

DOES CONFUCIUS' 孝 (XIAO) TRAVEL ACROSS TIME AND LANGUAGES

by

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to explore the meaning of 孝 (xiao): an important Chinese traditional concept originated from Confucian morality. By investigating three different discourses across time and languages, based on the authentic language data drawn from two ancient Confucian texts, the Chinese Internet Corpus and the Bank of English, the meaning of 孝 as a social phenomenon in different time and languages is extracted.

This dissertation also focuses on the translation study of 孝. From the perspective of corpus linguistics, through different meanings and ideologies revealed from different translations, I hope to discover, to what extent, translators' translation purposes and strategies influence the translation effect.

Based on the research from the perspective of corpus linguistics, I find 孝 in ancient Chinese refers to a complicated relationship in male-dominated feudal society, while 孝 in modern Chinese has narrowed its range of meaning and no gender bias is in connection with 孝. Furthermore, all the translations of 孝 had lost its sense of meaning addressing relationship to superiors.

Key words:

Filial piety

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1 Introduction

With two-thirds of the population of East Asia and a splendid 5,000-year-old history as its foundation, China always plays an important role on the stage of the world. Its ancient glorious civilization is not only inherited by Chinese but also learned in East Asian countries like Korea, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam and so on. In these countries, there is a certain similar culture, also regarded as their traditions, in which the most significant is a system of philosophical ideas called Confucianism.

A record of the words and teachings of Confucius, The Analects is considered the most reliable expression of Confucian thought. "The Analects is the only place where we can actually encounter the real, living Confucius. In this sense, the Analects to Confucius is what the Gospels are to Jesus." (Leys, 2000, p.4). As an ancient classic, it sets up an authentic Confucius system of philosophies which have been dominating not only China but East Asia for thousands of years.

Five spirits of Chinese virtues are cornerstones of Confucianism, which are all reflected in the Analects known as: 孝 (filial piety) , 仁 (benevolence, charity,

humanity, love) , 义 (righteousness) , 礼 (propriety, good manners, ceremony) , 忠 (loyalty) . Foremost among these is 孝 (filial piety) a basic ethic requirement for thousands of years in China, which received its first and most detailed record in Confucian classics over 2000 years ago. The different language versions of the *Analects* contribute a lot to introducing the ancient oriental philosophy to the western world; however the teachings of Confucius have been interpreted through these translations, which might make some changes to the original text. Therefore, the concept 孝 (xiao), respectively in the age of Confucius, in modern China and in modern English world, is worth every effort in discussion.

This thesis aims to investigate the meaning of 孝 a critical component of traditional Chinese culture represented in the age of Confucius, modern China and the modern western world, and the different translation strategies rendered by some famous translators, who contribute to making different distinctions in the meaning. According to Teubert (2004, p.37) meanings as a social phenomenon can be discussed by the members of discourse community and there is no right and wrong. My hypothesis is that the three discourses differentiate in time and space in a way that construct their own distinctive understandings of 孝. My research, therefore, is conducted in the corpus-based analysis of three corpora: the *Analects* parallel corpus, Chinese Internet

Corpus, and the Bank of English. Moreover an ancient Confucian text *Xiao Jing* (*The Classic of Filial Piety*) is exploited as a reference text to explore the full understanding of the ancient Confucian 孝.

My thesis, based on the data extracted from the three corpora in the form of collocation profiles, gives a thorough picture of different patterns that 孝 forms with its significant collocates in ancient Chinese, modern Chinese and its different translations in modern English and discusses different meanings and ideologies revealed by these patterns. Furthermore, from the perspective of corpus linguistics, exploring the translation strategies adopted by three translators of the Analects enriches the discussion of the understanding of 孝 in another language discourse

2 Theoretical Considerations

2.1 The importance of studying Confucius' 孝(xiao)

2.1.1 The importance of 孝 (xiao)

孝(xiao), one of the most important ethical concepts of China, has been playing an important role in Chinese society for thousands of years, which is deeply rooted in every Chinese heart as a moral standard. Huang (2008) points out, ‘to the Chinese, it is the central ideology, and moreover, provides the foundation for all other attitudes.’ Chow (2001, p.125) claims that ‘for thousands of years, the Chinese culture has been described as one of respecting the old, or xiao as known in the old classics...it is still very much treasured and upheld by Chinese people all over the world.’ Holzman (1998, p.25) suggests, ‘the role filial piety has played in Chinese society and still continues to play is much too important to leave uninvestigated.’ Undoubtedly, 孝 is worth every effort to study because of its significance in Chinese culture and thoughts.

Confucius is the first one who puts the concept of 孝 into a philosophical system. His teachings, as they are recorded in the *Analects* set a good standard of practicing 孝 for Chinese, which has been observed and respected up till now. Another Confucian classic *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* is the first classic in Chinese history using 孝 as its dominant theme. Reese (2003) argues that ‘Filial piety was an integral part of Chinese culture and therefore was embraced by three of China's main religions: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Among the three, Confucianism, with its well documented- social hierarchy, supported the ideals of filial piety the most.’ This is

why we should study 孝 (filial piety) within the context of Confucius, which is the central to understand 孝 in Chinese thought and culture.

2.1.2 The previous study of Confucius' 孝(xiao) and its translations

2.1.2.1 The previous study of Confucius' 孝(xiao)

As one of primary virtues and a basic Confucian ethic in China, the concept of 孝 is discussed by numerous sinologists, who are interested in studying its values from different perspectives.

Roetz (1993) pursues the classical concept of 孝 by going through the early Confucian texts. He claims (Roetz,1993, p.53) that 孝 comprises three main aspects-- 'care', 'obedience' and 'moral'. Based on the ancient texts such as the *Analects*, *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* etc. and referring to some researches in Neo-Confucianism, Roetz explains the three aspects in his own critical way. Chow (1994, p.26) combined Confucian classics with Buddhist practice in late imperial China and pointed out during that period 'Confucian precepts such as filial piety were integral to Buddhist discipline. 'And after exploring a number of philosophical texts in Ming

dynasty, Chow (1994, p.36) discovers that the moral authority reflected in Confucian filial piety has been damaged by Buddhist ideas. Oldstone-Moore (2004, p.216) considers filial piety as a religious teaching, which is a good evidence to show ‘Chinese ethics evince a remarkable ability to synthesized diverse strands of religious teachings into a comprehensive system.’ Obviously, for Oldstone-Moore Confucianism is a religion rather than a Chinese philosophy, which should be understood in the context of religions.

It can be seen that some previous studies of 孝 are focusing on philosophy or religion. My survey of the relevant literature shows that so far hardly any data-driven and systematic studies in Confucian classics have ever been carried out. Therefore, it might not be groundless to argue that part of my research is among the type of work at the forefront at which the original meaning of 孝 is exclusively extracted from real language data of the two Confucian texts the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing* (*The Classic of Filial Piety*) without relying on secondary sources.

2.1.2.2 The previous study of 孝(xiao)’s translations

Few studies about translations of 孝 can be found, and it would seem that the Western scholars are more interested in the philosophical research on the Confucian classics rather than studying its translations.

In the reviews of Rongen's (1988) Norwegian translation of the *Analects*, Harbsmeier (1988, p.237) points out that Rongen's (1988) translation of 孝 in the *Analects* is 'grammatically out of hand', when he sees Rongen translating 孝 into 'good son' rather than 'filial piety'. And therefore, Harbsmeier (1988, p.237) advocates that all 'the nominal 孝 refers to a moral quality (filial piety) not to a person instantiating this quality in pre-Han Chinese.' Two Chinese scholars Hu and Lin (2008) analyzed different translations of 孝 provided by Legge and Waley. Based on Newmark's Communicative and Semantic Translation Theory, they (Hu&Lin, 2008) argued that 孝 is a culture image which should not be simplified into plain words which 'can not catch readers' eyes to raise their attention'. Hu and Lin (2008) consider the translation equivalent 'filial piety' as a translation, which is semantically more accurate than 'treatment of parents'.

It seems that none of the studies employ corpus-based approaches and most of the recent available research on translations of the *Analects* is mainly based on translation

theories and the researchers' own understandings of the original texts, which has the danger of bringing personal prejudice to the research results. Therefore, I hope my research might be more neutral and evidence-based. This is because I judge the translations by testing the different translations of 孝 against a reference corpus the Bank of English and comparing the data drawn from the BOE with the data drawn from the original texts.

2.2 Applying corpus linguistics to a study of 孝(xiao)

2.2.1 Corpus linguistics

Corpus Linguistics is the study of language through real examples of texts or computer-based data (corpora). The task of corpus linguists is to analyze the data from a corpus and explore how language(s) is used. Teubert (2004, p.37) concludes that:

Corpus linguistics sees language as a social phenomenon. Meaning is, like language, a social phenomenon. It is something that can be discussed by the members of a discourse community. There is no secret formula, neither in natural language nor in a formula calculus, that contains the meaning of a word or phrase. There is no right or wrong.

Thus, corpus linguistics is interested in the meaning of semantically connected context segments extracted from a certain corpus rather than the structural analysis of a language explored in the traditional linguistics such as lexicography and grammar. A corpus, especially text corpus (corpus can be collected as text form and voice form) is a large structured set of texts and now is usually electronic stored and processed. Researchers look at a large amount of ‘raw’ texts directly to get objective evidence (Sinclair, 1991, p.1). Sinclair also points out ‘a corpus is a remarkable thing, not so much because it is a collection of language text, but because of the properties that it acquires if it is well-designed and carefully-constructed.’ (Sinclair, 2004, p.4)

Through the well designed corpus linguists can conduct a more practical research—uncover the actual use of language in real life texts rather than make judgment of grammaticality. Therefore, in order to explore the meaning of 孝(xiao), it is necessary to explore the use of it in real life, which is reflected in three corpora respectively standing for ancient Confucius age, modern China and modern English.

2.2.2 Meanings in texts

Sinclair(1991, p.6) argues what we get from traditional dictionary is just representing a word's discrete meanings, and is irrelevant to the word itself used in practice properly. Stubbs(2001, p.31) also advocates this idea by saying, 'dictionaries are mainly organized around individual words(lemmas), which are listed alphabetically with their meanings, but they do also usually list other longer phrases, where the meaning may not be predictable from the individual word- forms.' Teubert(2004, p.80) suggests, 'meaning is in discourse.....meaning is usage and paraphrase.' In Teubert's forthcoming paper he points out that we need to interpret a word not only in a specific text but also in texts of roughly the same period of the one (Teubert, forthcoming). It is necessary to go back to the text to extract the comprehensive meaning of a word rather than consulting dictionary, and also it is why I need to consult some ancient texts to find out what 孝 has been said in ancient Confucius age. In light of this, the meaning of 孝 in Confucius time is investigated in the original *Analects* and a text titled *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* appearing in the same time. The two texts comprise the discourse of ancient Confucian philosophy, from which the concordances of 孝 are extracted to analyze the meaning and the use of 孝 during that time. Consisting of modern Chinese texts from all types of genre, Chinese Internet Corpus is taken as a discourse of modern Chinese from which the meaning and use of 孝 is extracted.

Firth states that, ‘the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously’ (1935, p.37). For me, conducting collocation analysis to identify words which typically co-occur with the node helps to decode the information about the meaning. The translations will be tested against the Bank of English by choosing them as node words and analyzing the collocation information which can be treated as the evidence for their usages in modern English.

2.2.3 Applying corpus to translation study of 孝(xiao)

2.2.3.1 Corpus-based translation study

With the development of computer technology and theories of corpus linguistics, more and more translation researchers conduct their studies based on corpora. This is what is called corpus-based translation study. Kenny (2001) considers corpus-based translation study as a descriptive translation study by claiming:

‘...insist on primacy of authentic data—actually occurring text in corpus linguistics, and actually occurring translated text in descriptive translation studies—and both are concerned to identify recurring patterns in texts...’ (Kenny, 2001, p.48)

Indeed, scholars in corpus-based translation study concentrate on language patterns respectively drawn from target (language) texts and source (language) texts or only from target (language) texts in order to explore an ideal translation which can, to a great extent, reduce the distortion of the source language. And more specifically, corpus-based study is interested in ‘how equivalence might be achieved and what kind of equivalence can be achieved’ (Wang, 2006, p.24). Similarly, Kenny (2001, p.71) points out ‘corpus translation studies are interested in finding evidence for the DTS(descriptive translation study)-inspired norms, universals, or laws of translation’, and moreover, she advocates, ‘their(corpus linguists’) research depends to a large extent on their aims’ (Kenny, 2001, p.71).

My research is conducted based on the original text and a big reference corpus, Bank of English (BOE), to find out how different translations represent a very important ancient Chinese Confucian concept in the target language. The findings are discussed with the translator’s purposes and translation strategies in the hope of finding out any possibilities that can influence shaping the equivalents.

2.2.3.2 Parallel corpus in corpus-based translation study

2.2.3.2.1 Parallel corpus and reference corpora

Considering the role and nature of corpus-based research methods in translation, there are mainly two types of corpora, namely the parallel corpus and comparable corpus. Olohan (2004, p.24) points out, 'there is some variation in definition of the term 'parallel corpus' in the literature', Linguistic scholars have their own understandings of this terminology. Teubert (1996, p.245) defines parallel corpus as 'a bilingual or multilingual corpus that contains one set of texts in two or more languages.' Olohan (2004, p.25) considers it as a corpus consisting of a set of texts in one language and their translations in another language. While Johansson and Hofland (Baker, 1998, p.51) prefers the term 'translation corpus' rather than 'parallel corpus' by pointing out the latter can be used to refer to the bilingual sets of texts that are comparable but that are not translations. Most scholars agree parallel corpus is used to refer to the texts that are translations of each other. For me, parallel corpus should be comprised of original texts and its translations in one or more languages. Thus, the corpus I am using for this research can be safely called parallel corpus.

The German-English Parallel Corpus of Literary Texts (GEPCOLT) compiled by Dorothy Kenny in 2001 provides us with a creative research method by combining a parallel corpus with reference corpora to investigate normalization and creativity of

translation ('i.e. whether translators use more conventional forms in the target text to render lexically creative source-text forms, e.g. unusual word forms or word combinations'(Olohan, 2004, p.30)). The combination of GEPCOLT and reference corpora of both English and German makes the research more objective and reasonable to make 'judgements about the degree of creativity of specific lexical items' (Olohan, 2004, p.31).

Inspired by the research creativity of Kenny, apart from the parallel corpus of the *Analects*, a reference corpus Bank of English plus a reference text *Xiao Jing* are utilized to make judgments of what extent 孝's different translations approximate to its original meaning. More details about the data collection process will be discussed in the chapter of data collection.

2.2.3.2.2 Texts in the parallel corpus

The original Chinese text the *Analects* and its three translations are collected in the parallel corpus. The three translations are respectively by James Legge in 1861, Author Waley in 1938, and D.C Lau in 1979. The reasons why I choose the three translations are as: all the three translations are magnificent contributions for introducing Confucian philosophy to the West. James Legge published the first

academic translation of *Analects* in 1861. The English title of *Lunyu* (论语) known as *The Analects* is adopted by nearly all the Western translators after Legge, who came up with this title. Author Waley is very famous as a sinologist and a translator of oriental literature, and moreover his translations are still very popular nowadays. D.C Lau has a Chinese background and gains a certain influence in the academic world of the West. And also, all the three texts can be safely downloaded from the internet without any problem of intellectual property.

2.3 The relevant translation theories

2.3.1 Some basic approaches to translation study

Discussing translation is inevitably related to making judgements (Hatim, 1990; Mason, 1990). According to Newmark (1988, p.188), when we assess the translation we should consider it as an independent work of writing and judge it under two conditions: first, if the original author is anonymous, the translation should be written in a neutral manner. Second, if the original copy is ascribed to an identifiable author, the translation should inherit the idiolect of the original. Accordingly, given that the *Analects* are non-individual and definitely ‘anonymous’, the three translations of it

should be compared to each other by their language styles rather than being compared to the style of the anonymous source. This would be specifically true if the judging criterion is whether the language the translators rendered is ‘neat, elegant and agreeable’ (Newmark, 1988, p.7). In this dissertation I will mainly evaluate the translation of one word ‘孝’ (xiao) rather than evaluating the collocational problems of the whole text in target language (TL).

In order to examine the styles of above mentioned translations, the two basic approaches to translation known as **formal equivalence** and **dynamic equivalence** provided by Nida (1964) might be applied. Formal equivalence attempts to translate the text word-for-word in order to maintain the fidelity to the grammatical structure of the source language. It refers to an idealised match in the target language, which is achievable, if necessary, at the expense of some culture-bound expressions characteristic of the TL. On the other hand, dynamic equivalence, also known as functional equivalence, connotes an emphasis on conveyance of messages carried by the source text rather than on formal correspondence between the source text and the target one. In a way similar to Nida's theory, Larson (1998, p.17) distinguishes between **literal translation** and **idiomatic translation**. He explains them as ‘**formal-based translation**’ and ‘**meaning-based translation**’ (Larson, 1998, p.17). **Formal-**

based translation is a ‘word-for-word translation’, which is not helpful to passing the meaning of the source language (SL), while the **meaning-based translation** can achieve the same meaning as the SL in the ‘natural form’ of the TL (Larson, 1998, p.11). And furthermore, Larson (1998, p.17) maintains that **literal translation** has little communication value and is not helpful to those who are interested in the meaning of the SL. It seems both Nida and Larson advocate that **literal translation** and **meaning-based translation** are incompatible with each other. To put it another way, it means that one of them has to sacrifice the other to achieve their goal.

However, literally, a translation of ‘孝’ is first and foremost a translation of a Chinese word; therefore, a translation of its sense and that of its contextualised meanings are largely interlocked. That is to say, ‘孝’ has two aspects, one is literal and another is extended. For example, according to the analysis of the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing*, 孝’s literal meaning is being filial to parents while it has other extended senses. An instance of this is people from different social classes who have different duties to carry out ‘孝’. Since this dissertation focuses on the translation of the extended meanings of a key word in an ancient book, **dynamic equivalence** and **idiomatic translation** as two cognitive exchangeable conceptual apparatuses will be applied in

the assessment of the aforementioned three translations. Besides that, two translation strategies provided by Venuti should be taken into consideration in the later analysis.

2.3.2 Translation strategies

For Venuti, 'translating is always ideological' because it conveys the values, beliefs and represents the 'historical moments' and 'social position' of the original culture (Venuti, 2000, p.498). It would be seen that Venuti supports dynamic equivalence of translations, because what he maintains in the translations like 'values', 'beliefs' etc. are all hidden in source language. According to his investigation of the Western translation history, Venuti (1995, p.20) called these translation strategies as **domesticating strategy** and **foreignizing strategy**, but these were respectively originated from ancient Rome and German culture in the early 19th century.

Domesticating strategy is defined as 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values, bringing the author back home.' (Venuti, 1995, p.20)

It is similar to Larson's meaning-based translation which requires the fluent target language with standard target expressions as well. But **domesticating strategy** emphasizes the illusion the translator gives to the readers of the TL that the SL is

written in their own language (Holliday, 2008). **Foreignizing strategy** practice entails preserving the linguistic and cultural differences of the text by disrupting the cultural codes of the target language with the purpose of presenting the readers of the TL with the dissimilarities between SL and TL culture (Venuti, 1995, p.20). It would seem that **foreignizing strategy** is far beyond the problem of language form, and moreover it is about conveying the culture of SL to TL. Moreover, culture differences are rich in meaning –semiotic or symbolic meanings; hence **foreignizing strategy** might be considered a strategy of meaning-based translation as well.

Therefore, to examine the **dynamic equivalence** of the translations, I will first discuss one of Newmark's (1988) topics about comprehensive criticism of a translation; 'translator's purpose' (Newmark, 1998, p.186), which, to a great extent, influences translation strategies. Subsequently, based on the text analysis, I will explore the different translation strategies adopted by the translators of the *Analects* in their endeavour to achieve **dynamic equivalence**. A later section will explore to what extent the different translations of 孝 (xiao) reach their goals through the different translations they adopt.

3 Data collection and research methodology

3.1 Data collection

In this section, I will present the process of collecting data from three corpora, namely, a parallel corpus with a reference text, the Bank of English and the Chinese Internet corpus.

The tool I am using for my analysis is WordSmith.4, a program which offers many innovations for those who are interested in doing corpus research by studying word frequencies and word patterns. Relevant collocates of the word 孝 of the original Chinese texts the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* are extracted by WordSmith, and all the concordances of 孝 extracted from the Chinese Internet Corpus are processed in WordSmith.4 to extract the relevant collocates. However, in the Bank of English, the online concordance tools provided by the database are available to extract the relevant collocates of the different translations of 孝.

3.1.1 Corpus compilation

To conduct the comparative analysis of 孝 and its translations, a parallel corpus including the original Chinese text of *the Analects* and its three translations is required, and furthermore the Chinese reference text entitled *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)*, according to unofficial history, compiled by Confucius himself, together with the Bank of English and Chinese Internet Corpus are rendered to draw the data.

Compiling parallel corpora of ancient Chinese texts and their translations is not a pilot project. Professor Liu Zequan (personal communication, 4 January, 2009) from Yanshan University constructed a parallel corpus comprising the Chinese ancient classic novel 红楼梦 (*Dream of the red chamber*) and its four English translations. Based on this parallel corpus Liu (2008) analyzed the Chinese idioms of the *Dream of the red chamber* and their translations in three different English versions and tried to explore the translation strategies related to Chinese idioms in the hope of providing a reference for the translation of the idioms of Chinese Classics and also for Chinese-English translation teaching. The way implemented in the corpus set a good model for building the parallel corpus of the *Analects*. But, unlike Liu who analyzed all the Chinese idioms in the novel, due to the limited space and time I am only exploring the translators' strategies based on one word.

A small parallel corpus was compiled comprising the Chinese original text and three English translations by James Legge (1861), Arthur Waley (1938), and D.C. Lau (1992). In addition, the ancient Chinese text *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* was used as the reference text to conduct the analysis of Confucius' 孝. All the texts were downloaded from the internet and saved as plain texts. To make sure the Chinese language can be processed by WordSmith.4 properly, all the Chinese texts were converted into Unicode-based form, and ICLAS (Institute of Computing Technology, Chinese Lexical Analysis System) was applied to make the Chinese texts segmented. Besides the parallel corpus and its reference Chinese text compiled by myself, the Bank of English and the Chinese Internet Corpus were exploited to analyze 孝's different English translations in modern English and 孝 in modern Chinese.

3.1.2 Data collection in ancient Chinese texts

Two ancient Chinese plain texts in Unicode form were respectively processed in WordSmith to extract the concordances of 孝. The relevant collocates of 孝 from the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)* would be collected and analysed.

孝 only occurs 19 times in the *Analects*, which is in quite low frequency. So, when the relevant collocates were extracted, WordSmith.4 was set to compute the collocates within the window of five to the left and five to the right, in the frequency of minimum twice with the length of one character, and give the result by Z score. When 37 occurrences of 孝 were extracted from *Xiao Jing*, the concordance tool was set in the minimum frequency of five times.

The top 20 collocates of 孝 were respectively from the two texts and categorized based on content collocates and grammatical collocates, and then the collocates were further subcategorized based on part of speech. The most typical ones from these subcategories were selected, and the WordSmith.4 was used to extract the citations of these collocates, based on which the analysis of the meaning of Confucius' 孝 was conducted.

3.1.3 Data collection in the Bank of English

The Bank of English is a collection of modern English with 524 million running words of present-day English in 2005 including fiction and non-fiction books, newspapers, and spoken English. It was used as a reference corpus to judge the

translations by extracting the meanings of the translations through their respective concordance samples chosen from all sub-corpora of it.

孝's different translations 'filial', 'filial piety', 'treatment of parents', 'good son' and another phrase 'honor parents' were respectively taken as queries in the Bank of English, and all the matching lines from all sub-corpora were selected. The concordance lines of the queries were listed by t-score, and the first 20 collocates of the node words were extracted. Some typical content collocates from the top 20 list were chosen for discussion in their concordance lines, and moreover, in order to get more information some concordance lines were extended to a wider view.

When 'treatment of parents' was taken as a query, its relevant patterns like 'treat(s) parents', 'treating parents', and 'treated parents' were also tested in the BOE. Considering the word 'honour' has another writing form in American English and there may be a intervening possessive pronoun, the search is done by typing 'honour+1, 1 parents' followed by the same search with 'honor', and then by typing 'honor+parents' followed with 'honour'.

3.1.4 Data collection in the Chinese Internet Corpus.

The Chinese Internet Corpus with 280 million characters was compiled by Serge Sharoff from the Internet in February 2005 using automated search engine queries. All the frequently used forms of 孝 found from the Advanced Chinese Dictionary were gathered and categorized by part of speech. Thus, I had two verbal forms of 孝 like ‘孝敬’(xiao jing) and ‘孝顺’(xiao shun), and three nominal forms ‘孝道’(xiao dao), ‘孝心’(xiao xin), and ‘孝子’(xiao zi).

These modern forms of 孝 were respectively taken as a query in the online Chinese Internet Corpus, and the concordances extracted by the online concordance tool were saved as plain texts in Unicode form. When set in the span of 5 to the left and right with the minimum frequency of 5, WordSmith.4 was applied to process the concordances of modern lexical items of 孝 and relevant collocates were extracted to analyze. The top 100 nominal collocates of verbal terms ‘孝敬’(xiao jing) and ‘孝顺’(xiao shun) were extracted, from which the ones function as subject and object were listed in the table. When taken the nominal terms ‘孝道’(xiao dao), ‘孝心’(xiao xin), and ‘孝子’(xiao zi) as queries, WordSmith.4 gave the 94 collocates for ‘孝道’, 135 for ‘孝心’, and 231 for ‘孝子’. The most typical ones from the top 20 by Z-score

were selected and categorized in grammatical ones and content ones. And furthermore, the relevant concordances based on these collocates were extracted to discuss.

3.2 Research methodology

3.2.1 Collocation study

In chapter 2 it has been clarified that the meaning of a word can be fully understood in the discourse. Therefore, resorting to the discourse is the departure point for corpus linguists. Consequently, collocation study is crucial for the meaning study in corpus linguistics. Firth, who was the first to introduce the concept of collocation, does not give any explicit definition but illustrates it as, ‘One of the meanings of *ass* is its habitual collocation with an immediately preceding *you silly...*’ (Firth, 1957, p.190) This is in line with Hoey (1991, pp.6-7), who puts it in an abstract way, ‘collocation is the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its context.’ Sinclair (1991, p.28), defines collocation as ‘a frequent co-occurrence of words’ and points out, ‘it does not have a profound effect on the individual meanings of the words, but there is usually at least a slight effect on the meaning’. All these definitions show us words co-occur with each other in a

significant way. Therefore, another term ‘collocate’ is seen as the key to collocation study. Sinclair et al (2004, p.36) explains collocate in a statistical way as, ‘...imagine that there exists a text with types A and B contained in it. Now, treating A as the node, suppose B occurs as the next token after A somewhere in the text. Then we call B a collocate at span position +1.’ With the hypothesis that ‘some collocates may only occur significantly at a certain span position’ (Sinclair et al, 2004, p.37), Sinclair et al (2004, pp.37-56) test the span positions of the collocates of a certain node and they calculate the mean value of the span in which collocates are significant. Here, I follow the suggestion made by Sinclair et al (2004, p.xix) to extend to five words to the left and to the right of the node when I extract significant collocates of the node word.

Firth (1957) advocates the importance of collocation study by pointing out collocation study can be a contextual and formal approach to word meaning in descriptive linguistics:

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or ideal approach to the meaning of words. One of meanings of night is its collocability with dark, and, of course, collocation of night. (Firth 1957, p.196)

This is why I take the collocates of 孝 from different discourses, which provide the context to see what differences attach to the meaning of 孝 from two different periods. The different translations of 孝 are also tested by studying their collocates in the Bank of English, which gives us concrete evidence to see what changes of the meaning made through translating.

3.2.2 Concordance study

Collocates are very helpful in extracting the meaning of a word. According to Sinclair (1987, p.110), meaning is distributed across a number of words. In support of this Hunston et al. (2005, p.24) illustrate the example of 'have a bath' by pointing out 'the frequent verb *have* has lost much of its meaning, and where the meaning is spread across the whole phrase rather than being restricted to one word or another.' Therefore, by analyzing collocates in random concordance lines, which restrict the meaning of the node word, we will see what associations are attached to the word. Accordingly, in order to see to what associations between 孝 and its collocates in different discourses, I am extracting the relevant concordance lines of 孝 and its translations respectively from the Chinese Internet Corpus and the Bank of English based on their top collocates. In ancient Chinese texts in which the grammar is more

complicated and sentences are relatively shorter, full sentence citations rather than concordance lines are extracted to study 孝 in the ancient context.

4. 孝 in three discourses

4.1 孝 in the age of Confucius

4.1.1 孝 in the *Analects*

4.1.1.1 *top 20 collocates of 孝*

孝(Xiao) in the *Analects* occurs 19 times, which can be considered as a low frequency statistically, but 孝 is mentioned in six chapters of total twenty from which we can see the significance it has for Confucius. The following table gives the first 20 collocates of the word 孝 extracted by WordSmith.4 based on the Z-score, the most fundamental standard score, when it is defined as five words to the left and five words

to the right of the node with two as the minimum frequency and 1 character in minimum length.

Table 1 Top 20 collocates of 孝 in the Analects

Word	With	Total	Total left	Total right
孝	孝	23	2	2
子	孝	17	9	8
曰	孝	15	7	8
之	孝	8	7	1
问	孝	5	5	0
乎	孝	5	2	3
则	孝	4	2	2
父	孝	4	2	2
悌	孝	4	0	4
孟	孝	4	4	0
而	孝	4	2	2
于	孝	3	0	3
道	孝	3	3	0
为	孝	3	1	2
也	孝	3	1	2
谓	孝	3	2	1
可	孝	3	2	1
其	孝	3	1	2
者	孝	2	0	2
母	孝	2	0	2

These collocates can be divided into two main categories, namely, grammatical words and content words, in which there are 9 grammatical words and 11 content words. The grammatical words here are all ancient Chinese, and are no longer used with the original functions in modern Chinese. Basically they are semantically empty words,

but in ancient Chinese these grammatical words are important, not only because they had been in the ancient Chinese grammar for thousands of years, but also they were preferred by the men of letters in Chinese literary history¹.

4.1.1.2 Grammatical collocates of 孝

I searched for 孝's allocates in the span of 5 to the left and 5 to the right, and listed the top 20 collocates in Table 1, from which we selected all the grammatical words and put them in the following Table 2.

Table 2 grammatical collocates of 孝 in the Analects

Particle (3)	乎(5), 也(3), 之(8),
Conjunction(3)	则(4), 而 (4) , 可(3)
Preposition(1)	于(3)
Auxiliary verb (2)	为(3) 谓(3)

All the grammatical words are classified into 3 categories, and another notion “colligation” has to be introduced here, which is defined as the co-occurrence of grammatical categories (Firth, 1968, P.181). It seems 孝 in the analects has a strong colligation for particle之 (‘s-apostrophe, genitives-s). Another colligational property is that it colligates with another particle乎 relatively a lot, which indicates a mood in

¹ Some Chinese scholars think these functional words make rhyme, while some others suspect that the ancient men of letters just show off their knowledge by using these words.

ancient Chinese with the function like exclamation in English. The third feature is that when it colligates with the auxiliary verb 为 and 谓, both of them are used to make a definition or state one's standpoint.

A glimpse of the following examples with 之 shows us who should be treated with 孝, who should carry out 孝, and who has done 孝 well. All of these help us understand better the meaning of 孝 in the Analects.

1. 三年无改于父之道，可谓孝矣 (if for the whole three years of mourning a son manages to carry on the household exactly as in his father's day, then he is a good son indeed. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 子曰：“今之孝者，是谓能养， (The Master said, 'Filial sons' nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. (translated by Waley, 1995:45))

3. 孟庄子之孝也，其他可能也 (The Master said, "Filial indeed is Min Tsze-ch'ien^{II}! Other people say nothing of him different from the report of his parents and brothers." (translated by Waley, 1995:45))

From the citations above it seems that Confucius himself considered 孟庄子(Min Tsze-chi'ie), a leader of the second most powerful warlord clan in Lu, as a good model of 孝, as was confirmed by his parents and brothers as well as by others. To

II Waley did not use standard Chinese Pinyin here to translate the Chinese name, which should be Meng Zhuangzi in standard Pinyin.

carry on 父之道(the way one's father acts) for 3 years even after one's father has died is a way to fulfil 孝.

From the citations in which we see auxiliary verb 为 and 谓, mainly two patterns are extracted as the following:

可谓孝矣。 (That is xiao.)

曾是以孝乎? (Is it xiao?)

It is obvious that it is Confucius who defined 孝 in his teaching process, because all the definitions he made were in the answers to his students' questions. This can be traced when we look at the content word '问'(ask) in the next section.

4.1.1.3 Content collocates of 孝

Content words (also lexical words) refer to the words that are not grammatical words, and they include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and most adverbs. In this section I will discuss the concordance lines of the content collocates (collocates representing lexical words) of 孝 inside and outside the window of Wordsmith. The following table 3 gives us the content collocates from the top 20 list:

Table 3: The content collocates of 孝 out of top 20

Verbal collocates	曰 (1 5) 问 (5) 悌 (4)
Nominal collocates	孝 (2 3) 子 (1 7) 父 (4) 孟 (4) 道 (3) 者 (3) 其 (3) 母 (2)

The one which occurs the most is 孝 itself, which can be neglected, because 孝 is centralized in some chapters of the book, and it appears relatively frequently in one or two adjacent sentences. The second one that occurs most frequently is the proper name 子(Confucius), and the following one is 曰 (say/ said) . This is because 子曰 (Confucius/master said) can be taken as a pattern for its high frequency in the book. And moreover this is not surprising to see considering the Analects is a record of the words and acts of Confucius.

子(Confucius) or 子曰(Confucius said) gives us no clue of what 孝 means, but from this pattern we find an interesting situation of ancient China's pedagogy. As a teacher or master, Confucius never asked his students questions in his teaching but gave them answers directly. It seems what has been said about 孝 in the book is all from Confucius' views. The situation in the ancient Western world, especially in the teaching of philosophy in ancient Greece, was rather different. Socrates is credited as one of the founders of Western philosophy. He created a type of pedagogy in which he asked students questions and discussed with students to 'encourage fundamental insight into the issue at hand' ("Socrates", Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 2009). The pedagogy is called Socratic Method which is from the name of Socrates himself. "The Socratic Method is a conversation, a discussion, wherein two or more people assist one another in finding the answers to difficult questions." (Harrington, 2000)

Thus what we find about the meaning of 孝 are all in the form of Confucius' words. Besides, the collocate 问 (ask) falls into a pattern 问孝 (ask what is 孝) . The subjects are always Confucius's disciples, who asked their master the meaning of 孝.

That is to say, from the Analects the disciples are not clear about 孝. They want Confucius to discuss it, and all what is said about 孝 in the Analects is what Confucius has to say about it:

1. 孟懿子问孝。子曰：“无违。”(Meng I Tzu **asked about the treatment of parents**. The Master said, Never disobey! (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 孟武伯问孝。子曰：“父母，唯其疾之忧。”(Meng Wu Po **asked about the treatment of parents**. The Master said, Behave in such a way that your father and mother have no anxiety about you, except concerning your health. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3. 子游问孝。子曰：“今之孝者，是谓能养，至于犬马，皆能有养，不敬，何以别乎？”(Tzu-yu **asked about the treatment of parents**. The Master said, 'Filial sons' nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference? (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

4. 子夏问孝。子曰：“色难。有事，弟子服其劳，有酒食，先生馔，曾是以为孝乎？”(Tzu-hsia **asked about the treatment of parents**. The Master said, It is the demeanor that is difficult. Filial piety does not consist merely in young people undertaking the hard work, when anything has to be done, or serving their elders first with wine and food. It is something much more than that. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

From the four citations above we find disciples of Confucius asking about 孝, and Confucius giving different answers which in all tell us something about the meaning of 孝. To fulfil 孝 people need to ‘**not disobey**’, ‘behave in a way that your parents

have **no** anxiety’, ‘**not** merely’ to undertake hard work, and if there is ‘**no**’ feeling of ‘**respect**’, it is ‘**no**’ difference in treatment of parents and animals. Confucius uses a lot of ‘no’ or ‘not’ to indicate a strong feeling of virtue when he talks about 孝. Also, we are told that to carry out 孝 it is not only about serving parents but also 先生 ‘elders’.

The following 2 citations containing 先生 (elders) are extracted from the Analects:

1. 子曰：“吾见其居于位也，见其与**先生**并行也，非求益者也，欲速成者也。” (The Master said, “I have noticed that he seats himself in company and walks directly alongside **his elders**. He is not seeking improvement. He’s after quick results.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 子夏问孝。子曰：“色难。有事，弟子服其劳，有酒食，**先生**饌，曾是以孝乎？” (Tzu-hsia asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, It is the demeanor that is difficult. Filial piety does not consist merely in young people undertaking the hard work, when anything has to be done, or serving their **elders** first with wine and food. It is something much more than that. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

From the examples above 先生 is someone who should be served with wine and food first. The one is trying to take a short cut to grow to adulthood by walking “directly alongside his elders”. It seems 先生 (the elders) can be anyone inside or outside of one’s family but older than the one carrying out 孝.

Furthermore, we find two interesting words ‘父’ (father) and ‘母’ (mother) in the collocates, in which ‘父’ occurs double the ‘母’. Here are the citations:

1. 三年无改于父之道，可谓孝矣 (if for the whole three years of mourning a son manages to carry on the household exactly as **in his father's day**, then he is a good son indeed. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. “父母之年，不可不知也。一则以喜，一则以惧。” (The master said, It is always better for a man to know the age of **his parents**. In the one case such knowledge will be a comfort to him; in the other, it will fill him with a salutary dread. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3. 子曰：“父母在，不远游，游必有方。” (The master said, while **father and mother** are alive, a good son does not wander far afield; or if he does so, goes only where he has said he was going. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

From the citations above ‘母’ is always combined with ‘父’ and forms another Chinese word 父母(parents), and if ‘父’ is mentioned alone it falls in the pattern ‘父之道’ (the way father acts) . And there is no such expression ‘母之道’ (the way mother acts) in the book. It seems to carry out 孝 one should do more to **father** than to **mother** in a way of following what father practices in his life.

And moreover, 母 cannot be counted as a collocate because 父母 (parents) is a word combined by character 父 and 母. The Chinese word can be one character like 母 and 父, and also can be two or more characters joined together like 父母, in which 父 is before 母 and cannot be reversed. Therefore, 父 and 父母 will be treated as two different collocates in the following analysis. ICLAS sometimes cannot segment Chinese words properly, especially when it deals with ancient text. When the text is processed by the program, it is segmented by taking one character as a unit, and that is why the computer mistook 母 as a word in the *Analects*.

It is necessary to discuss the collocates 父 (father) and 父母 (parents) in more detail, though they are out of top 20. This is because they contribute much to the meaning of 孝 in the Analects when they collocate with it. This will be done in the next section.

4.1.1.4 Analysis of relevant collocates

As mentioned in previous section, the relevant collocates identified for further analyses are 父 (*father*) and 父母 (*parents*). The following part will show the detailed concordance analyses of these words.

4.1.1.4.1 Analysis of 父 (father)

In the Analects, 父 occurs 29 times. Here I try to find what has been said about 父 by looking at its relatively high frequent collocates and their concordance lines inside and outside the window.

Firstly, the table below gives us the twenty most significant collocates of the node word 父, which all occur in the span of five words to the right and five to the left.

Table 4 Top 20 collocates with 父(father) in Z-score

Word	With	Total	Total left	Total right
父	父	37	4	4
子	父	24	11	13
之	父	16	4	12
不	父	15	7	8

曰	父	13	9	4
其	父	10	5	5
母	父	7	5	2
事	父	6	6	0
于	父	6	1	5
君	父	5	3	2
臣	父	5	4	1
在	父	5	3	2
与	父	5	4	1
年	父	5	3	2
为	父	5	3	2
也	父	4	4	0
改	父	4	3	1
有	父	4	2	2
孝	父	4	2	2
三	父	4	3	1

From the table above, it is interesting to see some of the nominal collocates 子 (son)^{III}, 臣 (minister), 其 (son or son's), 母 (mother), and 君 (king), indicating a kind of relationship between father and these people. In addition, the collocate 母 (mother) is combined with 父 to form a word 父母(parents). Seen from the configuration of the word 父母, 父 (father) is privileged over 母(mother), which

^{III} 6 “子” s out 24 mean “son”, and 2 of them mean “daughter”, while the rest are name of Confucius which falls in to a pattern “子曰” (Confucius Said) .

cannot be found independently in the Analects. It is also noteworthy that there are only two occurrences of the word ‘daughter’:

1. 子謂公冶長，「可妻也。雖在縲絏之中，非其罪也。」以其子妻之。(Confucius said of Kung Ye Chang that he was fit for marriage. Even though he was arrested once, he had been innocent; therefore Confucius gave him **his daughter** in marriage. (Translated by Muller, 1990))

2. 子謂南容，「邦有道不廢，邦無道免於刑戮。」以其兄之子妻之。(Confucius said of Nan Yung that if the Way prevailed in the state he would never lack an official post. If the Way was lacking in the state, he would avoid getting into trouble. He gave him **the daughter of his own elder brother** in marriage. (Translated by Muller, 1990))

From the citations above ‘daughter’ in the Analects is written in the form of ‘子’, which basically can refer to son and daughter. These two citations are all talking about either Confucius married his own daughter or he gave his brother’s daughter to someone. It seems ‘daughter’ to Confucius was a possession so that he could give them as a prize to the men he appreciated. This reflects his attitude to how he treated women.

4.1.1.4.1.1 父(father) and 子(son)

The following citations include both 父(father) and 子(son) or 父(father) and 其 (son or son’s) :

1. 子曰：父在，觀其志。父沒，觀其行。 (While a man's **father is** alive, you can only see his intentions; it is when his father dies that you discover whether or not **he is capable of carrying them out.** (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 叶公语孔子曰：“吾党有直躬者，其父攘羊，而子证之”。(The Lord of She instructed Confucius, saying: “There is an upright man in my district. His **father** stole a sheep, and **he** testified against him.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3 孔子曰：“父为子隐，子为父隐。直在其中矣。” (Confucius said: “**Fathers cover up for their sons and sons cover up for their fathers** . Uprightness lies therein.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

4 其不改父之臣。与父之政，是难能也。 (But in retaining **his father’s ministers and his father’s policies**, he accomplished something difficult. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

The second citation above is not from the words of Confucius, but is a view of the Lord of She. Since the second and the third citations are from the dialogue of Confucius and the lord, it is obvious Confucius refuted what the Lord said. Therefore, the second one is not about Confucius’s idea, and can be neglected.

The relationship of father and son is reflected in the first, the third and the fourth citations above. It can be concluded that a father and his son should ‘cover up’ for each other, and this kind of patronage is ‘uprightness’. The son should have the ‘intention’ to carry on his father’s practice when his father is alive, and fulfil his intention after his father dies. If his father is a king, the son should retain his father’s ‘minister’ and ‘policies’. In a word, the father has a privilege over his son, which requires obedience no matter whether the father is alive or dead, right or wrong and in addition their relationship is reciprocal when the father is alive, and is considered ‘uprightness’.

4.1.1.4.1.2 父 (father) and 君 (lord)

君 occurs 5 times as the collocate with the span of 5 words to the left of the node word 父 and five to the right.

1.子曰：“弑父与君，亦不从也。” (The Master said, “If it meant **killing their** fathers or rulers, they would indeed not **follow** orders.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2.迩之事父，远之事君。(Near at hand, they can guide you to **serve your fathers**; more distantly, they can guide you to **serve a ruler**. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3.孔子对曰：“君君，臣臣，父父，子子。” (Confucius replied, “Let the **ruler be ruler**, ministers ministers, **fathers fathers**, sons sons.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

4.信如君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子，(if the **ruler is not ruler**, ministers not ministers, **fathers not fathers**, sons not sons, (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

From the first two citations above, ‘父’ (father) is seen to stand side by side with ‘君’(ruler, lord, or king). To Confucius, ‘killing one’s own father’ is as serious as killing a king. The one who does this is never an obedient one. In Confucian thinking, what is said about ‘serving one’s own father’, must also be applied to ‘serving one’s lord’. To Confucius, 父 has a king-like authority in a family, which requires absolute obedience, and moreover 父 takes great responsibility for his family and his country.

The third and the fourth ones exhibit a particular point of ancient Chinese grammar.

In ancient Chinese, some nouns can be used as verbs, while in modern Chinese they

have lost this verbal function. 父 in these concordances appears one after another, in which the first one is a verb with the meaning of ‘be father’ (Waley, 1935) or ‘act like a father’^{IV}. The extended text of the concordances about this is as the following:

齐景公问政于孔子。孔子对曰：“君君，臣臣，父父，子子。”公曰：“善哉！信如君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子，虽有粟，吾得而食诸？” (Duke Jing of Qi asked Confucius about governance. Confucius replied, “Let the ruler be ruler, ministers ministers, fathers fathers, sons sons.” The Duke said, “Excellent! Truly, if the ruler is not ruler, ministers not ministers, fathers not fathers, sons not sons, though I possess grain, would I be able to eat it?” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

From this extended text, Confucius emphasizes the importance of performing social roles properly, which affect the ‘governance’ of a country. The relationship between the king or duke and his ministers are seen in analogy to that of father and son. A country fares well if interpersonal relations are organized in accordance with 孝. That is why when Confucius answered the question about ‘governance’, he mentioned not only the ‘lord’, and the ‘ministers’, but also ‘fathers’ and ‘sons’.

4.1.1.4.1.3 父 (father) and 臣 (minister)

臣 occurs 5 times within the span of five words right to the node and five left. Here I try to find out what is the connection of these two words, and how this connection

^{IV} This is translated by the author of this dissertation.

contributes to the significance of 父 (father). The following citations are extracted from the book:

1. 其不改父之臣，与父之政，是难能也。 (But in retaining **his father's ministers** and **his father's policies**, he accomplished something difficult. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 孔子对曰：“君君，臣臣，父父，子子。” (Confucius replied, “Let the ruler be ruler, ministers ministers, fathers fathers, sons sons.” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3. 信如君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子， (if the ruler is not ruler, **ministers not ministers**, **fathers not fathers**, sons not sons, (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

The first one is about what Mengzhuangzi the powerful warlord did for his father after his father died. The extended text is as the following:

曾子曰：“吾闻诸夫子：孟庄子之孝也，其他可能也，其不改父之臣，与父之政，是难能也。” (Master Zeng said, I have heard it from the Master: With regard to the filiality of Meng Zhuangzi, in all other respects he did only what others may do, but in retaining his father's ministers and his father's policies, he accomplished something difficult. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

In this extended text three concepts 孝 (filial piety) , 父(father) and 臣(minister) are connected like this: to carry out 孝 (filial piety) , the lord retains his father's minister, which is a way of showing his respect and obedience to his father. The other two citations above are about the importance of social roles I have discussed in the previous section. To govern a country well it requires the fulfilment of the proper role

of fathers as well as ministers, and their roles are equally important for the prosperity of the country.

4.1.1.4.2 Analysis of 父母 (parents)

In the Analects ‘父母’ (parents) occurs 9 times. I searched its collocates in the span of 5 to the left and 5 to the right. When set the minimum collocate frequency as 2 times, the table below gives us the relevant ones:

Table 5 collocates with 父母 in Z-score

Word	With	Total	Total left	Total right	centre
父母	父母	9	0	9	9
不	父母	6	2	4	
之	父母	6	1	5	
子	父母	5	4	1	
曰	父母	5	4	1	
年	父母	4	2	2	
事	父母	4	3	1	
于	父母	4	2	2	
孝	父母	3	3	0	
贤	父母	2	2	0	
人	父母	2	2	0	
游	父母	2	0	2	

The top one which is 父母 itself should be selected out, and the collocates 不 (not/no) and 之 ('s-apostrophe, genitives-s) show us the node word 父母 has a strong colligation for the particle. The examples of 不 (not/no) are illustrated in the following:

1.子曰：“事父母几谏，见志不从，又敬不违，劳而不怨。”(The Master said, When one has several times urged **one's parents**, observe their intentions; if they are **not** inclined to follow your urgings, maintain respectful-ness and do **not disobey**, labor on their behalf and bear **no complaint**. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 子曰：“父母在，不远游，游必有方。”(The Master said, When **one's parents** are alive, make **no** distant journeys; when you travel, have a set destination. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3. 子曰：“父母之年，不可不知也。一则以喜，一则以惧。”(The Master said, One **cannot fail to know the ages** of **one's parents**: on one hand, these are a source of happiness, on the other hand of fear. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

4. 子曰：“孝哉，闵子骞。人不间于其父母昆弟之言。”(The Master said, How filial is Min Ziqian! **No** fault can be found in anything is **parents** or brother say about him. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

Here, the first 3 citations give us detailed requirements for what one should do or 'not' do to his parents. One should maintain 'respectfulness' and 'do not' disobey even though one's parents do not 'follow' one's urgings. One should 'bear no complaint', and 'make no distant journeys' when one's parents are alive. The third one has two '不'(no)s, which emphasizes the importance of bearing in mind the age

of one's own parents. The fourth one is about a man called Min Ziqian, who is considered as the model of being filial. What his parents and brother said about him is 'no fault' at all.

Now let us look at some verbal collocates of 父母. The top verbal collocates '曰' (said) falls into the pattern '子曰' (Confucius said), which can be neglected in this analysis. The following citations are about the verbal collocates 事(serve/do) and 游(travel).

1. 子曰：“**事父母**几谏，见志不从，又敬不违，劳而不怨。”(The Master said, When one has several times **urged one's parents**, observe their in-tentions; if they are **not** inclined to follow your urgings, maintain respectful-ness and do **not disobey**, labor on their behalf and bear **no complaint**. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

2. 子夏曰：贤贤易色，**事父母**，能竭其力。事君，能致其身。(Zixia said: If a person treats worthy people as worthy and so alters his expression, exerts all his effort when **serving his parents**, exhausts himself when serving his lord, (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

3. 曰：“直道而事人，焉往而不三黜；枉道而事人，何必去**父母之邦**。”(“If one serves a lord by means of the straight dao, where could one go and not be thrice dismissed? To **serve** a lord by means of a crooked dao, why need one leave the **country of one's parents**?” (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

4. 子曰：“**父母**在，不远**游**，**游**必有方。”((The Master said, When one's **parents are alive**, **make no distant journeys**; when you travel, have a set destination. (translated by Waley, 1995:15))

事 in the first example means 'make urgings', while in the rest means 'serve'. '父

母’ in the third line functions as a noun determiner of ‘邦’ with the particle ‘之’ as a connection, which means ‘mother country’.

From these citations, it can be concluded that parents have authority over their children. The children cannot ‘complain’, ‘disobey’, or travel afar, but maintain their ‘respectfulness’, have a ‘set destination’ if they have to travel. Parents to children are like a king to his people. One should serve one’s parents and one’s lord with full effort, from which we can see that, for Confucius, ‘parents’ also have a king-like authority. But there is no mention of the mother and her role.

孝 occurs with 父母 twice as a collocate, but actually all the citations of 父母 are talking about how to how to treat one’s parents, except the one in which 父母 is used as a noun determiner. Thus, what is said about 父母 goes hand in hand with what is said about carrying out 孝.

4.1.2 孝 in *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)*

Xiao Jing is a treatise giving advice on filial piety often ascribed to Confucius; however his authorship remains in doubt. It is comprised of 18 chapters, which

specifically teach filial piety to people from all walks of ancient Chinese society and make different requirements for people from different social classes, namely, son of heaven (emperor), princes of states, high ministers and great officers, inferior officers, and common people. In this section I try to analyze the meaning of 孝 in *Xiao Jing* by looking at its relevant collocates and their concordance lines, and by comparing it to the *Analects*.

4.1.2.1 Top 20 collocates of 孝 in *Xiao Jing*

In *Xiao Jing* 孝 occurs 37 times, about twice the number of occurrences in the *Analects*. When analyzing the window of five words to the left of the node word and five to the right with the minimum frequency of 5, we get the following table of top 20 collocates extracted by Wordsmith.4 based on Z-score.

Table 6 Top 20 collocates of 孝 in *Xiao Jing*

Word	With	Total	Total left	Total right	centre
孝	孝	41	2	2	37
之	孝	23	14	9	
也	孝	20	4	16	

子	孝	19	10	9
於	孝	14	8	6
事	孝	12	5	7
以	孝	10	8	2
亲	孝	9	3	6
大	孝	9	2	7
天	孝	9	3	6
曰	孝	8	5	3
故	孝	7	2	5
莫	孝	7	4	3
第	孝	6	4	2
者	孝	6	2	4
章	孝	5	1	4
父	孝	5	4	1
不	孝	5	4	1
天	孝	5	2	3
明	孝	5	4	1

From the table above, it can be seen that there is no word indicating women in the top 20 collocates of 孝, and also that the word ‘父母’ (parents) is not in the list, but another word 亲 is seen in the top 8 which also means ‘parents’ in ancient Chinese. Compared with the *Analects*, the collocate 父 drops to the seventeenth rank, while it is the eighth most significant collocate of 孝 in the *Analects*. It seems that in *Xiao Jing* 孝 has a wider range of meanings going beyond the relationship between sons and their fathers.

In the following sections I will explore the meaning of 孝 in *Xiao Jing* based on its grammatical collocates and content word collocates inside and outside of the top 20.

4.1.2.2 孝 and its grammatical collocates in *Xiao Jing*

There are only 6 grammatical collocates in top 20 which are listed in the table below.

Table 7 Grammatical collocates of 孝 in *Xiao Jing*

Particle	之(2 3) 也(2 0) 莫 (7)
Preposition	於(1 4) 以(1 0)
Adverb	无(5)

From the table above it seems 孝 has a strong colligation for particle 之, which mainly functions like ‘s-apostrophe, genitives-s in English. In this sense, what is before 之 confines the node word 孝 by making it more specific. In the following citations 之 occurs on the left of 孝:

1. 爱敬尽于事亲，而德教加于百姓，刑于四海。盖天子之孝也 (When the love and reverence (of the Son of Heaven) are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes a pattern to (all within) the four seas. This is **the filial piety of the Son of Heaven**. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

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2. 富贵不离其身，然后能保其社稷，而和其民人。盖**诸侯之孝**也 (When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office.¹ This is **the filial piety of the princes of states**. (Translated by Legge, 1899))
3. 三者备矣，然后能守其宗庙。盖**卿大夫之孝**也 (When these three things—(their robes, their words, and their conduct)—are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples. This is **the filial piety of high ministers and great officers**. (Translated by Legge, 1899))
4. 忠顺不失，以事其上，然后能保其禄位，而守其祭祀。盖**士之孝**也。 (they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices.¹ This is the **filial piety of inferior officers**. (Translated by Legge, 1899))
5. 谨身节用，以养父母，此**庶人之孝**也 (they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure—in order to nourish their parents. This is **the filial piety of the common people**. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

As the lines show, five kinds of people representing different social classes are mentioned when 孝 is discussed in *Xiao Jing*. Different people belonging to different social classes are to fulfil their particular roles to carry out 孝. 天子 (son of heaven/emperor) should make himself a ‘pattern’ to all the other people when he carries out filial piety. Filial piety for 诸侯 (princes of states) is not only about how they treat their parents but also about what they are doing to ‘secure the harmony of their people’. 卿大夫 (high ministers and great officers) carry out filial piety by maintaining the tradition of ‘their robes, their words and their conduct’ as well as preserving ‘their ancestral temples’. 士 (inferior officers) should be loyal to the government and carry out their sacrifices when they ‘preserve their emoluments and

positions’ to fulfil 孝 (filial piety). For 庶人 (the common people), to carry out filial piety is to be economical in their life in order to feed their parents.

It seems that carrying out filial piety becomes the less demanding the lower the social class to which one belongs. In other words, for people from lower social orders, filial piety refers only to their treatment of their parents. The Confucian way of being filial reflects the ancient Chinese hierarchical social system.

4.1.2.3 孝 and its content collocates in *Xiao Jing*

The figures in the following table cover all content words from the top 20 collocates of 孝 in *Xiao Jing*.

Table 8 Top content collocates of 孝 in *Xiao Jing*

Nominal collocates	子 (26) 天 (9) 亲 (9) 第 (6) 者 (6) 章 (5) 父 (5) 夫 (5)
Verbal collocates	事 (12) 曰 (8)
Adjective collocates	大 (9) 明 (5)
Conjunction collocates	故 (7)

Counting out the most frequent one ‘孝’ itself, we have 12 content words in total.

From the table above the word ‘子’ occurs the most, of which I have discussed the

meaning in the previous sections. In the book *Xiao Jing* ‘子’ occasionally combines with ‘孝’ forming another word ‘孝子’, which means a son who serves his parents with filial piety. It is actually a single lexical item, but the computer cannot recognize it due to the software problem.

The verbal collocate ‘事’ (serve) occurs as the second top one, and apparently 孝 is not only about ‘serving parents’ considering the unequal occurrences of the ‘parents’. Except for ‘事亲’, another pattern ‘事君’ (serve the king) occurs a lot. Obviously in *Xiao Jing* ‘孝’ does not only matter for the family but also is concerned with politics. And also noteworthy are another two nominal collocates ‘亲’ (parents) and ‘父’ (father). In the book the word ‘parents’ occurs twice as often as ‘father’, and a reversal of the frequency in the Analects.

In addition, the adjective collocate ‘大’ (the greatest) is the superlative degree in ancient Chinese telling us what is the most important to Confucius in regard to 孝. Therefore, I will explore further the meaning of 孝 in *Xiao Jing* by looking at the relevant collocates ‘孝子’(a son who serves parents with filial piety), ‘亲’ (parents), ‘父’(father), and ‘大’ (the greatest) in the following sections

4.1.2.3.1 孝 and 孝子 (filial son)

‘孝子’ just occurs 3 times in *Xiao Jing*, but it is one of the three words^V containing the character 孝, among which it is the only one that has been used frequently over 2000 years. The following are citations of it:

1 生民之本尽矣，**孝子之事亲**终矣。(The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the **filial son's service of his parents** is completed. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

2 子曰：“**孝子之丧亲也**，哭不哀，礼无容。”(The Master said, "When **a filial son is mourning for a parent**, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing. In the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

3 子曰：“**孝子之事亲也**，居则致其敬，养则致其乐，(The Master said, "The service which a **filial son does to his parents is as follows**: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence. In his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

It seems that 孝子 always collocates ‘亲’ (parents). When Confucius talks about 孝子, he mentions 孝子’s parents as well. The first two occurrences are about life and death of 孝子’s parents. When parents claim that ‘life and death are satisfied’ the ‘duty’ of 孝子 is completed. When 孝子 is mourning his parents he should ‘wail’ without ‘a prolonged sobbing’. When 孝子’s parents are alive, he should respect his parents and give them the ‘utmost’ pleasure. In a word, 孝子 has a close relationship with his

^V The other two are 孝行 (the acts of Xiao) and 孝者 (the one who treats parents with Xiao).

parents, which is related to his parents' life and death. What is mentioned about 孝子 is his duty to his parents and a life-and-death relationship between him and his parents.

4.1.2.3.2 亲 (parents) and 父 (father)

亲 occurs 9 times with the node word 孝, but the meaning of two occurrences are different from the other ones, which respectively mean 'love' and 'affection'. So, these two citations will be deleted in the analysis, and another two citations will be counted in, which contain the word '父母' (parents) a synonym of '亲'.

As the collocate of 孝, '父' occurs 4 times in a word span of 5 to the left and 5 right, but another one should be counted in even though it is out of the specific word span. This is because the word '父' in the citation is closely related to 孝. Besides that I will delete another citation in which the character 父 is a component of the word 父母 unrecognized by the computer.

Table 9 Citations of "parents" and "father" in *Xiao Jing*

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 夫孝，始于事亲，忠于事君，终于立身 (It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of character. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 2. 子曰：“君子之事亲孝，故忠可移于君。(The Master said, "The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 3. 生民之本尽矣，死生之义备矣，孝子之事亲终矣 (The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is completed." (Translated by
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<p>亲 (parents)</p>	<p>Legge, 1899))</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 子曰：“孝子之事亲也，居则致其敬，养则致其乐，(The Master said, "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence. In his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 夫圣人之德，又何以加于孝乎？故亲生之膝下，以养父母日严。(In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety? Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees, and as (the duty of) nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 子曰：“孝子之丧亲也，哭不哀，礼无容。”(The Master said, "When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing. In the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 扬名于后世，以显父母，孝之终也。(so as to make our name famous in future ages and thereby glorify our parents, this is the end of filial piety. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 谨身节用，以养父母，此庶人之孝也(they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure—in order to nourish their parents. This is the filial piety of the common people. (Translated by Legge, 1899))
<p>父 (father)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 孝莫大于严父(In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 教以孝，所以敬天下之为人父者也(His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven. (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 敢问子从父之令，可谓孝乎？(I would venture to ask if (simple) obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety." (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 从父之令，又焉得为孝乎 (how can (simple) obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety?" (Translated by Legge, 1899)) 子曰：“昔者明王事父孝，故事天明；事母孝，故事地察 (The Master said, "Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence. They served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

From the citations of ‘亲’ above, we can see a pattern ‘事亲’(serve parents) take up half of the total occurrences. And the word ‘君’ (king/ruler) occurs in the first two

citations. It seems to Confucius the way one serves one's parents can be transferred to his loyalty to the king. 'Serving the lord' is also about filial piety as well as 'serving parents'. What is mentioned about 'serving parents' is related to politics in *Xiao Jing*. The fourth example and the sixth one are about the relationship of '孝子' (filial sons)^{VI} and their parents which I have discussed. In addition, according to citation seven, making one's name famous to glorify one's parents is the end of 'filial piety', so 孝子's duty lasts a life-time rather than ending up with his mourning his parents' death.

From the citations of 父 above, it seems 父 is associated with a strong emotion such as 'reverential awe' or 'reverence', which requires 'obedience' from the son, but 'obedience' is not far enough to fulfil 孝. It is interesting to see that the strong feeling of 'reverence' is paid to father but not to mother. Though the last citation contains 'serve mother with filial piety', this kind of filial piety is compared to 'serving Earth', while 'Heaven' is a metaphor for 'father'. In ancient Chinese ideology 'Heaven' is ruling 'Earth'. Like what is said about 'father' in the *Analects*, in *Xiao Jing* the 'father' also has the highest authority above all in a family.

^{VI} The translation "filial sons" were adopted by both Legge and Waley.

To summarize, what is said about ‘parents’ in *Xiao Jing* is related to politics. Confucius takes ‘serving one’s parents’ as a reference to ‘serving the king’. One who serves his parents with filial piety is more likely to be loyal to the king. What is said about ‘father’ in the book is about the father’s authority in a family, from which we can also see Confucius’ bias against women as we have seen in the *Analects*.

4.1.2.3.3 大 (the greatest)

One of the occurrences of 大 is the title of the ancient Chinese officer called ‘卿大夫’, and another one is the title of a book written in ‘大雅’, both of which can be ignored in the analysis. Other occurrences of it are listed below:

1 曾子曰：“甚哉，孝之大也！”(The disciple Zeng said, "Immense indeed is **the greatness of filial piety!**" (Translated by Legge, 1899))

2 人之行，莫大于孝。(Of all the actions of man there is none **greater than filial piety.** (Translated by Legge, 1899))

3 孝莫大于严父。(In filial piety there is **nothing greater than the reverential awe** of one's father. (Translated by Legge, 1899))

4 子曰：“五刑之属三千，而罪莫大于不孝。(The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed,¹ and there is **not** one of them **greater than being unfilial.** (Translated by Legge, 1899))

From the citations above we can see in nearly all the examples 大 is used to describe 孝. Filial piety is ‘the greatest’ or most important thing to human beings. The man committed ‘the greatest’ crime if he is not ‘being filial’. To fulfil filial piety the ‘reverential awe of one’s father’ can be counted as the most important duty. All in all, in Confucius’ thinking, 孝 is the top priority in Chinese society.

4.1.3 Interpretation of Confucius’ 孝

My interpretation is fully backed up by real language data extracted from two of the original Confucian classics the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)*.

Based on the analysis of the *Analects*, 孝 is one of the virtues that must be valued by sons. It means to take care of one’s parents; to respect one’s parents; to be obedient to one’s parents; to bear one’s parents’ age in mind; to advise one’s parents wisely; to serve not only the parents but also the elders inside and outside of one’s family; not to make one’s parents worry about oneself; not to travel afar when one’s parents are alive. And moreover, the authority of 父 (father) is emphasized in carrying out 孝. One should conduct one’s father’s practice when the father is alive and carry on at least three years after the death of the father; cover up for the bad behaviour of one’s

father. In addition, according to the Analects, the relationship of sons and fathers based on 孝 can be applied to the king and his ministers, and is the key point of prosperity of a country.

In *Xiao Jing (The Classic of Filial Piety)*, Confucius (if he is indeed the author) makes different definitions of 孝 to people from different social classes. The higher the social class people are from, the more responsibilities they have to take on to carry out 孝. But less responsibility does not mean an easier life for people from the lower social class. People from the lower class should be obedient and loyal to the higher class and make sacrifices to them in accomplishing 孝. In the book Confucius mentions ‘宗庙’ (ancestral temples), a place where people worship the ancestors of the present rulers, and conducting the worship ceremony is taken as an aspect of 孝 as well as ‘serving the present king’. It seems Confucius intentionally associates 孝 with the social political system to make the traditional Chinese virtue work for the feudal ruling class. Besides that, sons’ duties to his parents and father are specifically described as life-and-death tasks of which bringing good name to one’s family is the one, and a father’s privilege over his family is emphasized.

From the data extracted from the two books, it seems they display a gender bias because there is no mention of 母 (mother) appearing in the Analects, and ‘father’

is still regarded as the unchallengeable authority. The ones who should take the responsibility of 孝 are always sons, and the ones who should be followed are fathers. 孝 seems to be unrelated to daughters who are not considered as autonomous persons but as possessions of their fathers. Confucian 孝 reflects the situation of ancient male-dominated Chinese families.

4.2 孝 in modern China

From the senses and examples listed in Gao Ji Han Yu Da Ci Dian (Advanced Chinese Dictionary, 3rd edition, 2003), it can be seen that 孝 underwent a dramatic change in the long Chinese history. According to Shuo Wen Jie Zi the first ancient Chinese dictionary compiled in AD121 which is quoted in Gao Ji Han Yu Da Ci Dian (2003), it originally meant ‘善事父母者，从老省、从子子承老也’ (being filial to parents and passing this behavior to offspring), which was a verbal construction. At the time of Confucius, the character 孝 was used as a word as well as being combined with other characters to form verbs like ‘孝悌’ (xiao dao), ‘孝慈’(xiao ci) and so on. In modern Chinese the character ‘孝’ rarely exists alone as a word, and it frequently combines with other characters to form verbs like ‘孝敬’(xiao jing), ‘孝顺’(xiao shun), and nouns like ‘孝道’(xiao dao), ‘孝心’(xiao xin), ‘孝子’(xiao zi).

The following table shows the definition of ‘孝’ found in the Advanced Chinese Dictionary (2003).

Table 10 Dictionary definition of 孝

Sources quoted by the dictionary	Verbal 孝	Nominal 孝
ShuoWen Jie Zi	善事父母者 (being filial to his parents)	
Confucius' classics	孝悌: 孝顺父母, 敬爱兄长 (being filial to parents and elder brothers) 孝慈: 孝顺父母, 慈爱幼弱 (being filial to parents and elder brothers, taking care of the weak and young.)	夫孝: 德之本也 (the basis of virtues) ;
The dictionary itself	孝敬(show filial respect for) 孝顺(show filial obedience for)	孝道(standard of filial piety) 孝心(filial piety) 孝子(filial son)

From the table, it can be seen that in the age of Confucius 孝 was used more in verbal constructions, but in modern usage 孝 is used as a noun in more extended forms, like ‘孝道’, ‘孝心’, and ‘孝子’. Some words like ‘孝悌’ and ‘孝慈’ are no longer used in modern times, but more new extended forms of 孝 have appeared, which, according to the dictionary, still maintain the general sense of ancient 孝. It can be inferred that 'being filial to parents' can be viewed as 孝's basic meaning in modern usage. But we

cannot get more useful information concerning its meanings unless we test the typical collocates of extended forms of 孝 in a modern Chinese corpus.

In the Chinese Internet Corpus, 961 hits of ‘孝顺’, 906 hits of ‘孝敬’, 372 hits of ‘孝心’ 285 hits of ‘孝子’ and 267 hits of ‘孝道’ were found. It can be seen that in modern usage, 孝’s verbal forms ‘孝顺’ and ‘孝敬’ are used twice as frequently as the nominal forms ‘孝心’, ‘孝子’ and ‘孝道’. I will discuss the usage of 孝 respectively in its verbal forms and nominal forms in the next sections.

4.2.1 孝敬(xiao jing) & 孝顺(xiao shun)

The modern verbs 孝敬 and 孝顺 maintain the basic sense of ancient 孝 which was defined in Shuo Wen Jie Zi, which is ‘being filial to parents’. By comparing the subjects and objects of modern 孝 with that of the ancient one, the difference of their meanings can be seen. Therefore, I only search for their top 100 nominal collocates, which tell us in which sense the modern verbal 孝 is used. The figures in the following table cover both subjects and objects of both 孝敬(xiao jing) and 孝顺(xiao shun) respectively from their top 100 collocates. The ones which indicate gender are in bold.

Table 11 Subjects and Objects of 孝敬 and 孝顺

	孝敬(show filial respect for)	孝顺(show filial obedience for)
Subjects	我 (I) 218, <u>他(he)125</u> , 你(you)117, <u>她(he)74</u> , 我们(we)51, 他们(they)51, 自己(self)39, 孩子(children)39, <u>儿子(son)23</u> , 子女(son and daughter)14	我 (I) 250, <u>他(he)201</u> , <u>儿子(son) 104</u> , <u>她 (she)100</u> , 孩子(children)66, 自己(self)47, <u>女儿(daughter) 46</u> , 他们(they)46, 子女(son and daughter)40, 我们(we)30, 儿女(son and daughter)24, <u>媳妇(daughter in law) 15</u>
Objects	父 母 (parents)296 , 我 (me)218 , <u>他(him)125</u> , 你(you)117, 老人(the ageing people)103, <u>她(her)74</u> , 我们(us)51, 他们(they)51, 您(“you” in the respectful form)34 , <u>母亲(mother)32</u> , <u>妈妈(mother)24</u> , <u>妈(mother)22</u> , <u>爷爷(grandfather)19</u> , 长辈(the elders)19, <u>父亲(father)18</u> , 公 婆 (parents-in-law)17, 老师(teacher)16, 老人家(“the ageing people in respectful form”)16, <u>奶奶(grandmother)14</u> , <u>爸爸(father)14</u>	我 (me)250, <u>他 (him)201</u> , 父 母 (parents)154, <u>她 (she)100</u> , <u>母亲(mother) 48</u> , <u>妈妈(mother)48</u> , 自己(self)47, 他们(they)46, 老人(the ageing people) 26, 您(“you” in the respectful form)19 , <u>父亲(father)18</u> , <u>爸爸(father)18</u>

From this table, it can be seen that there are more collocates indicating female than the ones indicating male. The one who should show filial piety is not only ‘him’ (他) but also ‘her’ (她), and unlike what we see from the Confucian classics, in which the role of daughters was neglected, in modern Chinese ideology daughters too should take responsibility for filial piety. In addition, even the daughter-in-law is mentioned as the one who should be filial. Nevertheless, seen from the ‘subject’ column of ‘孝顺’(xiao shun), ‘儿子’(son) occurs 104 times which is more than twice the

occurrences of ‘女儿’(daughter). It may be seen that in the modern Chinese conception, people still consider sons as the ones who should take more responsibility to carry out filial piety.

Additionally, it can be seen that ‘mother’ is mentioned more than ‘father’ as the one who should be treated with 孝. The evidence is that, from the ‘object’ column, collocates 母亲, 妈妈 and 妈 which all mean mother, get totally 77 hits, and whereas the collocates 父亲 (father) and 爸爸 (father) totally occur 32 times less than half of the ‘mother’ ones. Contrary to the 孝 of Confucius, which stresses the authority of father, in modern Chinese society it is the mother who is considered more than the father when people are talking about 孝.

Another aspect of modern 孝 is that the sense of it seems to be narrowed. It can be seen that most of the nominal collocates listed above are related to family. Moreover, family members mentioned in modern Chinese as the ones who should be treated with 孝 are 父母(parents), 奶奶(grandmother), 爷爷(grandfather) rather than 兄长 (elder brothers), which is one of the main objects whom should be treated with 孝 in Confucius’ time. 女儿 (daughter) and 媳妇 (daughter-in-law) are also mentioned as those who should practice 孝. In addition there are also a few occurrences of 老师

(teacher) as the ones who should be treated with 孝, which refers to a relationship in society rather than in a family. It is reasonable to say, in view of these findings, that in modern usage 孝 is more about relationships within a family and that these relationships have undergone a dramatic change in that females in a family have become more respected.

4.2.2 孝道(xiao dao), 孝心(xiao xin), and 孝子(xiao zi)

孝道(xiao dao), 孝心(xiao xin), and 孝子(xiao zi) are pure nouns in modern usage.

The following table shows the collocates of the three words chosen from the top 20 by Z-score. It is interesting to see the particle 的 topping all collocates of the three lexical items:

Table 12 Grammatical collocates of 孝道, 孝心 and 孝子

	孝道/267(standard of filial piety)	孝 心 /372 (filial piety)	孝 子 /285 (filial son)
Grammatical collocates	Particle: 的 (de) 200	Particle: 的 (de) 279	Particle: 的 (de) 232

It seems all the lexical items have a strong colligation for particle 的 (de) which functions like the possessive (the genitive') in English or a conjunction joining Chinese adjectives, adverbials and nouns.

For the word 孝道, particle 的 is partly a conjunction linking the adjectives or nouns like 中国的(Chinese), 日本的(Japanese), 韩国的(Korean), 古代的(ancient), 传统的(traditional), 儒家的(Confucian), 崇高的(lofty), and partly functions as 's-apostrophe, genitive-s, connecting pronouns to form possessive pronouns, like 他的(his), 你的(yours), 他们的(their), and so on, while for the word 孝子, particle 的 mostly functions as a conjunction linking adjectives, including 有名的(famous), 出名的(well-known), 大(great), 百里挑一的(precious), 少有的(rare). Furthermore for the word 孝心, particle 的 is mostly used to connect pronouns, like 他的(his), 我的(my), 我们的(ours), 她的(her), 儿女的(sons' and daughters'), 儿子的(sons'), 女儿的(daughters'), 你的(yours), etc.

From the figures shown above, it is clear that all these extended forms have the basic sense of 孝---a positive feeling about being filial. This is because all the modifiers of the words are positive, especially for the word 孝子 (filial son). It is also worth noticing that in modern Chinese when people talk about 孝道 (standard of filial piety) they consider it as a tradition of ancient Confucian China, and a virtue observed also in Japan and Korea. Moreover, from the collocations like '她的孝心'(her filial piety)

and ‘女儿的孝心’ (daughters’ filial piety) , it can be seen that in modern China, as a virtue 孝 is not only applied to sons or males but also daughters or females.

Next let us look at their top content collocates in which the ones occurring with at least two node words are in bold.

Table 13 Content collocates of 孝道, 孝心 and 孝子 (the word in the bold are what is the same)

	孝道 /267(standard of filial piety)	孝心/372 (filial piety)	孝子/285 (filial son)
Verbal collocates	尽 (do), <u>是(is)</u> , <u>没有</u> (have not/has not), <u>有</u> (have/has), 讲 (should have)	<u>没有</u> (have not/has not), <u>有(have/has)</u> , 尽 (do)	<u>是(is)</u> , <u>有(have/has)</u> , 出(come from)
Nominal collocates	<u>父 母</u> (parents), <u>他</u> (he/him), 我(I/me), 中 国(china)	<u>父母</u> (parents), <u>他</u> (he/him), <u>她</u> (she/her), <u>你</u> (you)	<u>他(he/him)</u> , 我 (I/me), 山东 (Shandong), <u>你(you)</u>

From the table above, it seems all the three lexical items are highly similar with a semantic preference for 'existence' 有(have/has) or 没有(have not/has not). For 孝道 and 孝心, another shared collocational preference for 'accomplishment' is clearly seen

from their verbal collocate 尽(do). Thus, it shows that, like ancient Confucian thought, modern Chinese people attach importance to the existence of 孝 in human beings, and encourage the fulfillment of it. Furthermore a glimpse of the concordances of the collocate 是(is) shows the modern definition of 孝:

- 1 不言而喻, 孝道是日本和中国所共有的 (as everyone knows, filial piety is the common point shared by Japanese and Chinese)
- 2 中秋或春节, 孝道, 是中华民族自古以来 (In Spring Festival or Middle Autumn Day, filial piety, is a tradition of Chinese people since ancient times)
- 3 孝之始也, 这是孝道最基本的概念 (filial piety is the beginning of all, this is the basic concept of filial piety)
- 4 上祖坟, 续家谱, 是尽孝道; 这次派人 (worshiping the ancestors' at their tombs, keeping on writing the history of your family is what called doing filial piety, this time we send people)
- 5 使父母感到光荣, 这是孝道的终结 (honoring your parents is the accomplishment of filial piety)

From these concordance lines, it is clear to see 孝 in modern Chinese inherits a lot from what it was in ancient Confucius time. In addition, when people are talking about 孝, people also think of other countries like Japan which also observes this virtue in a Confucian way.

In Chinese, nouns and pronouns are usually used immediately before other nouns to function as adjectives, sometimes connected by particle 的 (de). That is why there are

so many nominal collocates in top 20 rather than adjectives. Most of the pronouns as top collocates in the table above fall into the collocation ‘pronoun+ particle 的+node’. The nominal collocate 父母 (parents) collocating with 孝道 and 孝心 clearly shows us in modern Chinese 孝 is mostly about parents. It is not like that which we see from the Confucius' classics, in which 孝 is connected to feudal ruling class as well as parents.

4.2.3 Interpretation of 孝 in modern Chinese society

Based on the analysis of the extended forms of 孝 in the Chinese Internet Corpus, I found the use of 孝 in modern Chinese has undergone a dramatic change. 孝 in modern Chinese is rarely used alone, and it is used in its extended forms as nouns like 孝道, 孝心 and 孝子 as well as verbs like 孝敬, 孝顺. In modern China, mothers become the most important ones who should be treated with 孝, and daughters should take the responsibility to carry out 孝 in the same way as sons, though sons are still talked about more in the context of 孝. Compared with what 孝 was in ancient Confucian classics, in modern China 孝's meaning is narrowed. This is because it is mainly about how to treat the elder family members like parents and grandparents and elder brothers are no longer mentioned as the ones who should be treated with 孝.

In addition, from the texts of the modern Chinese corpus it is clear to see that the concept of modern 孝 inherits a lot from the concept of ancient Confucian 孝, because to carry out 孝 still requires worshipping ancestors, honoring parents and so on. Moreover, in modern China 孝 is still considered as one of the most important virtues which originated from Confucianism, and has been observed by many Eastern countries for centuries.

4.3 Translation equivalents of 孝 in the Bank of English

4.3.1 The concept of filial piety in English

This section aims to explore the concept of filial piety in the West by looking at this expression and other English equivalents of ‘孝’ (xiao) in the Bank of English that we find in the three translations of the Analects investigated in this study. ‘Filial piety’ is a rare expression in English. In support of this, Huang (2008) points out, ‘Many Americans are very likely to have never even heard of this phrase.’ And interestingly Huang (2008) claims filial piety is absent from American culture. But for me, I doubt if this is true, even though there may be only a few occurrences of ‘filial piety’ in the Bank of English, the reference corpus used in this study. This is because according to

the Bible, the chapter 20 of the book Exodus records as the fifth of the ‘Ten Commandments’: ‘honor your father and mother, so that your days may be long upon the land which the Lord your God gives you.’ In fact, the whole Western world has been shaped to a considerable extent by the Bible not only in religion but politics, literature, culture, and language (Thiessen, 1998). Therefore, at least a similar concept ‘honor your parents’ does exist in the Western culture into which American culture should be counted. For this reason, this section also aims to discuss the original Western perception of honoring parents. Thus I will discuss ‘filial’, ‘filial piety’, ‘treatment of parents’, ‘good son’ and ‘honor parents’ based on the data extracted from the Bank of English.

4.3.2 Filial

There are five translations of 孝. D.C. Lau contributed ‘being filial’ and ‘good son’, James Legge ‘filial piety’ and ‘filial’, and Arthur Waley ‘treatment of parents’. Firstly we will look at the word ‘filial’ alone to judge the translation equivalent ‘being filial’ adopted by D.C. Lau and James Legge.

‘Filial’ is a rare word which is academic and formal in English. Taking it as a query we see only 171 occurrences in the 450 million words of the Bank of English, in which it occurs, compared with other sub-corpora, relatively more in the corpus UK Books(45 times) and US Books (33 times). The significant collocates with the node ‘filial’ are the key to the meaning. Considering Mutual Information does not work well in low frequencies, the following table gives the first 20 words obtained by applying the t-score which yields significant collocates that occur frequently.

Table 14 Top 20 collocates of ‘filial’

piety	33	5.744175
of	76	4.673451
and	66	4.141111
duty	16	3.982806
his	26	3.940796
devotion	15	3.870766
love	15	3.768463
loyalty	7	2.636637
relationship	7	2.579143
he	19	2.362369
cannibalism	5	2.235449
obedience	5	2.233739
duties	5	2.223037
sense	5	2.119721
filial	4	1.999739
confucian	4	1.999581
affection	4	1.992050
obligation	4	1.990294
<f>	5	1.961603
responsibility	4	1.953003

It is surprising to see another rare word ‘piety’ topping the ranked list as a collocate of ‘filial’ to form the fixed lexical item or idiom chosen by the translator James Legge (1861).

The content words tell us about filial, for instance that being filial means ‘duty’, ‘devotion’, ‘love’ and ‘loyalty’, that it is a kind of ‘sense’ and ‘relationship’, that it requires ‘obedience’, ‘affection’, ‘obligation’ and ‘responsibility’, that it is Confucian. This is how filial is defined in Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, 1989):

1. Of or pertaining to a son or daughter. **a.** Of sentiments, duty, etc.: Due from a child to a parent. *filial fear* **b.** That is the due of a son or daughter. *Obs.* **c.** Of a relation, designation, etc.: Characteristic of a son or daughter. **2. a.** ‘Bearing the character or relation of a son or daughter’ (J.) Now only *transf.* and *fig.* of a thing: That is the offspring of something else. *filial generation* Biol., the offspring of a cross, the *first filial* (or F₁) *generation* being the immediate offspring of the organisms selected for crossing, the *second filial* (or F₂) *generation* being produced usually by self-fertilisation or intercrossing of F₁ individuals, and so on. **b.** Entertaining the sentiments of a son or daughter. *Obs. rare.* **c. absol.** (quasi n.) An off-shoot. *Obs.*

We can see in our collocation profile some things the dictionary does not tell us about filial. It is interesting to see the pronoun appearing as the frequency of filial is ‘he’

rather than ‘she’, and it is surprising to see the horrible word ‘cannibalism’ occupies

rank11. Asking computer to show the expanded context, we obtain these concordance

lines:

which are unrelated to them, **‘filial cannibalism’** has been observed in
of Nevada set out to study **filial cannibalism** in one such fish, the
Hoelzer wanted to discover whether **filial cannibalism** in damselfish is a
wanted to find out to what extent **filial cannibalism** helps the future
not alter the overall level of **filial cannibalism**. If, however, males eat

All the concordances above are from the sub-corpus New Scientist, it is apparently a

terminology in biology with the meaning of consumption of one's own viable

offspring. In the Bank of English, among the 171 occurrences of ‘filial’, the

following table shows a random sample of the concordance data:

of his father's appointment, as in **filial duty** he ought to have done. He knit
that brought out both her sense of **filial duty** to her working parents and her
they are still shackled by either **filial duty** or male desires. Indeed, men
him, and Ryan was now observing his **filial duty** for his surrogate parent. Now
the national Japanese principles of **filial duty** and discipline; he liked to
is regulated by God's law, including **filial duty** Lev. 19:3), religious
man compelled by justice and **filial duty** to avenge his father's murder
imposes a much heavier **burden** of **filial and familial duty** on the daughter.
semblance of the driving ambition, **filial duty** or adult responsibility with
But Tim Westwood, then 18, knew his **filial duty** as his father, Bill, underwent
him for callously neglecting his **filial duties**, but he would live with
him, and Ryan was now observing his **filial duty** for his surrogate parent. Now
man compelled by justice and **filial duty** to avenge his father's murder
family ties, traditions, and **filial duties**. The family was very
as to forget that they owed **‘any filial duties’** whatever to them.²⁷ <p>
Versace) are the pressures to fulfil **filial duties** under constant scrutiny. <p>

the popular psyche. Serbs like his **filial** devotion to the Serbian Orthodox passionate engagement than with **filial** devotion. Through his close, mother, doubtless to emphasize his **filial** devotion. An angry Saddam wary of it." But, for all of his **filial** devotion, the painter has had at a mother. For if he maintained the **filial** relationship with his mother -- and used the money to sever all **filial** ties, making his way to Moscow via will sacrifice his head tomorrow in **filial** holocaust." <p> Could that be true? his childhood brush with death. His **filial** feelings turned to resentment and was not, however, to express his **filial** affection, but to escape the

These data give us concrete evidence of the usage of filial in the modern English world and the attitude ascribed to people in the discourse community. When filial is considered as a duty (filial duty), it is mainly observed by males rather than females, for we see a lot of 'his filial duties', while there is only one example about 'daughter' in which 'filial duty' turns to be a 'burden'. The one who has such responsibility should be an (young) adult. Being filial is compulsory for we see the modality 'ought', and if it is neglected it is 'callous'.

The feeling about filial is positive in most occasions because it involves family, father and mother; it stands side by side with justice, discipline, driving ambition; it is God's law; and moreover it is the opposite of resentment.

4.3.3 Filial piety

This item consists of 'filial' and 'piety', in which the word 'filial' has been discussed, and it is worth taking a look at the word 'piety'. According to Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, 1989), 'piety' is defined as:

- I. Senses relating to the quality of feeling or showing pity. 1. = PITY n. (in various senses); mercy, compassion.
- II. Senses relating to devotion. 2. Reverence and obedience to God (or to the gods); devotion to religious duties and observances; godliness, devoutness. 3. 孝, etc.; affectionate loyalty and respect, esp. to parents; faithfulness, dutifulness. 4. An instance of reverence or faithful devotion; a pious act, observance, or characteristic; (also) a sanctimonious statement, a commonplace.

From the second and the third sense of 'piety' defined by the dictionary, it would seem that, to some degree, the meaning of 'piety' is similar to Confucius' 孝. This is because to carry out Confucius' 孝 one needs to worship ancestors' spirits and Chinese Gods in temples, which can be considered as 'obedience to God' appearing the definition above. And furthermore, Confucius' 孝 requires 'affectionate loyalty and respect, esp. to parents' as is written in the dictionary. But the combination 'filial piety' may be something else, so it is necessary to go back to the real life texts to check its meaning. Teubert(2009, forthcoming) argues that meaning can only be

studied in discourse. The BOE reflects modern English discourse, in which ‘filial piety’ has only 33 occurrences. The following table shows a sample of its occurrences of which most are in the sub-corpus of US Books and UK Books.

hellip; The union of loyalty and **filial piety** is truly the special household. The Confucian practice of **filial piety** requires adult children, undertaking, and his duty of **filial piety** in completing the work begun the Nembutsu in the feeling of **filial piety** for my parents" <f> Tannisho to traditional values of loyalty and **filial piety**. As the adopted son of the intense than Tanaka's. `Loyalty and **filial piety** are the basis of a truly the purpose of promoting loyalty and **filial piety**, and for protecting the for her docile disposition and **filial piety** who tenderly nursed her society was placed above Confucian **filial piety**, and Japan developed a feudal Here, in an extension of Confucian **filial piety**, they are revered and would be blaming their ancestors." **Filial piety** is a special virtue in east age-old Confucian traditions of **filial piety** and obedience to a are a `belief in hard work, thrift, **filial piety**, national pride." These lead but steeped in the virtues of **filial piety** - rings true and allows her and moral government and a stress on **filial piety** - emerge clearly. Moreover, Huxley's son (and so noted more for **filial piety** than objectivity). Indeed, Mr was much emphasis on loyalty and **filial piety**. Pupils recited oaths to Chinese saw the basis of love as **filial piety**, the cardinal virtue of the Kinjiro, that late-Edo model of **filial piety**; but instead of being attitude of absolute obedience and **filial piety** toward the state. `The benefiting from a larger household. **Filial piety** and brotherly love seem idols, the oath, the sacred day, and **filial piety** on the one hand, and the etiquette and social duty. He taught **filial piety**, reverence of ancestors, and name N. W. Ayer & Son was an act of **filial piety** as well as an effort to

The majority of these examples involve a positive evaluation of the lexical item filial piety. It is mentioned in connection with loyalty, traditional values, docile disposition,

hard work, thrift, which are all related to virtues. The adjective ‘Confucian’ appears remarkably often to modify the node ‘filial piety’, which makes it reasonable to infer that the concept of filial piety is seen as connected to Confucian philosophy. Furthermore we find that Chinese, Japanese, and people in the east seem to be the main agents exercising filial piety. Considering they are the first heirs of Confucian philosophy, these concordance lines support our understanding that filial piety is a borrowed concept. Common people, for instance, ‘he’ or ‘she’ or ‘pupils’ are also the subjects of filial piety, and for them it is an attitude of ‘obedience’, ‘the oath’, ‘etiquette’ and ‘social duty’, but for Chinese people it is the ‘basis of love’. ‘Filial piety’ should be paid to ‘ancestors’ and ‘parents’.

Taking a broader view of the text helps to understand the meaning in the discourse better. The following three texts are from the Bank of English, which are all about eastern or Asian countries. Extracted from the UK Books corpus which engenders a discourse community, they represent what can be seen in English literature about filial piety practiced in the east.

Shu" or books generally. <p> A further tale can be recounted here. Many Chinese almanacs include among their peripheral information extracts from the classics such as the twenty-four examples of **filial piety**. One of these is the story of Tung Yung who, too poor to pay for his father's funeral, bonded himself for ten thousand pieces of cash so that the funeral rites could be performed with all (1)

they live with their grown children. It's a carryover from Korea, where it's quite common for grandparents, grown children and grandchildren to all live in one household. The Confucian practice of **filial piety** requires adult children, especially the eldest son, to provide physical and social comfort to parents. <p> Gil Choy (Korean Immigrant): The most highly regarded virtue of young people is (2)

family is our main house. We the people worship the unbroken imperial line with the same feeling of respect and love that a child feels towards his parents.… The union of loyalty and **filial piety** is truly the special character of our national polity. Nationalism was a partially new force in Japan, and of course it was common in the West and other parts of the world in 1900 as well. (3)

The first text is about a classic ancient Chinese story, but the story teller or interpreter is an English speaker. It tells us in China filial piety is not only about paying respect to the living parents but also the dead. From the previous discussion we have already seen the west take filial piety as a virtue from the east. The text adds one more piece of information or understanding to it.

The second one is about Korea, it says that the 'eldest son' should 'especially' be the one practicing filial piety. The third one is about Japan where people try to make it a national policy and even universal. The texts contribute more content and distinctive features to the meaning.

4.3.4 Treatment of parents

In the Bank of English we find two occurrences of ‘treatment of parents’ which are respectively from the sub-corpora Guardian newspaper (one of most popular newspapers in Britain) and US Books (a sub-corpus comprised of American books in all kinds of genre). It is obviously not a fixed phrase used frequently by people in the western world, but that should not mean people are not interested in the topic about how to treat parents. If we look up the immediate contexts of ‘treat(s) parents’, ‘treating parents’, and ‘treated parents’, we find a few concordances such as the following:

mothers, even when the law **treats parents** in an evenhanded fashion.
city. You cannot- you cannot **treat parents** as obstacles. You cannot treat
as obstacles. You cannot **treat parents** with contempt and disdain. They
behaviors. <p> Therapists **treating parents** and their infants with the short-
months, observing how s/he **treats parents**, friends, other men and women,
you them. TIPS FOR TEACHERS Do **treat parents'** concerns and knowledge with

Even though there are but few occurrences of ‘treat parents’, we cannot infer that people are not concerned about how children treat their parents, because there maybe other more specific expressions like ‘love parents’ or ‘hate parents’. To repeat, even

though the usage is rare, we cannot treat it as trivial matter, for the limited data still constitute real evidence that people talk about ‘treat parents’.

Three of the above concordances are about how children treat their parents and the rest are about how ‘law’, ‘therapists’, ‘teachers’ treat ‘parents’ in general. The other three occurrences reveal a strong feeling connected with morality. The subject ‘you’ is followed by the modal auxiliary verb ‘cannot’, and the following object complements ‘obstacle’, ‘contempt’ and ‘distain’ carrying strong negative meaning. When people talk about how to treat parents, they claim a high moral standard and despise those who treat parents as an ‘obstacle’ or with ‘contempt’ and ‘disdain’. Another collocation seems to come with a neutral tone, but once we take a look at the occurrence in a wider context, we find there is indeed a moral message:

to grow from sharing and supporting one another through happy and sad times. Have six dates before deciding s/he's "perfect" for you. Then be cautious for six months, observing how s/he **treats parents**, friends, other men and women, co-workers, children, and animals. Is s/he caring, truthful, able to cope with stress, there for you in an emergency? Does s/he keep his word? Your guy has already

It is a novel from the sub-corpus US Books. The author is describing how to judge the man's character in order to see whether the man is right for a lady, and the other way around, respectively. How to treat parents is put in the first position followed by other ones and animals. The author set a moral evaluation on how to treat people and animals, how to cope with stress, and emergencies, etc, in which “treating parents” comes first.

4.3.5 Good son

The expression ‘good son’ occurs 77 times in BOE, which is beyond my expectation. This is because it appears less frequently than the academic word ‘filial’. The following table is its significant 20 collocates based on t-score:

Table 15 Top 20 collocates of ‘good son’

good	80	8.887478
a	50	5.143201
steady	10	3.157421
jason	10	3.156892
works	10	3.139158
later	10	3.093607
years	10	2.945651
syndrome	5	2.232254
he	11	2.135078
my	6	2.077739
be	9	1.903216
brother	3	1.702003
what	5	1.697177
the	44	1.502292

you	7	1.478677
culkin	2	1.413950
his	6	1.363819
boy	2	1.361391
act	2	1.330313
father	2	1.326161

The top two collocates ‘good’ and ‘a’ are from the expression ‘a good son’, and this is why they top the list. ‘Father’ and ‘brother’ appear in the top 20 as the collocates with the node ‘good son’, but there is no ‘mother’ or ‘daughter’ mentioned when people talk about ‘good son’.

The interesting following collocates like ‘steady’, ‘Jason’, ‘works’, ‘years’ and ‘later’ yield the same occurrences. This is because they all come from a story repetitively appearing in the sub-corpus US news as the following:

an ambitious, yet awkward mess. The story concerns two brothers who are haunted by the specter of their alcoholic father (Forest Whitaker), who was killed by one of the sons. **Years later**, the ‘good’ son **Jason works** a **steady** job and takes care of his mother and his ‘bad’ brother, Josh, who is in and out of jail. Into this mix comes the lovely Lyric (Jada Pinkett), the sister of a neighborhood

Apparently ‘good son’ here refers to the son in comparison with the other son who was once in jail. The collocate ‘syndrome’ falls into a fixed expression ‘good son syndrome’ with 5 hits in BOE as the following:

boy? Is it the same now? <p> **THE GOOD SON SYNDROME**} <p> Did you do things that so, you probably fell into the **`good son syndrome**." Contrary to popular are not healthy. For example, the **good son syndrome** requires the boy to: <p> families seldom do. The **good son syndrome** means you are good at being Thus, the son is trapped in the **good son syndrome** we mentioned earlier. The

When looking at the extended text, I find all the texts are talking about family issues which affect children’s behavior. One of the extended texts is the definition of ‘good son syndrome’:

hard to raise. He is then caught between being a boy and being a good silentson. In order to be a good silent son, he adopts behaviors and ideas that boysin functional families seldom do. **The good son syndrome** means you are good at being in a dysfunctional family. But this does not mean it is a good way to live your boyhood. Your **`good**" behavior can leave you with a sickly spirit. <p>

(Corpus: brbooks/UK. Text: BB-----1277.)

Obviously ‘good son syndrome’ is a term usually used in psychology. It is applied to children who come from a ‘dysfunctional family’ and suffer from behaving well to fit the family.

It is no surprising to see the pronoun ‘he’ as the top 10 collocate of the node ‘good son’, and this is because ‘son’ is male. Another pronoun ‘you’ is worth discussing as well as ‘he’ to see what makes a ‘good son’. The following lines contain ‘he’ or ‘you’:

stroke.Biggs wrote: ‘He is a very **good son** to me. **He** feels so bad about me
he has been nasty and not a very **good son**. Wherever **he** goes he causes havoc. I
But I am happy that **he** is a **good son** first, and then a good golfer.”
has some strong words for his no-**good son** when **he** learns what has happened. We
stayed in town to be the **good son**. **He** practised what he preached. He
mcewan’s latest screenplay, The **Good Son**, so much **he** rail-roaded the project
national-security adviser Lake. **Good son** that **he** is, he is completely
hotel. By all standards **he** was a **good son**, though his effeminate nature
t’S very healthy. He will be a **good son** to **you** and a good grandson to his
Shankly was impressed, ‘Well, **good son**, off **you** go and have a cup of tea
every spare moment.” **You**’re a **good son**. A good brother.” (Why couldn’t he
Is this a daughter? Look at my **good son** # Can’t **you** act like your brother /

The first line is extracted from sub-corpus Sunnow/UK telling us about a son who has been taking care of his father for 18 months since he suffered a third stroke. From the lines above we can see a ‘good son’ takes care of his father, makes one ‘happy’, ‘practiced what he preached’, and may have a ‘effeminate’ characteristic, is ‘a good grandson’ and ‘a good brother’.

It is interesting to see that when people talk about ‘good son’ they mention the relationship between ‘son’ and ‘father’ or ‘brother’ rather than ‘mother’ or ‘sister’. So, except for the psychological term ‘good son syndrome’ what we would see from ‘good son’ in BOE is relevant to the relationship between males in a family.

4.3.6 Honour Parents

The word ‘honour’ has a different spelling ‘honor’ in American English, so I query both ‘honour’ and ‘honor’ in the Bank of English by asking for one (exactly one) word between the verb ‘honour/honor’ and the word ‘parents’ and the phrase ‘honour/honor parents’. The search result turns out to be in extremely low frequency as the following:

they can **love** each other. **Amen**. <p> **Honour your parents**", that's what
of **the oldest rules** in the book: **honour your parents**. But since sexual,
avoid the world. Why not simply **honor your parents, love** your children,
the country. <p> THINK ABOUT HOW WE **HONOR OUR PARENTS** By Bryan Hayward The
some thought as to how we might **honor our parents** whom we **love greatly**.
relationships only; children were to **honor their parents**. It also is concerned
The Bible says that "we should **honor our parents**." Rita said that she is
The strong command to **honor parents** counters this self-will and

From the concordance lines above, the node phrase collocates with the word 'love' in
three lines out of eight, and another five lines refer to the Bible, in which we see the
relative collocates like 'Amen', 'rules', and 'command'. It seems in the Bank of
English more than half of the occurrences of the concept 'honour parents' are talking
about the Bible.

When people refer to the concept of the Bible, they often connect the fifth
commandment with the feeling 'love'. The following expanded citations are from the
sub-corpora US Books and UK Books:

1. mother, so that your days may be long in the land that **the Lord your God**
is giving you." Exodus 20:12 Powerful forces of self-will are a constant threat to
family stability. The strong command to **honor parents** counters this self-will

and provides the conditions in which **love** can be learned, wisdom transmitted, and intimacy realized. Think of some details of what "honor" involves. Prayer: Father

2. grow to **love** and respect our parents more. Amen. <p> Please be with people who are finding life **at home** hard and stressing. Pour your **love** over them, so that they can love each other. Amen. <p> **Honour your parents**", that's what the Bible says. But at the moment I just can't stand them. Why can't they understand how I feel and appreciate my point of view? If only they would stop getting at me.

3. concerned primarily with **God**, and the last five, concerned primarily with interhuman **relationships**. On first reading, it appears to be concerned with **family relationships** only; children were to honor their parents. It also is concerned with transmission of **faith in God** throughout subsequent generations. Today, when so much education is undertaken beyond the confines of the family unit, the

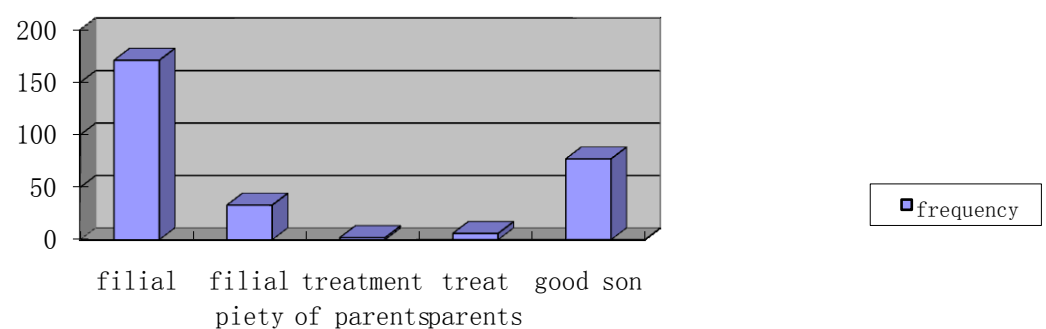
It is probable that the writers or narrators of the texts above are Christians. From the word in the texts like 'love', 'respect', 'relationships', and 'family', we can see 'honor parents' is rooted in the 'love' for the parents, it requires people to 'respect' their parents, and it is a 'family relationship'.

To summarise, the word ‘honor’ means ‘respect’ and ‘love’. The original concept of the ‘filial piety’ in the west, expressed as ‘honour your parents’ in the Bible, is about a harmonious family relationship, in which children should show their love and respect to their parents.

4.3.7 The summary

From the analysis of the different translations of 孝 by three translators, we found that in the modern English discourse community though they all occur in low frequency, there is a big gap of their respectively frequency as shown below:

Chart 1 Frequency of five translation equivalents



It can be seen that ‘filial’ outnumbered the others although it is an academic and formal word in English. At least it proves that when these translators translate Xiao they

adopt the word 'filial' more than the others. 'Good son' takes the second place, which overly doubles the third one 'filial piety'. And moreover regardless of whether people talk about 'good son' or 'filial piety', 'father' and 'brother' rather than 'mother' or 'daughter' are mentioned. In addition, it is obvious that the expression 'treatment of parents' or its synonym 'treat parents' is not common in modern English.

All in all, all the translations are in a sense synonymous, for they all refer to social morality carrying a strong positive meaning. But 'filial' and 'filial piety' seem to be much more specific than 'treatment of parents' and 'good son', because the concept is understood as borrowed from the East or, more specifically from Confucianism. Therefore, to the Western people "filial piety" is also more about sons rather than daughters, who should conduct the obligation of taking care of parents, and also, one's ancestors deserve filial piety as well as his parents. Whenever western people talk about filial piety they relate it to Eastern Confucian ideology. Seen from the analysis of the original Western concept "honouring your parents", it is outside the scope of social morality and should be attributed to the sphere of religion, which requires people to respect and love their parents. Unlike 'filial piety', it covers both genders. Male and female bear equal responsibility of 'honouring their parents', which is understood as God's commandment from God. As the Christian faith is a

monotheistic religion God is seen as the highest authority and ‘honouring parents’ is perhaps seen less as moral duty than as a way to glorify God.

5 Translations purposes and strategies applied to 孝

5.1 The three translators’ purposes

5.1.1 James Legge

According to Hatim and Mason (1990), when the translator feels he can communicate something new by translating ancient literature, it is ‘translator-driven’ (Hatim&Mason, 1990, p.13). Legge is one of those who first introduced the Eastern Confucian philosophy to the West. Otherwise, Legge’s translation can be seen as ‘translator-driven’. Furthermore, we can read this quotation from the preface of Legge’s book *The Life and Teachings of Confucius*:

When the author, in 1861, commenced the publication of the Chinese Classics, with an English translation and such a critical apparatus as was necessary

to the proper appreciation of the original "Works, he did not contemplate an edition without the Chinese text and simply adapted for popular reading. It was soon pressed upon him, however, from various quarters ; and he had formed the purpose to revise the separate volumes, when he should have completed the whole of his undertaking, and to publish the English text, with historical introductions and brief explanatory notes, which might render it acceptable for general perusal. (Legge, III)

The remark above suggests that Legge tried to achieve the goal of passing the original meaning by carefully editing and adding 'introductions' and 'brief explanatory notes' to make the translation acceptable rather than adapting it for 'popular reading'. It would seem that Legge's translation is not popular but classic, which is, to a great extent, reflecting the style of the original text.

On the other hand, his translation purpose is open to further discussion. This is because Legge was living in 19th century when Britain his mother country was in her colonial expansion. And he once served as a Christian missionary in Hongkong which had been taken as the colony of Britain. Dr.Wang(2008, pp.35-70) points out Legge, like other Christian heroes living in postcolonial era, was in the dream of global conversion of Christianity. Thus his translations of Chinese classics could not survive postcolonial scrutiny and could not maintain their position as contemporary models for translating Chinese works.

I partly agree with Wang that perhaps Legge manipulated his translations for a colonial empire in a spiritual way because of his religion and over 10 years' working for the London Missionary Society. However, we should return to the corpus to test whether Legge's translations have lost their model position or not. I will discuss this in the later section based on real data extracted from his translations and BOE.

5.1.2 Arthur Waley

In the age of Legge, the West began to learn about the Spiritual world of the East, while in Waley's time, which was post-war twenties, oriental thoughts and styles were called for to enrich British literary production and reception. Gruchy (2008, p.249) claims that Waley 'is seen as a forerunner of poets like Kenneth Rexroth and Gary Snyder, who also took from Asia the material they needed to create a new sense for English poetry.' Against this background, therefore, there occurred a shift of focus of attention, in the British literary arena, from purely or primarily western subject matters to eastern images. Waley embarked on his adventuresome experience of the East culture. To this extent, it is the Western literary market that called for the translations of the Eastern classics. Thus, the situation of Waley's translation may be what Mason and Hatim call 'market-driven', a situation wherein 'publishers perceive

demand for a work of foreign literature’ (Mason. & Hatim, 1990, p.12).

Fryer (2009, p.43) summarized three translation principles of Waley as ‘including: being faithful by avoiding literal translation; the occasional necessity of elaboration; using natural English for dialogue; the importance of rhythm; accuracy; and the choice of texts.’ It seems Waley tried to avoid literal translation and represented the SL messages in fluent TL in order to achieve **dynamic equivalence**. The translation strategy behind this goal seems to be **idiomatic translation** or **meaning-based translation** proposed and defined by Larson.

In addition, as seen from Waley’s translations of Chinese poems, he ‘attempted to reproduce Chinese poetry in unrhymed English “modern” verse’ (Gruchy, 2007, p.250). The strategy employed in Chinese poetry translation can be identified as **domesticating strategy**. Thus, is there any possibility he rendered the same strategy for translating the Analects? I will discuss this point based on the data from his translation and BOE in later section.

5.1.3 D.C. Lau

Originally from China, Lau dedicated his life to the promotion of Chinese culture overseas. He studied Chinese in Hong Kong and philosophy in Glasgow, and within a few years he was promoted from the position of lecturer to the professor of Chinese at the University of London due to his splendid translations of Chinese classics and his philosophical research. He finished and published his first version of *The Analects* in 1979 with Penguin and spent over 15 years revising his translation until the newest edition published in 2001.

Ames, et al. (1991) comprehensively analyzed Lau's translations from the view of linguistics and interpreted the ancient Chinese philosophy reflected in Lau's translations of classics. It would suggest that Ames appreciates the academic value of Lau's translations, which can be perceptible from the following quotations of the book entitled *Interpreting Culture through Translation*:

Among his published works, the authoritative translations of the Lao Tzu, the Mencius and the Analects are unequalled in their popularity, may well have influenced the Lau translations in Ryle's analytic attitude and the consequent set of formal linguistics distinctions...One claim I do think Lau would assent to is that a distinctive characteristic of his translations is his uncommon preference for the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of the English language...it is certainly Lau's preference for the Anglo-Saxon language that gives his readers the impression of simplicity and clarity. (Ames, et al., p.xix)

Furthermore, Ames points out that one of the virtues of Anglo-Saxon language is that it maintains a great number of every-day expressions, and to put it another way, Lau avoids “using technical language of philosophy” (Ames, p.xix). The original Chinese classics like the *Analects* are very difficult to read and understand even for the well-educated men in modern China. According to Ames, Lau translated these classics in English of “simplicity” and “clarity”. Thus, apparently the translator didn’t mechanistically stick to the linguistic form of the SL but chose to transfer the meaning through idiomatic expressions. Muller (2000, pp.15-29) accused Lau of distorting the Confucius’ interpenetrated world view by using unconventional expression and ignoring accepted grammar. But neither Ames nor Muller offered enough evidence to support their claims. Empirically, what they said about Lau’s translation should be tested in the corpus of TL to find out whether his chosen expressions are conventional or not. Due to the space limit, I will only discuss his translation of 孝 in the next section.

5.2 孝(xiao) and its translations in the *Analects*

As we have discussed in 4.1.1.1 孝 occurs 19 times in the *Analects*, in which four

occurrences are verbs and the rest are nouns. When 孝 is used as a verb, as well as being a word of one character, it merges with another two characters to form another two words ‘孝悌’(xiao ti) and ‘孝友’(xiao you), while when 孝 is taken as a noun there is an occasion when it combines with another character to form the word ‘孝者’(xiao zhe). Therefore I will discuss the different translations of ‘孝’, ‘孝悌’, ‘孝友’ and ‘孝者’, which are in the following table.

Table 16 孝 and its translations in the *Analects*

Original Chinese	Verb				Noun	
	孝 (xiao)	孝悌 (xiao ti)	孝友 (xiao you)	孝慈 (xiao ci)	孝 (xiao)	孝者 (xiao zhe)
Legge's translation	be filial.	being filial and fraternal	You are filial, you discharge your brotherly duties	be filial and kind to all	Filial; filial piety	filial piety
Waley's translation	behave well to his parents,	behave well towards their parents and elder brothers	be filial and friendly towards your brothers	Show piety towards your parents and kindness toward your children	a good son; the treatment of parents;	Filial sons
Lau's translation	be a good son,	good as a son and obedient as a young man	being a good son and friendly to his brothers	treat them with kindness	a good son; being filial	a man to be filial

From the table above it seems that Legge translated all the ‘孝’s into ‘filial’ and ‘filial piety’ , while Waley preferred ‘behave well to his parents’, ‘treatment of parents’, ‘a good son’ and so on., and Lau chose ‘be a good son’, ‘filial’ etc. Apparently, Legge’s translation is the most academic. Waley seems to pick up some common expressions in English to make his translation understandable to the ordinary people. Lau’s translation style may be a compromise between academic approach and popular approach. This is because he partly translated ‘孝’ into ‘be a good son’ and partly into ‘being filial’.

However according to the frequency of these translations in the Bank of English, what we could see is contrary to our expectation. For example, in BOE ‘Filial’ is in the highest frequency of all the other translations, which proves that this academic word is not at all strange to the TL readers compared with the other less academic translations. ‘Treatment of parents’ is in the lowest frequency in BOE, and it proves that the use of it is not common in English though it is not academic at all. Thus, choosing “treatment of parents” as a translation equivalent can be considered as the application of **domestication strategy**, but it does not help to make the whole translation popular even though we are not sure whether popularity is one of the goals Waley pursues in his translation. On the contrary, ‘filial’ or ‘filial piety’ chosen by

Legge and Lau are relatively popular in English discourse despite the fact that they are more academic and formal. And in addition, '*a good son*' is the second most popular use compared with the others, so in this sense, Lau partly achieves his goal to make the Analects popular and easy to read. Therefore, through testing the translations of '孝'(xiao) in a big corpus like BOE, it would be seen that the translation style does not always match the translator's purpose.

5.3 Translation strategies applied to 孝

All the three translators are pursuing **dynamic equivalence** in their translations, and as I discussed before they all adopted **idiomatic translation** or **meaning-based translation** strategy in their translation of the Analects. But according to their different translation purposes some of them chose **domesticating strategy** and some preferred **foreignizing strategy**, or the combination of the two. I will discuss what kind of strategy they rendered, and moreover based on the ancient Chinese corpus and BOE I will see to what extent the strategy affects the dynamic equivalence in their translations.

5.3.1 Legge's translation strategy of 孝

Legge translated all the ‘孝’s either in to ‘filial’ or ‘filial piety’. When 孝 is a noun in the original Analects, Legge translated it into ‘being filial’, ‘filial piety’, and ‘filial’. ‘filial’ is an adjective in English, so apparently Legge sometimes consciously adopted an English adjective to translate a Chinese noun with specific Chinese culture in it to show the culture difference. The following example is about how Legge shifted Chinese noun into an adjective:

子曰：“三年无改于父之道，可谓孝矣。”

The Master said, “If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.”

In this sentence Legge translated ‘孝’ into ‘filial’ rather than ‘filial piety’ or ‘being filial’, which could prove that, for Legge ‘filial’ alone is enough to conceal the rich meaning of ‘孝’. But his thought is not supported by my analysis of ‘filial’ in BOE. The meanings associated with ‘filial’ are different from that of those associated with Confucius’ 孝, except that both ‘filial’ and ‘孝’ refer to a duty of children who should be kind to their parents, that it is observed more by males rather than by females, that it is a morality.

Moreover, through my analysis of ‘filial piety’ in BOE, it is obvious that Legge endeavored to maintain the original culture of Confucius in his translation. In BOE most of the data about ‘filial piety’ are related to oriental culture or more specifically, Confucian culture, from which it can be seen that ‘filial piety’ is a borrowed concept. Thus, Legge adopted a **foreignizing strategy** by choosing such a rare expression with borrowed concept in it. Whereas this translation does not fully achieve **dynamic**

equivalence because according to my analysis in BOE, the meaning of ‘filial piety’ is not equal to that of Confucius’ which carries much wider range of meaning.

5.3.2 Waley’s translation strategy of 孝

Waley translated verbal 孝 into ‘behave well to his parents’, and nominal ones into ‘a good son’ and ‘the treatment of parents’. All his translations seem to be in common English, and this is attributed to, as I discussed, Waley’s intention of being accepted by the ordinary readers.

Based on the previous analysis of Confucius’ texts, Confucius’ 孝 is rich in the meaning. It is more than good behavior to one’s parents. People from all walks of life of feudal society are burdened by different duties for 孝. Readers may not see this point through the translation ‘behave well to his parents’.

According to the analysis of ‘a good son’ in BOE, people do not talk about it frequently, and ‘a good son’ is essentially used to refer to a son’s relationship with his father or brothers. Thus, obviously, it is not far enough to use ‘a good son’ to pass the

meaning of nominal ‘孝’, which conceals a complex relationship in ancient feudal China.

Waley’s translation of 孝 conveys a family relationship because he chose the words like ‘parents’, ‘son’ rather than the abstract word like ‘filial’ chosen by Legge. In this sense, what can be understood about ‘孝’ through Waley’s translation is only about how ‘sons’ should behave to their ‘parents’. In consequence, Waley’s translation leaves out most of the meanings of Confucius’ 孝, even though he maintains Confucius’ sex-bias in 孝 by translating it into ‘a good son’ rather than ‘a good daughter’.

In a word, the culture difference is reflected in his translations only in a limited way, and therefore it can be said that Waley used **domesticating strategy**, through which he simplified Confucius’ 孝 in order to make it easier for TL readers to understand. But according to BOE, ‘treatment of parents’ is in extremely low frequency though every word in this expression is ordinary. From this point the rarely used expression might not achieve what the translator expected from the ordinary readers.

5.3.3 Lau's translation strategy of 孝

Lau translated the verbal 孝 into 'be a good son', and the nominal ones into either 'a good son' or 'being filial'. From this perspective Lau seems to combine the academic translation approach with the popular translation approach. It may be said that Lau's translation of 孝 is less academic than that of Legge's, but more than that of Waley's.

As I have discussed, what needs to be done to carry out 孝 is much more than 'being a good son'. According to my analysis of Confucius' 孝 in *Xiaojing* and the *Analects*, 孝 is a virtue not only valued by sons but also refers to social hierarchy in that it assigns behavioral models to people from different social classes. Feudal ruling class took advantage of 孝 to stabilize their position, which requires people from lower social class to pay their respect and make sacrifices to the ones from the higher class. This is why it is seen that Lau's translation of 'a good son', like Waley's, omits most of the original meanings of Confucius' 孝 in his aim of providing an easier understanding for the TL readers. From my point of view, Lau uses **domesticating strategy** as well as **foreignizing strategy** in his translation of 孝. This is because he also adopted the academic and formal word 'filial' in part of his translations. The following are examples, in which Lau translated 孝 into 'being filial':

1. 孟懿子问孝。子曰：“无违。”樊迟御，子告之曰：“孟孙问孝于我，我对曰无违。”

Meng Yi Tzu asked about being filial. The Master answered, 'Never fail to comply.' Fan Ch'ih was driving. The Master told him about the interview, saying, 'Meng-sun asked me about being filial. I answered, "Never fail to comply."'

2. 孟武伯问孝。子曰：“父母，唯其疾之忧。”

Meng Wu Po asked about being filial. The Master said, 'Give your father and mother no other cause for anxiety than illness.'

3. 子游问孝。子曰：“今之孝者，是谓能养，至于犬马，皆能有养，不敬，何以别乎？”

Tzu-yu asked about being filial. The Master said, 'Nowadays for a man to be filial means no more than that he is able to provide his parents with food. Even hounds and horses are, in some way, provided with food. If a man shows no reverence, where is the difference?'

4. 子夏问孝。子曰：“色难。有事，弟子服其劳，有酒食，先生馔，曾是以为孝乎？”

Tzu-hsia asked about being filial. The Master said, 'What is difficult to manage is the expression on one's face. As for the young taking on the burden when there is work to be done or letting the old enjoy the wine and the food when these are available, that hardly deserves to be called filial.'

All the examples above are dialogues between Confucius and his disciples. The original text reveals the setting of Confucius' philosophy teaching, in which the people involved are well-educated and speak elegantly. Thus, it is in a way more natural to adopt 'being filial' rather than the popular translation 'being a good son' to achieve **dynamic equivalence** here.

5.4 Translation strategies applied to 孝悌, 孝友, 孝慈 and 孝者

In the Analects, 孝 combines with some other characters to form other words, such as 孝悌, 孝友, 孝慈 and 孝者. Like affixes of English, the character of 孝 in these words attaches its original meaning to them, and other characters make their meanings more specific.

5.4.1 孝悌 (xiao ti)

孝悌 is an ancient Chinese word, which is no longer used in modern Chinese. The *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* defines ‘悌’ as treating elder brothers well (‘善事兄长者’). ‘孝’ and ‘悌’ are related for both of them are about how to deal with family relationships. Once these two characters combine to form a word 孝悌, it is a basic virtue of Confucius.

This is because it is recorded in the Analects like this:

有子曰：“其为人也孝悌而好犯上者，鲜矣。不好犯上而好作乱者，未之有也。君子务本，本立而道生。孝悌也者，其为仁之本与？”(Master Yu said, Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred. It is upon the trunk that a gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows. And surely **proper behaviour towards parents and elder brothers** is the trunk of Goodness?(translated by Waley))

Confucius considers 孝悌 as the basis and core of ‘仁’(goodness), which is one of the five spirits of Confucius. When the three translators came across this important word, they translated it in different ways as in the following:

Legge’s version:

The philosopher Yu said, “They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion. The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. **Filial piety and fraternal submission**, -are they not the root of all benevolent actions?”

Waley’s version:

Master Yu said, Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred. It is upon the trunk that a gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows. And surely **proper behaviour towards parents and elder brothers** is the trunk of Goodness?

Lau’s version:

Yu Tzu said, 'It is rare for a man whose character is such that he is good as a son and obedient as a young man to have the inclination to transgress against his superiors; it is unheard of for one who has no such inclination to be inclined to start a rebellion. The gentleman devotes his efforts to the roots, for once the roots are established, the Way will grow therefrom. **Being good as a son and obedient as a young man** is, perhaps, the root of a man's character.'

Legge's translation 'filial piety and fraternal submission' is more formal than the other two translations 'proper behaviour towards parents and elder brothers' and 'being good as a son and obedient as a young man'. According to the analysis of 'filial piety' in BOE, 'filial piety' is a borrowed concept from the East, and therefore the meaning of it is closer to the Confucius'孝 than the other translations. 'Fraternal' is a formal and rare word in English which occurs 79 times in BOE, and moreover 'fraternal submission' has no matches in BOE. For this reason it is safe to say the translation 'fraternal submission' is not a common English expression, from which the characteristics of an alien culture are reflected. It can be seen that in ancient Confucius' way, 'being fraternal' is connected with submission. Legge's translation of 孝悌 further confirms that he adopted a **foreignizing strategy**.

Waley's translation 'proper behaviour towards parents and elder brothers' is more popular and less accurate than Legge's. Additionally, there is no hint about 'submission to brothers' in Waley's translation.

Lau's wording is likely to lead to ambiguity. This is because '悌' stresses 'the submission' to 'elder brothers', but we can not sense anything about 'elder brothers'

from Lau's translation. Admittedly Lau's translation is as popular as that of Waley's, and moreover it maintains Confucius' sex-bias as well.

5.4.2 孝友(xiao you) and 孝慈(xiao ci)

孝友 and 孝慈 are two special verbs, which only can be seen in ancient Chinese texts.

According to the Shuo Wen Jie Zi, the one with the same ambitions as yours can be treated as your friend ('同志为友'). Thus, in Shuo Wen Jie zi '友' got its definition as a noun. But in the Analects '友' is used as a verb, and otherwise '孝友' means being filial and friendly. Shuo Wen Jie Zi defines '慈' as the love from deep heart (爱也, 从心姿声). While it is used as a verb in the Analects, '孝慈' should mean 'being filial and loving someone'. The following are the translations of these two words.

子曰：“书云：孝乎！惟**孝友**于兄弟，施于有政。是亦为政。奚其为为政！”

Legge's version: The Master said, "What does the Shu-ching say of filial piety?-'**You are filial, you discharge your brotherly duties.** These qualities are displayed in government.' This then also constitutes the exercise of government. Why must there be THAT-making one be in the government?"

Waley's version: The Master said, The Book says: '**Be filial, only be filial and friendly towards your brothers,** and you will be contributing to government.' There are other sorts of service quite different from what you mean by 'service.'

Lau's version: The Book of History says, "Oh! **Simply by being a good son and friendly to his brothers** a man can exert an influence upon government." In so doing a man is, in fact, taking part in government. How can there be any question of his having actively to "take part in government"?'

季康子问：“使民敬忠以劝，如之何？”子曰：“临之以庄则敬，孝慈则忠，举善而教不能则劝。”

Legge's version: Chi K'ang asked how to cause the people to reverence their ruler, to be faithful to him, and to go on to nerve themselves to virtue. The Master said, "Let him preside over them with gravity;-then they will reverence him. **Let him be filial and kind to all**;-then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and teach the incompetent;-then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous."

Waley's version: Chi K'ang-tzu asked whether there were any form of encouragement by which he could induce the common people to be respectful and loyal. The Master said, Approach them with dignity, and they will respect you. **Show piety towards your parents and kindness toward your children**, and they will be loyal to you. Promote those who are worthy, train those who are incompetent; that is the best form of encouragement.

Lau's version: Chi K'ang Tzu asked, 'How can one inculcate in the common people the virtue of reverence, of doing their best and of enthusiasm?' The Master said, 'Rule over them with dignity and they will be reverent; **treat them with kindness** and they will do their best; raise the good and instruct those who are backward and they will be imbued with enthusiasm.'

Compared with Lau's translation of '孝友', the translations from Legge and Waley are more formal because they all chose the translation 'filial'. When they translated '友', Legge used a more general expression 'brotherly duties' while Waley and Lau rendered 'be friendly to brothers'. It tends to be the case that 'being friendly to

brothers' is one of 'brotherly duties', and thus, Legge's translation might be more accurate than that of the others.

Similarly, the translations of '孝慈' from Legge and Waley are more formal than that of Lau's as the first two translators respectively adopted 'filial' and 'piety'. Lau used a more general translation than the others', and this can be seen that he treats the two characters 孝 and 慈 as a whole, according to him, they combine as the one with the more general meaning of 'treat someone with kindness'. Nonetheless, Waley and Legge used the conjunction 'and' in their translation trying to explain the word more accurate from its two characters. In addition, the three translators adopted different objects for the verb '孝慈'. It can be seen that Legge applied '孝慈' to 'all', while Waley used an obscure pronoun 'they', and Lau made it for 'parents' and 'children'. According to the analysis of Confucius' 孝, it is not only applied to 'parents' but also to 'the elders' and people from superior classes. Accordingly, Lau seems to narrow the Confucius' 孝慈, and Legge might have broadened it. Perhaps, Waley's obscure translation is a clever way to avoid twisting the original meaning.

5.4.3 孝者(xiao zhe)

All the three translators chose the formal word “filial” for their translations when they came across the word ‘孝者’. But their translations also make big distinctions as in the following:

子游问孝。子曰：“今之**孝者**，是谓能养，至于犬马，皆能有养，不敬，何以别乎？”

Legge’s version: Tsze-yu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, “**The filial piety** nowadays means the support of one’s parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;-without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?”

Waley’s version: Tzu-yu asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, ‘**Filial sons**’ nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference?

Lau’s version: Tzu-yu asked about being filial. The Master said, ‘Nowadays **for a man to be filial** means no more than that he is able to provide his parents with food. Even hounds and horses are, in some way, provided with food. If a man shows no reverence, where is the difference?’

It can be seen that both Waley and Lau translated ‘孝者’ into someone who is filial, but Legge translated it into the concept ‘filial piety’. According to the Shuo Wen Jie Zi ‘者’ means the general name of something (别事词也). Thus, unlike what it is used in modern Chinese which means some person, in ancient Chinese it more possibly refers to something rather than somebody. It would seem that ‘孝者’ may mean the concept of ‘孝’ itself rather than the man who is filial. This further proves that what

Harbsmeier (1988) thinks of 孝 in the *Analects* is quite right, as I have discussed in the previous chapter. According to the ancient dictionary Shuo Wen Jie Zi and the scholar Harbsmeier, nominal 孝 in the Confucius age only refers to a quality and not to a person. Thus, Translation equivalents ‘good son’, ‘filial son’ or ‘a man to be filial’ are not fully adequate, and in this sense, Legge’s translation ‘filial piety’ is more loyal to the original than the others.

5.5 The summary

As one of earlier translators, with the goal of conveying the original meaning, Legge made his translation academic and classic by adopting a **foreignizing strategy**. Waley adopted a **domesticating strategy**. And with the aim of making the *Analects* simple and clear as well as maintaining its academic value, Lau adopted **foreignizing strategy** as well as **domesticating strategy**. Thus, from the analysis of translation purposes and strategies, it can be seen that, to a certain extent, translator's purpose influences his or her translation strategies. However, through testing the different translations in the Bank of English, it would seem that Lau, to some extent, achieved his goal of making their translations popular, but for Waley his translation was not popular though he employed **domesticating strategy**. Legge seems to achieve his

goal of offering a classic translation, and indeed, to a great extent, the style reflected in his translation is compatible with the original, at least for his translation of the concept 孝.

Admittedly, all the translations provided by the three translators lost some senses of the original 孝 no matter what translation strategies they adopted and what translation purposes they had. Nevertheless, Legge who adhered to the classic style of the original through **foreignizing strategy** maintained more senses of the original 孝 than the other two. Waley and Lau adopted **domesticating strategy** trying to simplify the language, which led to the great loss in the original meaning.

6 Conclusion

6.1 孝 across time and languages

This thesis investigates the meaning of a Chinese traditional concept 孝(xiao) in three different discourses—the discourse of the ancient Confucian age, the modern Chinese discourse, and the modern English discourse--through relevant collocates study and through further concordance analysis. In order to discover some potential factors in the translation process that can influence the travel of 孝(xiao) to another language, this thesis also explores the different translation purposes and strategies adopted by three important translators. These translators who translated the *Analects* represented Confucius' thought.

By analyzing the word 孝(xiao) in two Confucian classics the *Analects* and *Xiao Jing* (*The Classic of Filial Piety*), it can be concluded that in the ancient Confucian age, as an important virtue 孝(xiao) is not only represented as a parent-child relationship but also a relationship in the feudal social hierarchical system. Therefore, in ancient Confucian China when the concept of 孝(xiao) is initially shaped, it means the respect and obedience paid to parents, elder brothers, and the elderly , and especially that sons

should be in awe of their fathers. Moreover, to carry out 孝(xiao), people from lower social class should serve the ones from higher class faithfully and even sacrifice to them if it is required by the ruling class. Besides that, women play a minor part in fulfilment of 孝(xiao). This is because during the ancient time daughters were never required to take responsibility of 孝(xiao) and mothers are not talked at as much as fathers who should be followed by their sons.

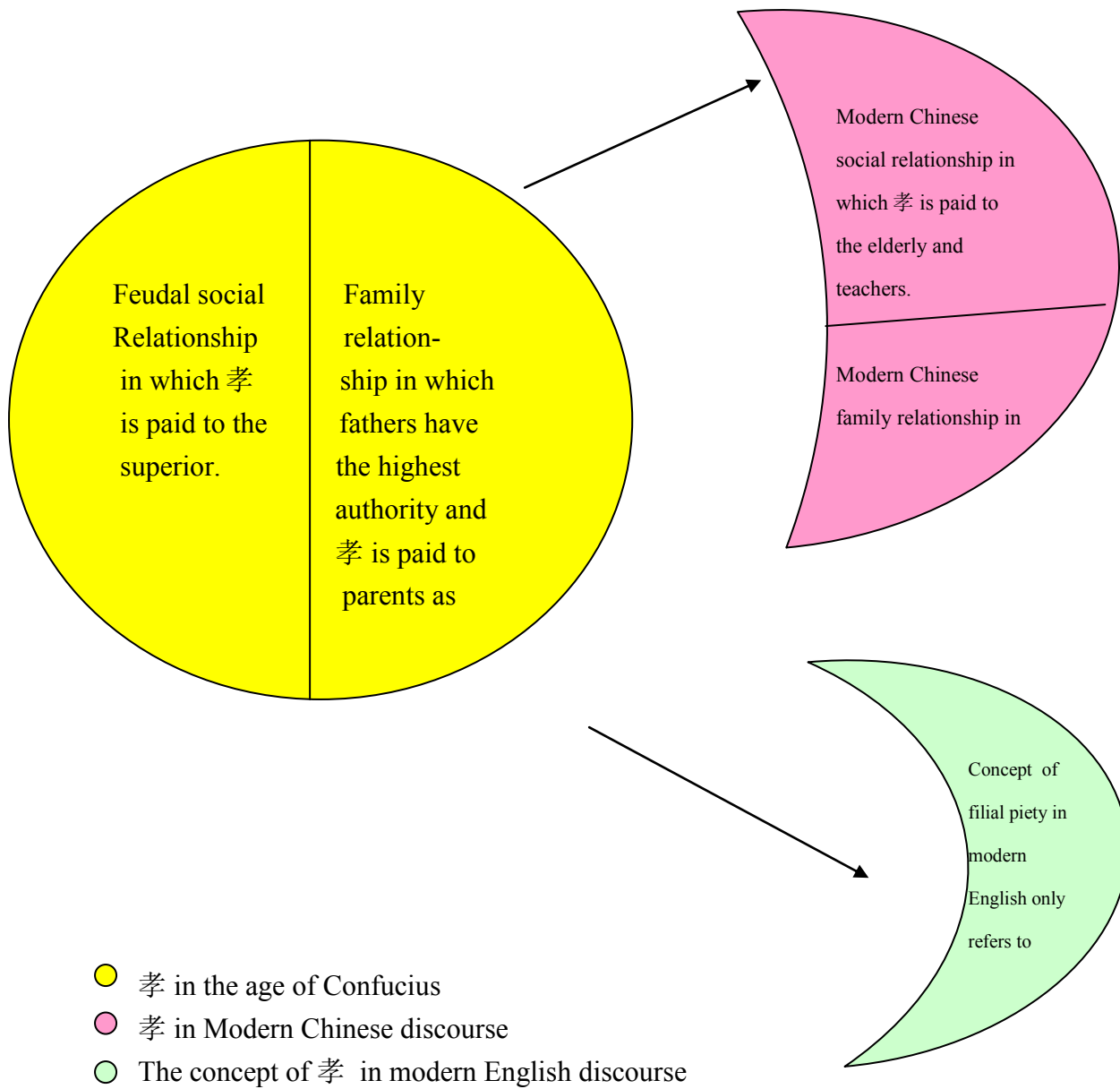
By contrast, the modern Chinese discourse represented by the Chinese Internet Corpus is maintaining the basic sense of ancient 孝(xiao), which is a valuable moral virtue defined as ‘being filial to parents’. But 孝(xiao) in modern China has narrowed its range of meaning, which refers to a moral practice in connection with elders of a family such as parents and grandparents rather than elder brothers who were mentioned a lot in connection with 孝 in the age of Confucius. In addition, considering that mothers are talked about more than fathers as the ones who should be treated with 孝 and that daughters and even daughters-in-law are mentioned as the ones who should take responsibility of 孝, it is obvious that compared with Confucius’ time females play a much more important role in connection with 孝 in modern China.

In the contemporary English discourse, 孝(xiao)'s different translations seen in the *Analects* are extracted as the lexical items which are investigated in the present biggest English corpus the Bank of English. Considering a similar concept originated from Christian belief, another lexical item 'honour parents' is investigated in the BOE to see the difference between this belief and Confucius' filial piety. From the data extracted and analyzed in the BOE, it can be seen that the translation equivalent 'being filial' is the most popular expression for the concept filial piety even though it is a rare and academic word. Both 'being filial' and 'filial piety' in modern English discourse are considered borrowed from the East or Confucianism, and furthermore gender bias can be seen from the collocates of 'filial'. In modern English discourse both 'being filial' and 'filial piety' refer to a parent-child relationship rather than a complex social relationship in Confucian texts. Other equivalents such as 'treatment of parents' and 'good son' also reveal a moral standard in connection with parents, but they do not reflect the Eastern or Confucian culture at all. Furthermore, the similar concept from Christian belief recorded as 'honouring your parents' in the Bible is seen less as a moral duty but a way to glorify God, and there is no gender bias in this concept. Moreover, all the translations of 孝 lose the sense of the Confucius' one which addresses relationship to superiors.

Translators' purposes, to a great extent, influence their translation strategies, which affect their translation effect. Based on the data analysis from the original Chinese ancient texts and the BOE the pros and cons of different translations are seen clearly. It can be seen that with the purpose of passing the original meaning and offering a classic translation, through **foreignizing translation strategy**, Legge offers the most accurate translation of the concept of Confucius' 孝. Though 'filial' or 'filial piety' cannot carry every sense of the original meaning of 孝, it is often contextualized as Confucian in modern English. Waley and Lau who adopt **domesticating strategy** produce the less academic translations which can be understood by TL readers more easily, but their translations, to a great extent, narrow the meaning of Confucian 孝. From their translations such as 'be a good son', 'treatment of parents', 'behave well towards their parents' and so on, TL readers cannot sense gender bias and the complex feudal social relationships which are reflected in Confucian 孝. Moreover, in contemporary English, these lexical items are not used to refer to the Confucian ideology at all.

All in all, if 孝 of the ancient Confucian age is compared to a full moon, 孝 has been shrunk to a half moon in modern China, and in the modern English world it has

become a crescent. The following chart shows the concept of 孝 in three different discourses across time and languages:



6.2 For the future study

Corpora play a central role in this research, through which real language data are drawn to detect the meaning of Confucian 孝 across time and languages in three different discourses. No truth is outside of discourse, and thus this research is based on authentic evidence constructed by a large quantity of data. However, the weakness of the present research can be seen from the corpus compilation and the process of choosing data for analysis.

Due to the limit of time and space, only three out of over twenty translations available in the present market are chosen to be tested in modern English discourse. Admittedly, in this sense the compilation of the parallel corpus is a little subjective even if the author of the thesis tries to select the most popular ones objectively. Furthermore, it would be more reasonable if more ancient Confucian texts are employed as reference texts to explore the meaning of 孝 in Confucian time. But due to the space limit of the dissertation only two Confucian texts which represent the concept of 孝 the most are chosen to be analyzed. In addition, the Chinese Internet Corpus is not big enough to provide full evidence of what 孝 refers to in modern China. Therefore, for future study, a bigger corpus is required to conduct further systematic research of the Confucian concept based on a larger quantity of data.

Further, in the process of collocate selection, the present analysis can not cover all the interesting aspects of the meaning of 孝. Due to the time and space limit, on most occasions only the top 20 collocates of every node word are selected to see. For instance, in the modern Chinese Internet Corpus there are two occurrences of ‘上司’ (the superior) as a collocate of ‘孝敬’, but it is neglected since it falls out of the list of top collocates of ‘孝敬’. Thus, a future wider selection of the collocates will contribute to the complete understanding of the word 孝.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Concordance lines of *Filial* in the BOE

to disentangle the threads of filial submission from those of a bad
a mother. For if he maintained the filial relationship with his mother --
hellip; The union of loyalty and filial piety is truly the special
which are unrelated to them, "filial cannibalism" has been observed in
of Nevada set out to study filial cannibalism in one such fish, the
Hoelzer wanted to discover whether filial cannibalism in damselfish is a
wanted to find out to what extent filial cannibalism helps the future
not alter the overall level of filial cannibalism. If, however, males eat
household. The Confucian practice of filial piety requires adult children,
the utmost respect and not a little filial love for his illustrious fellow
his fists among his papers. "The filial son of one of this city's most
of his father's appointment, as in filial duty he ought to have done. He knit
of his father's appointment, as in filial duty he ought to have done. He knit
accompanied him on the flight: the filial responsibility he was briefly
him for callously neglecting his filial duties, but he would live with
and used the money to sever all filial ties, making his way to Moscow via
will sacrifice his head tomorrow in filial holocaust." <p> Could that be true?
matter lies in acknowledging one's filial origins -- whether from our father
Right now I'm in need of a little filial affection," Max said. "I've had a
it. There is no -- shall we say -- filial Dfeeling. Alex is afraid of her.
oblige among the wealthy evoked filial respect from those socially
family ties, traditions, and filial duties. The family was very
such as the twenty-four examples of filial piety. One of these is the story of
such as the twenty-four examples of filial piety. One of these is the story of
undertaking, and his duty of filial piety in completing the work begun
of the "Twenty-Four Kinds of Filial Piety" # and the astonishing "
suckled on the Ancient Code, pay filial duty to their wet-nurse, except for
his childhood brush with death. His filial feelings turned to resentment and
the Nembutsu in the feeling of filial piety for my parents" <f> Tannisho
to traditional values of loyalty and filial piety. As the adopted son of the
<f> Kaimoku Sho <f> he wrote: "To be filial (<f> ko <f> means to be high (<f>
but not at all higher than being filial. To be filial (<f> ko <f> also

all higher than being filial. To be filial (<f> ko <f> also means to be but is not any deeper than being filial … Disciples of the Buddha intense than Tanaka's. `Loyalty and filial piety are the basis of a truly the purpose of promoting loyalty and filial piety, and for protecting the upon one's failure to perform some filial duties" (Nduka, 1974, p. 157). Or for her docile disposition and filial piety who tenderly nursed her his feet and fall ill and being a filial son he did not wish to cause her close colleague and collaborator. Filial loyalties alone, then, might there is more than an appropriate filial admiration in John Stuart Mill's to shake off the memory of his filial lapses. He began a new life in bridge, Naomi to read. Later, this filial connection waned in favour of need friends, freedom, trust and filial bonds to make life worth living. upon, no confidant to trust and no filial bond to cherish. No one is allowed eye cells. <p> F1 generation (first filial generation # The first generation eye cells. <p> F1 generation (first filial generation # The first generation immediately sending a telegram of filial good wishes to the newly elected back to Yorvik out of some sort of filial duty to her, and spending all those the Confucian ideals of duty and filial obedience and the subordination of society was placed above Confucian filial piety, and Japan developed a feudal useful, objective information, any filial and well thought out advice." <p> that should always govern the filial relation of a bishop to the Supreme been in doubt, but of total and filial devotion to you without gray areas is first of all the idea of filial relationship and secondly the is worked through in terms of their filial bond with no attempt to explain that brought out both her sense of filial duty to her working parents and her observation on the nature of filial love, and A Kind of Alaska an kill the man with whom he had almost filial relationship, the Celtic and mother, doubtless to emphasize his filial devotion. An angry Saddam him. Their devotion is rooted in filial loyalty - and awe. `He says `Jump," of struggle to survive poverty, filial rebellion and the ultimate mother's Here, in an extension of Confucian filial piety, they are revered and to mothers and fathers, although the filial relationship has a whole different Descartes's diagram of the human eye.filial harmony restored, Joan returned to has some gleam of promise. Warmed by filial passion, jettisoning my half-read <p> To steal a line from a superior filial alliance, the Marx Brothers: I've wary of it." But, for all of his filial devotion, the painter has had at problems for Martin, mainly of the filial variety! His father, who laid it problems for Martin, mainly of the filial variety! His father, who laid it with a breathtaking show of filial devotion. That Judas kiss caused me

was not, however, to express his filial affection, but to escape the but as a reproach for failing in her filial obligations. Not only had I Surbiton. Curiously, the pattern of filial disaffiliation is strong among the than before, perhaps spurred by filial competition. As well as the family would be blaming their ancestors." Filial piety is a special virtue in east Warrior in New Zealand, made a filial pilgrimage in Witness Beyond The article which revealed this act of filial devotion did not make clear whether and noisy salutations, and show filial love and devotion. They also seek in her fiction about women's roles, filial guilt, selfishness and obligation. a substantial sub-genre of vengeful filial memoirs. The most famous was as a lonely hedonist in search of a filial substitute and hoping to find it in when he is rocked backwards by the filial image of Perdita, and when he is they are still shackled by either filial duty or male desires. Indeed, men be wrong. I have come out of the filial closet for perfectly good reasons - parent molar teeth giving birth to filial molar teeth and so on down through to write, is both spiritual and filial. Long an aficionado of alternative and apparent coolness about filial suicide, are poor seconds to the the means of satisfying this filial whim and, by 1947, an instant sepiia one of the most touching displays of filial affection I've seen. <pg> 10 </pg> age-old Confucian traditions of filial piety and obedience to a are a `belief in hard work, thrift, filial piety, national pride." These are a `belief in hard work, thrift, filial piety, national pride." These against the union, is a sort of filial offering, but none the worse for lead but steeped in the virtues of filial piety - rings true and allows her and moral government and a stress on filial piety - emerge clearly. Moreover, Huxley's son (and so noted more for filial piety than objectivity). Indeed, Mr founder of the Burmese army. Her filial tribute was slotted early into a was much emphasis on loyalty and filial piety. Pupils recited oaths to Struck by an annual outbreak of filial sentiment, Americans make more long-like to stress his emphasis on `filial piety", scholarship and less-promising category: Stressing filial obligation (that is, putting Review </hl> <subh> An act of filial piety: American heroes: America's are more schooled in about filial piety and the role that plays. I the music, could point to him with filial pride and say, "He's worth more they stood in some kind of quasi-filial relationship. The phenomenon works us, I think, but there is clearly a filial homage in play every time I put on barn door to dry." Here is another filial look at Clark-the-editor: Into the and ponders too on the nature of the filial bond. <p> And, like all Jolley's Bolshoi Theatre complex, including a filial theatre with a second stage. When

Chinese saw the basis of love as filial piety, the cardinal virtue of the the tyranny of hand-me-downs; filial cruelty; the smell, the touch, the that the best course is to abolish filial piety. `Both the Chinese and the stories grew a labour of love and filial devotion # The Silent Men. It is a he addresses such human concerns as filial love and the legacy of guilt and he addresses such human concerns as filial love and the legacy of guilt and a sophisticated look, with a smart filial on the lid. For paperclips, rubber him, and Ryan was now observing his filial duty for his surrogate parent. Now Kinjiro, that late-Edo model of filial piety; but instead of being emotions at such an open display of filial love, says finally `But this isn't has a continuing strong sense of filial responsibility. Grandmothers, more acknowledged that no matter how his filial heart ached, he could not, in the parents ought always to aim, I mean, filial fear, and filial love. Many parents to aim, I mean, filial fear, and filial love. Many parents are dreaded, but attitude of absolute obedience and filial piety toward the state. `The the national Japanese principles of filial duty and discipline; he liked to perhaps, for devotion, outside all filial or conjugal or maternal bonds, to an appearance of cordial, almost filial affection; he had had a good deal might otherwise give rise to filial disobedience and allow the young to Tocqueville wrote, the ties of filial obedience slackened day by day; with passionate engagement than with filial devotion. Through his close, are what other cultures regard as filial bonds, kinship love, family pride, benefiting from a larger household. Filial piety and brotherly love seem Eug 鑑e's mother complained of filial neglect. On the Morisot side, by for she did indeed rebel against filial bonds; in fact, by insisting upon the title also reflects the unique filial consciousness of Jesus (cf. Matt. idols, the oath, the sacred day, and filial piety on the one hand, and the depicts a relationship of warmth and filial love. In a sense the relationship depicts a relationship of warmth and filial love. In a sense the relationship is regulated by God's law, including filial duty Lev. 19:3), religious Father, God requires a response of filial love and obedience from his etiquette and social duty. He taught filial piety, reverence of ancestors, and as to forget that they owed `any filial duties" whatever to them.²⁷ <p> rudeness. Young Oedipus even avows filial responsibility, saying he will not name N. W. Ayer & Son was an act of filial piety as well as an effort to regarding caregiving. Normative filial obligation includes of something near sisterly, in the filial sense, sitting on the edge of my about your dad, drop just a little filial loyalty, as befits a scion and man compelled by justice and filial duty to avenge his father's murder

lost his, and the survivor bound In filial obligation for some term To do
imposes a much heavier burden of filial and familial duty on the daughter.
great aplomb he considers not only filial devotion and (utterly repressed)
although it might seem the height of filial devotion to translate the work of
</h> <p> IT'S A terrifying thing, filial ingratitude, but there's one
Beaumont and Fletcher - with filial incest, murder and retribution. It
our little limo. Mac comes over all filial and decides this is the place to
pious 2.5 Minute Ride is an act of filial piety. Booking: 0171-638 8891 Paul
Kevin, and was looking forward with filial devotion and rivalry to competing
by this exuberant display of filial love, the law charged Flemming
offered her hospitality; in time a filial relationship toward her grew up.
Beaumont and Fletcher - with filial incest, murder and retribution. It
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Kevin, and was looking forward with filial devotion and rivalry to competing
by this exuberant display of filial love, the law charged Flemming
offered her hospitality; in time a filial relationship toward her grew up.
to a neat plot, Oliver's evaporating filial promise and general weakness is
the popular psyche. Serbs like his filial devotion to the Serbian Orthodox
so intrinsically interesting that, filial piety aside, he deserves a
s son, impelled by feelings of filial inadequacy? Is George W. Bush
who treats everything from filial treachery to his own blinding with
in candid detail in his book In Filial Disobedience (1978). <p> After a
don't know how to be." The sense of filial guilt, so intense in Jews, becomes
and accept my expressions of deepest filial love and respect." <p> Father
Versace) are the pressures to fulfil filial duties under constant scrutiny. <p>
and father to attend (with touching filial devotion, he always advises them to
may in part stem from a bit of filial one-upmanship. His father Ray
<p> Now Tarquin doesn't have that filial piety. These are his true
elements of Shepard's work -filial and fraternal enmity, paternal
semblance of the driving ambition, filial duty or adult responsibility with
But Tim Westwood, then 18, knew his filial duty as his father, Bill, underwent
have a great deal to say about their filial relationships. We'll also talk to