Xu, Z. L. (2013). Vehicles, animals, and Peking: Discussion on Lin Hai-Yin's *My Memories of Old Peking*. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences of National Hsinchu University of Education*, 6(2), 61-81. [https://doi.org/10.29895/ATFSAS.201309_6\(2\).0003](https://doi.org/10.29895/ATFSAS.201309_6(2).0003)
- Ying, F. H. (2007). Bijiao Lin Hai-Yin *Chengnan jiushi* de xiaoshuo yu dianying. *Research in Taiwan Studies*, 3, 1-15.
- Zhang, Q. C. (2003). *Hutong ji qita*. Beijing Language and Culture University Press.
- Zhang, Y. (2012). *Chengnan jiushi* sanshi nian: Zhuanfang zhuming daoyan Wu Yigong. *Art Exchange*, 2. https://www.cflac.org.cn/ArtExchange/201202/Chinese/201403/t20140326_249565.htm

