

安 徽 大 学

硕 士 学 位 论 文

题 目: 《红楼梦》中指示语的翻译

专 业: 英语语言文学

研究方向: 语言学

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二00四年四月三十日

Translation of Social Deixis in HongLouMeng

-----A Comparative Study of the Versions by YangXianyi and David Hawks

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A Dissertation Submitted to the School of

Foreign Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor

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April 30, 2004

Acknowledgements

Three years' study has come to an end. During this period of time, I have learned a lot from my professors and classmates in the School of Foreign Studies of Anhui University. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to them all.

This dissertation has grown out of what I have learned during these three years under the strict and patient instructions of all my respectable teachers. In the course of my thesis writing, I cannot thank Professor Zhou Fangzhu enough for his meticulous reading and correction of the manuscript and offering many thorough and constructive suggestions throughout the whole writing process. His insights regarding the importance of social conventionality and cultural origin of social deixis have improved a lot the quality of the final version. Without his meticulous

instructions, I could hardly complete my thesis. His profound knowledge and noble character will leave a lasting influence on me.

My special thanks also go to Professors Hong Zengliu, Professor Chen Zhengfa, Professor Zhu Yue, Professor Zhu Xiaomei, Professor Zhang Ming, Professor Tian Debei and Professor Hua Quankun. In addition, I deeply appreciate the contribution made to this dissertation in various ways by my family, friends and colleagues.

ABSTRACT

In the 1930s, deixis, once called “Pragmatics in a narrow sense”, became one of the most fundamental branches of pragmatics and correspondingly, social deixis became an important branch of deixis. Being the indicator of the relationship between the participants in interpersonal communication, it gives prominence to the relative social status of the addresser and addressee and projects different cultures. *HongLouMeng*, a flamboyant flower of Chinese classical literature, in which four hundred and forty eight characters with various images are molded, is compared to the encyclopedia of Chinese feudal society. The system of hierarchy between ruler and ruled, father and son, elder and younger siblings, the system of symmetrical deference for husband and wife, and the system of symmetrical solidarity between friends are strictly followed. Therefore, the role of the social deixis is of great importance in maintaining the forbidding hierarchical order in the feudal official clan.

This paper, firstly, discusses social deixis and the differences of its cultural connotations and analyzes the national cultural factors which lead to the differences; secondly, it makes a statistics on and analysis of the classifications and frequencies of social deixis in *HongLouMeng*; thirdly, the author has carried out a research into the similarities and differences of the translation of social deixis by the two translators through the comparison and analysis for the purpose of working out the implied cultural factors ulteriorly. All the examples quoted and all the data offered in this paper come from *HongLouMeng*.

The author thinks that the Chinese social deixis and English social deixis connote striking different cultures owing to their different historical development processes. Very complicated and trivial are the oriental social deixis, among which the Chinese social deixis is the most typical. It not only contains numerous and intricate kinship terms but also includes the honorifics and self-abasing terms that respect others and debase the speaker himself. On the one hand, it reflects the influence of the feudal patriarchal hierarchy that reigns over China over two thousand years and forms the basic structure of the family clan and the state; On the other hand, it is the embodiment of the influence of traditional Chinese Taoism—the oneness of the heaven and human being and the invaluable harmony. In *HongLouMeng* there are 406 addressing terms including numerous and complicated kinship terms, honorifics and self-abasing terms. Whereas, English deictic system is very simple for it has no self-abasing terms, fewer honorifics and its kinship terms are never used as social deixis. British culture can date back to the ancient Greek and Roman culture. British feudal society lasts for quite a short period and then the capitalism sets in. So the concepts of “freedom”, “equality” and “democracy”, which emphasize ego and advocate personality, are deeply rooted in the heart of the people. Moreover, the western families, mainly the nuclear families, are indifferent to the kin relationships. That is why all the kin relationships are general and obscure except the relationships between father and mother, son and daughter. Thus the writer believes that the differences between English and Chinese social deixis have an intimate relationship with their different history and culture.

Exposed to different cultures, the two translators of *HongLouMeng* are possessed of different cultural ascription senses and different translation goals as well. This difference is particularly reflected in the translation of social deixis. On dealing with the self-abasing terms, both adopt the method of omission to be accord with the readers’ expectation; On honorifics, Yang Xianyi mainly uses the method of foreignization, aiming to introduce Chinese culture to the western country, while David Hawks mainly adopts the method of domestication with the focus on the target readers and omits the honorifics as many as possible; On kinship terms, Yang’s translation is simpler than Hawks’. Yang Xianyi is likely to be familiar with Chinese addressing terms and neglects the western readers’ difficulties in understanding, while Hawks takes the features of the western kinship into consideration and adds some notes to help the readers.

The author believes that the application of the social deixis is the psychological representation of the communicator’s identity, status, culture and character on the communication occasion. Social deixis is not only tinged with the distinct nationality, power and social conventionality but also influenced by cultural origin. Therefore, the translation of social deixis plays a key role in accurate expression of the communicator’s identity and social status as well as the representation of the characters in the original work. Hence, in the translation of social deixis, the cultural context of the target language and source

language must be considered on the one hand and the social convention must be considered on the other hand.

Key Words: social deixis kinship terms honorifics self-abasing terms

摘要

二十世纪三十年代, 指示语成为语用学中最重要的一个分支, 被称为狭义语用学。社交指示语是指示语中最重要的内容。它表明人们日常交际中的宾主关系, 凸显出交际双方的相对地位, 映射出不同的文化。《红楼梦》是中国古典文学中的一朵奇葩, 被誉为中国封建社会的百科全书。《红楼梦》塑造了448位形象各异的人物。他们之间男女有别, 长幼有序, 尊卑亲疏不错规矩。在维系这种等级森严的封建官宦家族秩序中, 社交指示的作用非同小可。

本文首先讨论了英汉社交指示语及其文化含义的异同, 分析了形成这种差异的民族文化因素。然后, 统计分析了《红楼梦》中出现的所有社交称谓及出现频率, 并将杨宪益和David Hawks两个译本进行对比分析, 从两个译者对这些高频出现的社交指示语的处理的异同中, 挖掘出隐藏在其背后的文化因素。本文所引用的例子和所提供的数据完全来自《红楼梦》。

本文认为, 中西社会发展的进程不同, 故而英汉社交指示语也蕴涵着迥异的文化。东方的社交礼仪称谓非常复杂繁琐。其中最具有代表性的是中国的社交礼仪称谓。它不仅有庞杂发达的亲属称谓系统, 还有尊人卑己的敬称和谦称系统。这一方面体现了统治中国两千多年的家国同构的封建宗法制度的影响; 另一方面反映了中国传统的“天人合一”和“以和为贵”思想的影响。《红楼梦》中总计出现了406个不同的称谓, 其中有大量的敬称, 谦称和极为庞杂的亲属称谓。而英语中的社交称谓相当简单, 缺少谦称系统, 敬称词汇极少, 从不使用亲属称谓来作为社交称谓语。不列颠文化发端于古希腊和罗马文化, 英国封建社会延续时间较短, 便进入了资产阶级社会。资产阶级的“自由”、“平等”、“民主”的思想深入人心, 人们强调自我, 张扬个性。而且西方以核心家庭为主, 亲属关系淡漠。只有父子女女之间的关系比较清楚, 其余的关系都非常笼统而含糊。因此, 笔者认为, 中英社交指示的差异与各自的历史文化渊源之别有着致密的关系。

《红楼梦》的两位译者因接受不同文化的洗礼, 文化归属感各不相同, 翻译的目的也不尽相同, 在社交指示语的译法上尤为明显。在谦称的翻译上, 二者均采取了回避的策略以符合译入语读者的习惯。而在敬称的翻译上, 杨译为传播中华文化, 基本上采取异化的策略, 霍译则主要考虑到读者的接受程度而尽量采用归化的方法。在亲属称谓的翻译上, 杨宪益因为极为熟悉中国复杂的亲属关系, 其翻译较为简略; 霍克斯则认为西方读者难以了然其间的复杂关系而在其译文中尽量加注予以阐释说明。

作者认为, 社交指示语的运用是交际者身份、地位、修养和素质在交际场合的心里再现。它不仅具有鲜明的民族性, 权势性和社会规约性, 更受文化渊源的影响。因此, 社交指示语的翻译不仅对交际者身份、地位的准确表达至关重要, 而且对原作人物形象再现和交际信息的准确传递具有重要意义。就这一点而言, 社交指示语的翻译一方面要考虑源语与译语的文化语境, 另一方面要考虑到社交指示语的社会规约性。

关键词: 社交指示语 亲属称谓 敬称 谦称

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Chapter One

Similarities and Differences between Chinese and English Deixis

On Internet, there are many articles about a comparative study on the English and Chinese addressing systems and culture, aiming to discuss the similarities and differences between English and Chinese addressing terms and the culture factors leading to them in generalities. For example, *A Comparative Study on the Close Connection between English & Chinese Addressing Terms and Culture* by Tan Ying in the Journal of Wuhan University of Technology; *The System of Fictive Kin Appellation in Rural Areas and the Family-like Close Relations among Villagers* by Huang Tao in the Journal of Renmin University of China; *On the Cultural Connotation of Chinese Social Deixis* by Ye Lan in the Journal of Southwest University for nationalities; *On Translation of Social Deixis* by Zhou Fangzhu in the Journal of Anhui University etc.. The articles have made a clear analysis of social deixis from different angles, expounded the relationship between the culture and social deixis but without connecting social deixis to a concrete book.

Of course, there are also some papers aiming at the discussion about the relationship between English and Chinese social deixis in a concrete book *HongLouMeng*. Three papers on Internet and one in the journal of Researches in HongLouMeng have been found. They are: *The Pragmatic Principles and Functions of Kinship Terms in A Dream of Red Mansions* by Ma Yin in the Journal of Huainan Teachers College; *On the Translation of Appellations in A Dream of Red Mansions from the Perspective of Culture* by Pan Fuyan in the Journal of Weifang University; *On Translation of Addressing Terms in A Dream of Red Mansions* by Pan Mingxia in the Journal of Shandong Foreign Language Teaching; and *Kinship Terms in HongLouMeng* by Sun Wei in the Journal of Researches in HongLouMeng. The first three papers mainly discuss the methods, the conditions and pragmatic function and principle in translating addressing terms with no detailed analysis of the inner reason—the culture which leads to the differences. The last paper makes a systematic analysis of all the kinship terms in *HongLouMeng*, in which Sun Wei indicates that the kinship system is a pragmatic and dynamic system that includes kinship words and non-kinship words. Kinship words harmonize and consolidate kinship and patriarchal

clan system and non-kinship words, they are all the same with the four principles of patriarchal clan system, hierarchy, etiquette and emotion. However another two addressing term systems—the honorifics and self-abasing addressing systems are not yet mentioned by any of the above papers. So this paper aims at a thorough discussion on the three systems of addressing terms in the following chapters.

1.1 Introduction

Linguists have noticed deixis problem for a long time. Earlier in the Greek time, there were researches devoted to the study of deixis, but at that time, it was categorized into grammatical kind. Not until 30s of 20th century, with the development of pragmatics, deixis began to become one of its branches and later turned out to be the basic issue of pragmatics. Most deictic terms belong to core words of a language and experience few changes. Among the deixis, social deixis occupies a very important position because it indicates, no doubt, the relationship between the participants in interpersonal communication, gives prominence to the relative social status of the addresser and addressee and projects different cultures. Namely, it can reflect a) the participant's social appearance; b) the relative social status between addresser and addressee; c) the relative social status between the addresser and the third party mentioned in the conversation. In a word, social deixis concerns "that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs". (Fillmore, 1975:76)

Besides, deixis has a close relationship with the emerging science of culture which pays special attention to the core of social deixis—kinship terms that reflect the implied cultural connotation profoundly. The research on kinship terms shows that there are great differences existing between different cultures, especially between western culture and Chinese culture. So making a research into social deixis can further deepen our understanding of the science of culture and make some supplements to it.

It's well known that translation is not only the rendering of one language into another language but also embodies the clash and the blending of the two cultures. And social deixis is the centralized representation of a culture for it is shaped during the long development process of a language. So the context, the participants' identities and cultural factors reflected must be taken into careful consideration and the version should be as faithful as possible. It's particularly true to a concrete book *HongLouMeng*.

HongLouMeng, a flamboyant flower of Chinese classical literature, in which 448 characters with various images are molded, is compared to the encyclopedia of Chinese feudal society. In view of its profound cultural connotation, the translation versions by YangXianyi and David Hawks offer quite good models for research. And a lot of social deixis, some of which is only peculiar to Chinese language and marked with distinct national features, is used in this classical masterpiece. This paper aims at a thorough study of the different translations of social deixis in the two versions for the purpose of working out the cultural difference between English and Chinese cultures in social deixis.

It's said that Chinese traditional culture began in the Ying Dynasty, was promoted by Confucius in the Spring and Autumn Period, and reached its peak in the Ming Dynasty. So in the period of the Qing Dynasty, Chinese culture became very mature and had a great influence over the people. Cao Xueqing, the author of *HongLouMeng*, was saturated with this culture and reflected it indecisively and vividly in his works. The core of Chinese traditional culture is the Confucianism which emphasizes filial obedience—"when parents are alive, sons shouldn't travel far away."—and produces a lot of extended families in China. Chia's family in *HongLouMeng* is a typical extended family with four generations and 448 people living in it. As a result, the system of addressing terms is the most important factor to maintain the harmony and the relative status between family members. Kinship terms, honorifics and self-abasing terms applied in *HongLouMeng* indicate that China is a country of etiquette. The social status of the worshipped and the humble is strictly fixed. When the participants address the superiors or the addressee on equal foot, they apply honorifics to show respect on the one hand and make use of the self-abasing terms to depreciate their own position on the other hand.

On the contrary, western culture emphasizes so-called "democracy", "equality" and "freedom". Individualism is the focus and thus leads to completely different western social deixis. Kinship terms and honorifics are scarce and simple while self-abasing terms are totally absent from English. This culture directly affects two translators who are respectively soaked in western and Chinese cultures. As a result, a comparative study of their translations can make us fully aware of the cultural differences and help to promote the development of the deixis research in this respect.

1.1.1 Chinese kinship terms used as social deixis

In China, the most important factor that influences communication is interpersonal relationship, which is underpinned by Confucianism, especially Ren(仁) and Li(礼) that are the very core of Confucianism and the collective unconsciousness for the Chinese to program their social behavior.

Ren(仁), etymologically a combination of the Chinese ideographic characters for “人” (human being) and for “二” (two), means the ideal manhood on the one hand and the ideal reciprocal relationship pertaining to people on the other hand. Men should be warm and benevolent to others or love others and respect them. That is, Ren advocates reciprocity--the reciprocity of love or benevolence that is based on the kinship relationships in the patriarchal Chinese society or rather a symbol of patriarch. Kinship refers to the relationship between family members, so family is the foundation of the society.

As for Li, it specifies Five Constant Relationships that constitute the warp and woof of social life, which includes the relationship between ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, elder sibling and junior sibling, elder friend and junior friend. The relationship is asymmetrical. Rulers should be benevolent, subjects loyal; parents be loving, children reverential; elder siblings gentle, younger siblings respectful; husbands good, wives obedient. Three of these five relationships are related to the family while the other two are the extensions of family relationships, which are also indicative of the importance of family institution. Since both Ren and Li emphasize family as the basic unit of the society, thus, kinship terms are normally used as addressing terms in Chinese and play a vital part in communication.

Besides, the basic value of Chinese people—the golden mean makes the family the focus among three personal relationship layers — Collective, family and individual. Hence the start-up of all traditional customs and the foundation of social organization is the family, in which individuals are only members.

Since family is the most important part of society, it's natural that kinship terms used between family members are widely adopted as social deixis in Chinese ancient masterpieces. (Among them, *HongLouMeng* is the most typical one that will be discussed in detail later.) Most of the kinship terms refer to the true kin, but sometimes the relationships between them are nothing but assumptions that turn out to be a traditional Chinese way of addressing. On the one hand, this way of addressing embodies Chinese cultural connotation quite well; on the other hand, it can shorten the social distance and make communicators feel respected, thus a harmonious atmosphere is created and an ideal communicative effect is achieved. From this perspective, kinship terms and social deixis are sometimes overlapped. Some of them can be used directly as assumed kinship terms with a meaning of respect. For example, WangXifeng in *HongLouMeng* is called “奶奶” by all the maids to show their respect without the meaning of “grandma”, the young ladies in Chia's Mansion are called “姑娘” which doesn't refer to “Aunt”.

1.1.2 English kinship terms and social deixis

Unlike Chinese culture, Ren and Li find no place in the Western philosophy and religion. What is highly valued in the West is individualism and, as a result, equal or horizontal relationship is highly valued. What is advocated are not the obligations and responsibilities ascribed to each member of the society according to his or her social position but humanitarianism and human rights and thus the slogan: everybody is born equal. Democracy and liberation of the individual is everybody's wish. Individuals are independent of their family and believe their own power. Since family is not the basic unit of the society, kinship terms are only the indicator of the relationships between family members and never used as addressing terms among the people without blood ties. First name is in wide use between strangers and people of asymmetrical age and status. The westerners think the use of first name is friendlier, simplifying the interaction since last names are often quite difficult to understand or remember, and providing the employee with anonymity. Thus, with no manifestation of the difference in status, both participants to the interaction are put on an equal footing. So the relationship between kinship terms and social deixis is parallel. One cannot take the place of the other.

1.2 Honorifics and their cultural connotation

Honorifics refer to addressing terms used by the addresser showing respect for the addressee or the persons around him with the connotation of respecting and politeness. But due to the strict hierarchy and centralized power in China and the resistance to ego foreground, they try to elicit cooperation and conciliation, to advocate responsibility in communication and decision, and to nurture harmonious bonds between persons. While in western country, what the westerners emphasize are the equality and independence. They advocate the ego's personality, focus on the individual's interest and ignore interpersonal relationships. All these lead to the great difference between Chinese and English honorifics that will be discussed in the following chapters in detail.

1.2.1 Chinese honorifics and their cultural connotation

China is a country reined under feudalism for a long time with the hierarchical structure and centralized power as the basic structure of the society. As a result, a complicated system of honorifics has been formed and had a deep influence over Chinese people for ages. So far, some of them have disappeared, but most of them are still active and popularly used by people. Here they are roughly classified into seven kinds as follows:

The first kind is the pronoun honorifics. In Chinese there is a typical pronoun “您”, along with its plural form “您二位” or “您三位”. Besides these three words, some other forms are still in use such as: “诸位、各位、列位” which can express speaker’s respect. Apart from the connotation of respect, these terms also have the connotation of solemnness, politeness and alienation.

The second kind is the universal honorifics which include “先生、同志、师傅、小姐、女士、夫人” etc.. These terms can be applied in addressing those persons who come from different walks at different ages with different education backgrounds. They have the characteristic of general reference. For example, “先生” is a very old honorific with the literal meaning of “be born first”. In Chinese culture, the person who is born first is the elder and should be respected by those younger siblings. Thus this word is regarded as an honorific from the State War Period and can be applied to address one’s father, elder brother, instructor and elder scholars. Another one is “师傅”, which originates from the appellation of the apprentices to their masters who are expert in a special field. And then it gradually becomes the most popular honorific still in use today.

The Chinese honorific “小姐” has experienced great changes. It first appeared in the Song Dynasty and meant the youngest girl among her sisters. But in the Yuan dynasty, it began to refer to those girls in the wealthy family with the honorific meaning indicating girls with noble origin. After the May Fourth Movement, this word was a universal honorific indicating all the ordinary girls. During the Cultural Revolution, “小姐” acquired the connotation of “fragility” and “bourgeoisie”. “小姐” was an honorific indicating those young ladies who were white collars at the beginning of 1980s during which China was performing the reform and open policy. However, with the development of the reform, “小姐” gradually becomes a derogatory term and is now widely in use referring to the prostitutes.

“夫人” is another important universal honorific in Chinese. In ancient times, it mainly referred to those noble married women. “天子之妃曰后, 诸侯曰夫人, 大夫曰孺人, 士曰妇人, 庶人曰妻”. 《礼记.曲礼下》 Namely, only the duke’s wife has the right to be called lady. “夫人” still in use today indicates the wife of the man who has high social status or refers to the wives of the two participants when they mentioned their wives in the conversation.

The third kind is kinship honorifics that are the terms mainly used by the addresser to refer to the third party, usually the relatives of the addressee, when he has a conversation with the addressee. The three morphemes “尊、贤、令” are frequently used with relative addressing terms to show the addresser’s respect for the addressee. Such as: “尊翁、尊夫人、尊堂、尊嫂、尊兄、贤郎、贤女、贤伉俪、贤内助、令尊、令慈、令郎、令媛、令姐、令妹” and so on; here “尊、贤、令” mean “honorable, virtuous and nice”. They are usually applied under different situations as follows: “尊” appears when the addressee’s relatives who have higher status in their family hierarchy or those who are on a equal level with the addressee are mentioned; “贤” mainly indicates the addressee’s relatives who are in lower position or younger than him and those who have the equal status with him; and only “令” is in wide use without limit of age and position in the family hierarchy.

The fourth kind is assumed kinship honorifics which are used to address those who have no blood ties with the addresser. “爷爷” in the phrase “巴金爷爷” and “大姐” in the phrase “冰心大姐” all belong to this kind. There are many similar words existing in Chinese social deixis. Such as “大爷、大姐、大叔、姓+兄、姓+姨、大婶、老爷爷、老大娘、老兄” etc. Frequent use of kinship terms in addressing others without blood ties implies that the blood is the most important tie in Chinese culture. People get into a habit of shifting the emotions among the family members to their communicators and hope that such shift can shorten their distance and nurture harmonious bonds with them.

The fifth kind of honorifics in Chinese is to address someone from her child’s capacity (从儿性称谓). This phenomenon, usually used by the addresser to debase herself and to show her respect for the addressee by projecting herself into a deictic context centered on the third party, can be called a polite deictic shift and typically exists in Chinese. She keeps herself at the position paralleling to her children and adopt their appellations. For example,

(李纨)因叉回头向宝玉道:“宝叔叔明儿别这么夸他,他多大孩子,知道什么.你不过是爱惜他的意思,他那里懂得,一来二去,眼大心肥,那里还能够有长进呢.”(第八十八回)

the phenomenon that LiWan addresses her brother-in-law “宝叔叔” from her son’s capacity to show her respect for her brother-in-law, is mainly adopted by those daughters-in-law to address her husband’s relatives in Chinese culture. Clearly the feudal ritual—Three Cardinals Guides and Five Constant Relationships—leaves a deep impact on the women’s position in the feudal society. With the lowest social status in the family, they enjoy no identity and must show deference to their husband and son.

And the sixth kind of honorifics is the official addressing terms. This kind of addressing terms uses official titles to address the people who have official titles. They are “主任、主席、总经理、董事长、老公祖、老宪台、大人” and so on. Among them two morphemes are widely used; one is “姓+长”; the other is “…官”. Such as: 部长、厅长、处长、校长、排长、厂长、看官、客官etc..

The cultural connotation involved in these terms is official-oriented awareness, which puts those officials in the highest esteem. The origin can date back to the early period of the feudalism. The instant the feudalism is established, the numerous officials at different levels are appointed. The hierarchy is clearly marked and the officials in higher rank dominate those in low rank. The official titles stand for the different ranks between the senior and junior, the powerful and the powerless. Later, people begin to make use of the official titles to satisfy the officials’ vanity and gradually this way of addressing is generalized and widely used among the common people. Up till now, class difference has been wiped out, but the official-oriented awareness and the hierarchical concepts have been stereotyped and still frequently used.

Age honorifics, another typical kind of honorifics only existing in China, are the seventh kind. The very intense competition in the western country has made the age a heavy burden and taboo to western people. People refuse to admit their old age. But age is “treasured” in ancient China. An old man has a high position in the social hierarchy and he is regarded as the authority and respected by those younger people. If you show no reverence for the elders, you will be regarded as lacking in education or disobedience. Typical examples of this kind include many terms consisting of “老” with other characters. For example: 老师、老板、老手、姓+老、您老、老人家、老人、老丈、老先生、老前辈etc.. And the connotation of this kind is the reverence for the authority and the experience.

The eighth and the last kind are diplomatic honorifics which are mainly used to address those people in political circle. Proper addressing terms must be found to address the diplomats when they are contacted with and these terms must follow Chinese traditional culture—uplifting the addressee’s status and debasing the addresser’s on the one hand, and conform to the international standard on the other hand. The following are some examples with the connotation of sobriety and politeness: “皇帝、天皇、女王、王后、太子、公主、亲王、大臣、首相、陛下、殿下、阁下、公爵、先生、夫人、小姐、女士……。”

In brief, rather complex and numerous Chinese honorifics work together and help to promote harmonious bonds between the Chinese people. Among them, the kinship honorifics and assumed kinship honorifics possess the most distinctive Chinese national features. That is because Chinese forbidding social hierarchy is founded on the basis of patriarchal clan system with the families of the same surname. In other words, the whole country can be seen as a big family. The concept that the state is the extension of the family leads to the wide use of kinship honorifics and assumed kinship honorifics in the interpersonal relationships. Besides the kinship honorifics and assumed kinship honorifics, the unique polite deictic shift and age honorifics are also provided with distinct features of the Han nationality.

1.2.2 English honorifics and their cultural connotation

Compared to the complicated Chinese honorifics, English honorifics are quite fewer and simpler because British culture mainly derives from the Greek and Roman culture. These two cultures boast a long history with the emphasis of individualism. They believe they, depending on their own power, can change the world around themselves and people are born equal. Thus there is no need to stress too much on the relationship between people, which directly leads to the simplicity of the addressing terms. Some honorifics in English are the inheritance of the serfdom—characterized feudalism culture in Europe. The words just like Mr., Mrs., Miss and Monsieur all come from speaker’s addressing terms to their masters and mistresses. Such terms as King, Queen, Prince, Princess, Royal Duke and Royal Duchess come from their constitutional monarchy because they are the people who possess the absolute power and are respected by people of the whole country. And then some other addressing terms such as: Duke, Duchess, Marques, Marchioness, Earl, Countess, Viscount, Viscountess, Baron, and Baroness, referring to those feudal lords with different ranks, are applied to address the masters by the servants to show their respect and later are generalized and widely adopted by all the western

members. But in face-to-face communication, another set of honorifics is wielded. Your/His/Her Majesty are used to address King or Queen directly or indirectly; Your/His/Her highness to address Prince, Princess, Royal Duke and royal Duchess directly or indirectly; Your/His/Her Excellency to President, Minister, Governor, Bishop and Ambassador; Your/His/Her Grace to Duke and Duchess; Your/His/Her Honor to the Judge and the Mayor; lord + surname used by Marques, Earl, Viscount, and Baron to the people who are on level with themselves; Lord + first name by Duke, Marques, and Earl to the son of the people who are equal or superior to themselves; Lord + post to the Bishop, Mayor, Judges of Supreme Court and Advocate; My Lord and Your/His Lordship can refer to Marques, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Bishop, Mayor, Chief Justice and Advocate; Sir + first name/full name to Baronet and Knight; Lady + surname used by Marques, Earl, Viscount, and Baron to the wife of the person on equal rank, or to the Baronet's and Knight's wife by those inferiors; Lady + first name to the daughter of Duke, Marquis and Earl; My Lady or Your/Her Ladyship to the wife of Marques, Earl, Viscount and Baron by the servants. Beside these honorifics, sir can be used among the commons; Doctor and Professor can be used to refer to scholars.

From the addressing terms listed above, it's apparent to see that western honorifics only have two major kinds. One belongs to the universal honorifics, such as Sir, Doctor and Professor; the other belongs to official honorifics. Unlike the clan-dominated society in old China, the western society is a law-governed one that focuses on the "democracy", "equality" and "humanity". The core of addressing system, which emphasizes "equality" between people, decides that the basic connotation of the English honorifics is the "democracy" and "equality".

1.3 Chinese self-abasing terms and their cultural connotation

Self-abasing terms, indicating the addresser's reverence for the addressee by self-depreciation, are typical in China. Western people who advocate the concept of individualism never think themselves humbler than others and this directly results in the total absence of self-abasing terms in their vocabulary. Having considered self-effacement and courtliness as virtues for ages, Chinese people are likely to use self-abasing terms to avoid protruding ego and to prevent others from regarding them as self-worthiness, self-glorification and self-assurance.

Chinese self-abasing terms, very complicated and well-developed, can be classified into five types as follows:

First, the speaker shows self-depreciation by using his name to take the place of "I" in the conversation.

The second, the speaker shows self-depreciation by regarding himself as the other's servants, such as the following terms: "臣、臣下、窃、走、牛马走、在下、下官、奴才" etc..

The third type are words like "孤、寡人、不才、不肖、愚、鄙人、敝人" etc, showing the speaker's self-depreciation by denying his praise-worthy virtue..

"学生、晚生、眷生" etc. are the fourth type to show the speaker's self-depreciation by lower himself to the position of the hearer's junior.

The last way the speaker shows self-depreciation is using self-abasing terms with kinship terms together to refer to his relatives. The most frequently used morphemes are "家、舍、小、愚、拙、鄙、敝、卑、贱、犬". A series of self-abasing terms are composed of the above-listed morphemes, such as: "家" in "家父、家母、家兄、家嫂……"; "舍" in "舍弟、舍妹、舍侄……"; "小" in "小人、小的、小弟、小女、小婿、小侄……"; "愚" in "愚兄、愚姊、愚夫、愚妻……"; "拙" in "拙夫、拙荆……"; "卑" in "卑职、卑官……"; "贱" in "贱人、贱民、贱妾……"; "犬" in "犬子".

Showing respect for others is the opposite side of debasing oneself in emotion and attitude. They are two sides of one thing and will never be separated. When the speaker depreciates himself with "self-abasing" terms, the hearer and people related to him are elevated. They are alternatives of each other.

Chapter Two Social Deixis in *HongLouMeng*

The addressing terms are the terms used to show the relationships between people or to distinguish their identity, social status and career. 《XinHua Chinese Dictionary》 (1981) "the appellation applied in the feudal society can distinguish the elder from the younger, the worshipped from the humble, the intimate from the distant and the trueborn from the baseborn. It can make all the ties among all the people with blood links clear-cut and systematic. It's a necessary means to maintain the feudal patriarchal clan system and

the hierarchical system.” (李峻愕, 1991) *HongLouMeng* is a bright and dazzling pearl of Chinese classical literature and a social genre painting about the doomsday of feudalism. This long and grand novel gives a vivid narration of an old feudal noble family—Chia’s Mansion, which is composed of more than 448 people including masters and servants altogether. Although the rules are miscellaneous, the rich and colorful social deixis really plays a very important role in maintaining the coherence of the text and the harmonious bonds between the members of Chias. Then how many kinds of social deixis does Mr. Cao apply? And how often does he use them in his works? This paper aims to make a detailed analysis of the deixis based on the data from *HonLouMeng*.

2.1 Classification of social deixis in HongLouMeng

In the reign of feudal patriarchal clan system, hierarchy is clearly marked in the whole society and with no exception for family members. The appellations adopted in the families, esp. in those noble families, are the very concrete embodiment of the hierarchical system and strictly follow the rule of “appropriateness”. The so-called “appropriateness” means that the addresser must strictly follow such regulations as: the hierarchical boundary should be clear-cut between the honorable and the humble; the gradation difference between the elder and the younger; the proper addressing terms between the rich, the poverty, the high and the low (“贵贱有等、长幼有差、贫富轻重皆有称”《荀子·富国》). Complying with the rules scrupulously, the kinship terms in *HonLouMeng* are no longer adopted to reflect the relationships between people linked by birth but to indicate the gradation of the age, the gender and social hierarchy. (Xu Jin-qian, 1993)

There are altogether 406 addressing terms used in *HonLouMeng*, among which the most important kind is honorifics. But here one point, which needs attention is that the family members rarely make use of kinship terms to address each other in real sense on most occasions. For example, when Chia Pao-yu has a talk with his sister Tan-chun, both of them address their father Chia Cheng “老爷” instead of “父亲”. The Lady Dowager and Lady Wang also frequently use this addressing term to address Chia Cheng. The reason he is called so is just because his status in Jung Mansion. For the same reason, Chia Cheng and his wife Lady Wang do not call their mother the Lady Dowager “母亲” but “老太太” instead. And almost all of the grandsons and granddaughters apply the same appellation as well. This appellation sometimes can be replaced by the Old Ancestress (老祖宗) but almost never be replaced by “奶奶” or “外奶奶” (grandmother). Without exception, Lady Wang is called “太太”. All these terms “老爷”、“老太太”、“太太” show that they are mainly used to reflect the addressee’s social status. Kin are in a subordinate position.

Apart from using honorifics among family members to call their kin, the honorifics are widely used in the other social communicative occasions as well including the terms used by the servants to their masters of the two mansions and to related people who possess a higher social status. When Granny Liu pays her visit to the Jung Mansion, she successively calls Mrs. Chou and Wang Hsi-feng “您老” and gives them a puffery and flattering. The reason is that Granny Liu is very sophisticated and has recourse to them. So the age factor gives its way to the social status factor. Another example is about Chia Cheng’s led capitain (清客). They respectfully call Chia Cheng “政老” or “老世翁”, Pao-yu “世兄” because of the led capitains’ greasy and their clinging social status without considering the age factor. In the first two chapters, a lot of honorifics are used such as: the stone addresses the monk and the Taoist priest “大师”, ChiaYu-cun calls Hsi-ying “老先生”, Hsi-ying calls Yu-tsun “兄”. All of them strictly follow the rule of uplifting others and debasing the addresser himself.

The second important kind is kinship terms which can be further classified into 71 kinds in *HonLouMeng*. Among them, the near and the distant relatives are clearly distinguished; the male and the female are obviously separated. For example, when Wang Xi-feng sees Lin Dai-yu for the first time, she says Lin Dai-yu was mostly like the Lady Dowager’s “嫡亲的孙女儿” instead of “外孙女儿”. In the third chapter, LinTai-yu parts with her father and goes to the Jung Mansion and encounters almost all of the important relatives. So kinship terms appear in this chapter with the highest frequency. “内兄 (brother-in-law)” appears four times, “外祖母 (her grandmother)” seven times, “妹丈 (his brother-in-law)” two times, “妹妹 (little cousin)” nine times. other kinship terms include 大哥, 嫂子, 舅母, 舅舅, 外孙女, 外甥女, 嫡亲的孙女, 姑妈, 姐姐, 舅表兄, 姨表兄, 娘, 姨母. With these kinship terms, the author successfully makes up a relative nets around Lin Tai-yu and clearly sketches the complicated relationships between all the members in Jung Mansion.

Moreover, kinship terms are used to address the wives of servants. They are called “××家的” or “××媳妇”. (Most of them are the maids who stay in service with their ladies after they married). This phenomenon typically reflects the low social status of the women in the feudal China. They, having no self-identity, are regarded as the appendant to men. They subordinate themselves to their fathers before marriage, to their husbands after marriage and to their sons after the death of their husbands.

The assumed kinship terms, turning out to be the most important terms that are used between people without

blood ties, are concretely embodied in the relationships between servants and their masters. The servants in Jung Mansion can be divided into different ranks. Some of them, such as “周瑞家的、旺儿媳妇、林之孝家的”, the housekeepers, own a rather higher position which is only inferior to their masters. But when they address Pao-yu, they have to call him “二爷” while Pao-yu call them “周姐” or “周嫂”, “林姐” or “林嫂” etc. with no consideration of age. Ping-erh is a maid with a high rank, but when she says to the wife of Chou Rui, she has to call her “周大娘”. “爷, 姐, 嫂and大娘” do not stand for kin relationships but are the polite terms to show politeness, respect and the hierarchical status as well. There are also some terms indicating others from her child’ s capacity, such as LiWan calls Pao-yu “宝叔叔” .

The third kind is the self-abasing terms that are mainly used between non-relatives to show politeness or respect. The stone calls himself “弟子” when he talks to the two monks. Chia Yu-tsun uses “晚生” before Zhen Shi-ying and Shi-ying calls himself “愚”. Second Sister Yu addresses herself “奴家” when she says to Wang Xi-feng while Xi-feng calls herself “奴”; servants use “奴才” or “小的” when they address their masters. The use of these self-abasing terms creates the harmonious bonds and the whole society seems to be on solidarity. All kinds of addressing terms can be clearly seen in the following chart. (see the chart on page 15).

In brief, in the hierarchical society, the primary factor that decides the use of the addressing terms is the gradation of the honorable and the humble. Chinese society is a society deeply influenced by patriarchal clan system and Three Cardinals Guides and Five Constant Relationships, so appellations focus a lot on these hierarchical interpersonal relationships. Kinds of social deixis applied in the works are the very miniature of the hierarchical relationships.

Classification	Examples	2.2 Frequencies of their appearance
Honorifics	令舅 尊嫂 你老您老人家 老太太 太太 etc	In <i>HongLouMeng</i> , there are 406 addressing terms, Among which 271 terms are kinship terms (including all the terms belonging to this category listed in the above chart); 94 of them are honorifics and 41 of them are self-abasing terms. 11 addressing terms : “老爷, 姨妈, 姐姐, 太太, 丫头, 奶奶, 老太太, 姑娘, 夫人, 贾母, 凤姐” appear with the high frequency of more than 400 times . Appellation “凤姐”, which is used most frequently, appears 1505 times in 120 chapters. The average appearance is more than 12 times in each chapter. Then the appellations “贾母” and “夫人” present themselves with the second highest frequency. Their total appearances are 1438 and 991 times respectively. The data clearly show that “贾母”
Indicating kin	祖父 母舅 妹妹 灰孙子 女婿 岳丈 妹丈 etc	
Assumed Kinship terms	林姐 周嫂子 刘姥姥 李婶 周大娘 璜嫂子 etc	
Honorifics		
From child’ s capacity	宝叔叔 (李纨称宝玉) 婶子 (尤氏称凤姐) etc	
Self-abasing terms		

is possessed of the absolute power in Chia Mansion and her willing must be implemented. No matter who s/he is, no matter what s/he does, s/he must take “贾母”’ s interest into consideration and respect her. “凤姐” and “夫人” , the real executors of “贾母”’ s orders, play a very important role in vindicating the feudal system. Besides three addressing terms discussed above, most of the others are honorifics. “老太太” is the respectful way to address the Lady Dowager indicating her highest position; “太太” and “老爷” reveal the high social status Lady Wang and Chia Cheng have in the family. “奶奶” mainly refers to Wang Hsi-feng—the youngest and the most efficient daughter-in-law in Chia’ s Mansion. “姐姐” and “姑娘” appear with so high frequency just because they are used to address those young girls—the heroines of the novel. The efficient way to smooth the relationships and create a harmonious atmosphere among so many girls (including young ladies and their maids) living in one family is to adopt the honorifics to show respect for each other.

The high frequency of these appellations reflects a typical social role relationship—higher to lower or lower to higher in Chia’ s Mansion. There is no democracy although they enjoy most closeness of relationship of the family. The relationships between the masters and servants, the seniors and the juniors must never be confused. By addressing the seniors and masters with different honorifics, their social status can be clearly

presented. The hierarchy of Chia's family is just like a pyramid, "贾母" is on the top, she is the Old Ancestress and respected by all her descendants and servants no matter their social status is low or high. Whatever they do, they must cater to her tastes. In the second rank are Lady Wang and Chia Cheng. They enjoy a high position that is just lower than the Lady Dowager in the family because they are the main decision-makers and their decisions directly affect the fate of those young girls. Under them is Wang Hsi-feng who is eloquent and expert at flattering the Lady Dowager. So the Old Ancestress favors her and even makes her power exceed all the others, she is the neural character of the family with great power. Under Wang His-feng are those young girls who have been portrayed scrupulously. Although they enjoy a luxurious life, their fate is controlled in the hands of the feudal patriarch with no democracy. At the bottom of the pyramid are the servants though there are still different ranks among them. No matter how great the contribution they made to the family, they are still servants. They cannot bypass the immediate leadership and should treat their masters deferentially. The high frequent appearances of these appellations show the distinct hierarchy and the systematic order in the feudal extended family.

Besides the addressing terms with high frequency discussed above, there are still many kinship terms with a fairly low frequency. But they are helpful to the members of the same family or clan to understand fully their own status in the family tree and their responsibility for the family.

Chapter 3 A Comparative Study of Their Translation

The use of appellations must comply with the rule of appropriateness that has a close connection with context. The context includes: first, the addressing terms can be used under what circumstances; second, what's the addresser and addressee's social identity. Similarly, the translation of social deixis must be faithful to the object, the occasion and the cultural background, because it is not only the communication between two languages but also the communication between two cultures. And the addressing terms in *HongLouMeng* are in possession of rich cultural tints. How to translate them into English accurately? On the one hand, their original cultural connotation must be kept; on the other hand, they must be in agreement with the customs of the target language. The following chapter contributes the comparison between the two authoritative versions by Mr. Yang and Mr. Hawks for the purpose of finding the cultural factors leading to the different translations of social deixis.

3.1 Difference in kinship terms and the cultural factors leading to it

This chapter aims to compare and analyze the differences between the translations of kinship terms by Yang Xianyi and David Hawks, and discuss the cultural factors behind the differences.

3.1.1 Kinship terms as the indicator of kinship

Kinship terms are very useful in the feudal extended family in maintaining the harmonious relationships between family members. Some examples:

弟已预为筹划至此，已修下荐书一封，转托内兄务为周全协佐……，弟于内兄信中已注明白。（第三回）

Version A: I foresaw this possibility and have written a letter to my brother-in-law urging him to do all he can for you as a small return for what I owe you... I've made that point clear to my brother-in-law.
(Yang's Translation)

Version B: As a matter of fact, I have already made a few arrangements. I have written this letter here entrusting my indebtedness to you and urging him to see it properly settled. I have also made it quite clear in my letter that any expenses which maybe involved are to be taken care of;... (Hawks' translation)

彼时贾政已看了妹丈之书，即忙请入相会。（第三回）

Version A: Chia Cheng, who has received his brother-in-law's letter, lost no time in asking him in. (Yang's Translation)

Version B: By this time Jia Zheng has already seen his brother-in-law's letter, and accorded him an interview without delay. (Hawks' translation)

3) 当下贾母一一指于黛玉：“这是你大舅母；这是你二舅母；”（第三回）

Version A: “This,” she said, “is your elder uncle’ s wife. This is your second uncle’ s wife.” (Yang’ s Translation)

Version B: Grandmother Jia is now introduced those present.

‘This is your elder uncle’ s wife, Aunt Xing. This is your second uncle’ s wife, Aunt Wang.’ (Hawks’ translation)

4) 黛玉虽不识，也曾听见母亲说过，大舅贾赦之子贾琏，娶得就是二舅母王氏之内侄女，……。 （第三回）

Version A: Though Tai-yu had never met her, she knew form her mother that Chia Lien, the son of her first uncle Chia Sheh, had married the niece of Lady Wang, her second uncle’ s wife…。 (Yang’ s Translation)

Version B: Dai-yu was at a loss to know how she was to address this Peppercorn Feng… and she remembered having heard her mother say that her elder uncle, Uncle She, had a son called Jia Lian who was married to the niece of her Uncle Zheng’ s wife, Lady Wang. … (Hawks’ translation)

5) 宝玉向林黛玉说道：“你听见了没有，难道二姐姐也跟我撒谎不成？”……宝玉笑道：“太太不知道这缘故。宝姐姐先在家里住着，那薛大哥的事，他也不知道。……林妹妹在背后羞我，打谅我撒谎呢。”（第二十八回）

Version A: Pao-yu appealed to Tai-yu.

“You heard what’ s been said. Would my Cousin His-feng back me up if I were lying?”

…

“You don’ t know the reason, madam.” Pao-yu grinned. “Even when Cousin Pao-chai lived with her family she didn’ t know her brother’ s doings…But just now Cousin Tai-yu, sitting at the back, drew a finger across her cheek to shame me because she thought I was fibbing.” (Yang’ s Translation)

Version B: Bao-yu turned to Dai-yu.

‘Did you hear what Feng said?’ he asked her. ‘I hope you’ re not going to say that she was lying.’ …

Bao-yu only laughed.

“You don’ t know the reason, Mother. Bao-chai didn’ t know a half of what Cousin Xue got up to, even when she was living with her mother outside; … what you don’ t realize is that Cousin Lin was all the time sitting behind her making signs to show that she didn’ t believe me.” (Hawks’ translation)

6) 探春等却都晓得是议论金陵城中所居的薛家姨母之子姨表兄薛蟠，倚财仗势，打死人命，现在应天府案下审理。（第三回）

Version A: but Tan-chun and the others knew that they were discussing Hsueh Pan, the son of Aunt Hsueh in Chinling. Presuming on his powerful connection, he had had a man beaten to death and was now to be tried in the Yingtien prefectural court. (Yang’ s Translation)

Version B: Tan-chun and the girls told Dai-yu, who knew nothing of

the matter under discussion, that they were talking about Xue Pan, the son of their Aunt Xue who lived in Nanking.

It seemed that Xue Pan, relying on wealth and family pull to protect him from the consequences, had taken another man's life. The case was at present under investigation by the Ying-tian-fu yamen. (Hawks' translation)

In Example 1 and 2, Lin Ru-hai calls his wife's brother "内兄" and Chia Cheng calls Lin Ru-hai "妹丈". In Yang and Hawks' translation, both are translated into "brother-in-law" which will give rise to the confusion if it's translated back into Chinese since Chinese people distinguish the relatives from their maternal and paternal systems clearly. In Chinese, four appellations: "姐夫", "妹夫" "内兄" "连襟" correspond to "brother-in-law". "姐夫" and "妹夫" refer to his/her elder sister or younger sister's husband. "内兄" refers to his wife's brother and "连襟" refers to the husband of his wife's sister. The Chinese cultural tint is completely lost to the readers of the target language.

In Example 3, two kinship terms "大舅母" and "二舅母" are translated into "your elder uncle's wife, Aunt Xing", "Uncle Zheng's wife, Aunt Wang" in Hawks' translation respectively. In Yang's translation, they're translated into "your elder uncle's wife", "your second uncle's wife" individually. Apparently, Yang's translation is simpler than Hawks, but if the reader is not familiar with Chinese kindred, he cannot pin down the concrete meaning of these appellations just because uncle in English refers to mother's elder/younger brother or father's elder/younger brother. But Hawks uses appositive structures to give more detailed information, which is easy for those English readers to understand if they know the whole structure of Chia's family clearly. So Yang's translation is somewhat not as good as Hawks' because he imposes his own familiarity to Chinese kinship terms on English readers.

Another appellation "内侄女" in Example 4 is different from "侄女" in Chinese. "内侄女" is the maternal and distant relative while "侄女" is the paternal and next-to-kin relative, for the Chinese people attach much more importance to the patriarchal clan system. But English people stress the equality between men and women and have no idea about such concept. So the word "niece" is not the exact equivalent of "内侄女" but there is no other way out.

In Example 5 and 6, there are altogether five appellations including "宝姐姐", "薛大哥" "二姐姐", "林妹妹" and "姨表兄". "二姐姐" is Wang Hsi-feng who is Pao-yu's cousin and sister-in-law because her father is Pao-yu's mother's brother. "宝姐姐" whose mother is his mother's sister is also his girl cousin. "薛大哥" is "宝姐姐" 's brother, therefore, he is Pao-yu's boy cousin. As for "林妹妹", she is his aunt's daughter. "姨表兄" also refers to Xue Pan. All these addressing terms can be translated into "cousin" because the word cousin can designate the children of aunts and uncles with no distinction between male and female, old and young, near and distant. English native speakers usually use "cousin + first name" to call the sons or daughters of their uncles and their aunts. Contrarily, the word "cousin" can indicate all the children of maternal side and paternal side including "姑表哥, 姑表弟, 姑表姐, 姑表妹"; "堂哥, 堂姐, 堂弟, 堂妹"; "舅表哥, 舅表弟, 舅表姐, 舅表妹", "姨表兄, 姨表姐, 姨表弟, 姨表妹" in Chinese. In Chinese patriarchal clan system, the complicated family tree in large extended family leads to the complex addressing terms.

They're translated by Hawks respectively into "Bao-chai", "Cousin-Xue", "Cousin Lin", "Feng" and "Xue Pan, the son of Aunt Xue". However, in Yang's translation, they are "Cousin Pao-chai", "her brother", "Cousin Dai-yu", "my cousin Hsi-feng" and "Xue Pan, the son of Aunt Xue". Yang's translation is better because he takes the habitual usage of the target language into consideration. The translation by Hawks may lead to the misunderstanding of the readers. They are likely to think that the first name of Pao-chai and Tai-yu is Xue and Lin respectively.

And another point that worth enough attention is that neither of the translators translates "二" in "二姐姐" because of the customs of the western country. In feudal China, the order between the elder brother and the younger brother is extremely emphasized. There is a Chinese saying: "the elder brother is like Father, the elder sister-in-law is like Mother." The elder brother should love their younger siblings, and the younger siblings should respect their elder brother and obey his authority. The most direct reflection is that they cannot call his first name, which is beyond the western people's imagination. They are brought up with the concept of equality which emphasizes equal-to-equal relationship. They can call their elder brother, their father and their grandfather by name face-to-face. The quite different phenomenon between Chinese and English causes a lot of difficulties for Mr. Yang and Mr. Hawks. Then what causes these differences?

First, Chinese people attach great importance to family while the western people to marriage. After the

disaggregation of the primitive clan society, the distinction between the clan system and the class system is not clearly made in Chinese society. The patriarchal system of clan society is still the dominating power of the feudal society. Chinese feudal society is truly in nature a patriarchal society, which means the rule that centers on kindred and gives a judgment about the near and the distant relatives by lineage. (所谓“宗法”，是“以家族为中心，按血统远近区别亲疏的法则。”《现代汉语词典》) Chinese ancient society remains to be a natural self-sufficient economic state for a long time and people's territory is very incapacious. So the family, as the focus of society, becomes rather large and develops the following characteristics:

1) The basic relationships in a family include relationships between husband and wife, father and son, elder and younger siblings. Father owns absolute power. 2) The patriarchy is carried out in the family and the handing on of the family affairs is mainly determined by the paternal bloodline. 3) Family members include the lineal and collateral relatives of two generations or of more than two generations. The power is mainly dominated by male generach. 4) All the family members must strictly follow the systematic order between the elders and the juniors, the worshipped and the humble. 5) Filial piety, Three Cardinals Guides and Five Constants Relationships are family codes. 6) Male is honored while female belittled. 7) Kinship between members of the same clan, of the same neighborhood is attached importance to; namely, the relationships between people with the same surname, from the same clan and the same place are emphasized. Therefore, it is doomed for the social relationship to form hierarchical order because it is based on the family relationship. The association between family and society is completely based on the blood ties between families. Family extends to family clan; family clan to patriarchal clan, thus the rank is strictly laid down. In the family, son submits to father, younger brother to the elder one, wife to husband, male generach is in the highest authority. Outside the family, generach submits to shaikh, shaikh to the local perfect. Clan power and political power combine, family and state are of the same structure. The state, in fact, is the extension of the family. Chinese kinship terms do develop and become mature gradually in this special social culture.

On the contrary, after the disaggregation of the primitive clan society, the nuclear family becomes the social basic unit in the West. From 13th century to 16th century, a movement directed by capital humanism swept the whole Europe. The capital ego value is finally established and the thought of “equality, freedom and fraternity” begins to infiltrate into the capitalism ideology. So such changes inevitably affect the western kinship terms greatly.

First, they attach no importance to family and focus on “ego”. They are self-oriented and emphasize self-realization, which directly leads to the neglect of the consanguinity above the third generation. So their fourth generation can only be addressed with adding “great” before the basic kinship terms in English. Second, they only stress personal rights without any consideration of duty. They think a lot about nuclear family linked by marriage but very little of nuclear family linked by blood. The children leave their home and set up their own family after growing up. And the kinship fades out gradually, which directly leads to the neglect of the collateral consanguinity and the consanguinity of third generation. Thus English language is lacking in descriptive words about aunt (姑母, 姨母, 伯母, 婶母, 舅母) and uncle (姑父, 姨父, 伯父, 叔父, 舅父)。

Third, they admit that they have inherited something important from their father as well as from their mother. The equality between men and women makes them attach equal importance to the kinship terms about the maternal and paternal relatives. The terms about the third generation have no difference between relatives from paternal or maternal lineage. For example, grandfather can refer to father's father or mother's father. Fourth, they think it is unnecessary to set down the hierarchical order artificially since men are born equal. The proof can be found in their respect for the collateral consanguinity of maternal lineage and the respect for their affinities. Cousin is the best example to illustrate this point. In short, from the western kinship terms, we can find much more respect for “individual”, for the independence and for freedom of person.

3.1.2 Kinship terms as the indicator of assumed kinship

Then another group of examples will be discussed to see the different uses of kinship terms in Chinese and English and their cultural tints.

7) 他见里面黛玉和鹦哥尤未安歇，他自卸了妆，悄悄进来，笑问：“姑娘怎么还不安歇？”黛玉忙让：“姐姐请坐。”（第三回）

Version A: Hsi-jen noticed that Tai-yu and Ying-ko were still up in the inner room. She tiptoed in there in her night clothes and asked:

“Why aren’ t you sleeping yet, miss?”

“Please sit down, sister,” invited Tai-yu with a smile. (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: Aroma could hear that Dai-yu and Nightingale on their side of the canopy had still not settled down, so, when she has finished taking down her hair and making herself ready for bed, she tiptoed through the muslin curtains and in a friendly way inquired what was the matter. Dai-yu invited her to sit down, and... (Hawks’ translation)

8) 宝玉见是一个仙姑,喜的忙来作揖问道:“神仙姐姐不知从那里来,如今要往那里去?(第五回)

Version A: Overjoyed by the apparition of this fairy, Pao-yu made haste to greet her with a bow.

“Sister Fairy,” he begged with a smile, “do tell me where you are from and whither you are going.” (Yang’ s translation)

saluted her with a smile.

‘Madam Fairy, I don’ t know where you have come from or where you are going to, but...’ (Hawks’ translation)

9) 刘姥姥忙迎上来问道:“好呀,周嫂子!”周瑞家的认了半日,方笑道:“刘姥姥,你好呀!(第六回)

Version A: Granny Liu hastened forward crying, “Sister Chou! How are you?”

It took the other some time to recognize her. Then she answered with a smile, “Why, it’ s Granny Liu!” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: ‘How are you, my dear?’ said Grany Liu, advancing with a smile. Zhou Rui’ s wife scrutinized her questioningly for some moments before finally recognizing her.

‘Why, it’ s Granny Liu! How are you?’ (Hawks’ translation)

10) 忽见周瑞家的称他是平姑娘,又见平儿赶着周瑞家的称周大娘,(第六回)

Version A: But before she could greet her as “my lady” she heard the girl and Mrs. Chou address each other as equals and realized that this was just one of the more favored maids. (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: When Zhou Rui’ s wife introduced her as ‘Miss Patience’ . Then, when Patience shortly afterwards addressed Zhou Rui’ s wife as ‘Mrs Zhou, ...’ (Hawks’ translation)

11) 凤姐忙说:“周姐姐,快换起来,别拜罢,(第六回)

Version A: Granny Liu had already curtsied several times to Hsi-feng, who now hastily said:

“Help her up, Sister Chou, she mustn’ t curtsey to me.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: By this time Grannie Liu was already down on her knees and had touched her head several times to the floor in reverence to her ‘Aunt Feng’ .

‘Stop her, Zhou dear!’ said Xi-feng in alarm. ‘She mustn’ t do that.’ (Hawks’ translation)

12) (哥儿)又叫道:“周大娘,有个老奶奶来找你呢,我带了来了。”(第六回)

Version A: Then he called, "Auntie Chou! Here's a granny asking for you."
(Yang's translation)

Version B: He... Then, bawling over the wall, 'Mrs Zhou, there's an old woman come to see you!' (Hawks' translation)

In Example 7, Tai-yu calls Aroma "姐姐" which is not a true kinship term but an assumed kinship term used to show politeness. Tai-yu has just arrived at Jung Mansion and is familiar with nobody. So she is very cautious to soften the interpersonal relationships, even to the servant Aroma. It's translated into "sister" in Yang's translation with the consideration of Chinese social conventionality. But the first problem is what sister refers to—the elder one or the younger one? Then the second one is that "sister" in English often refers to the members of a women's society who devote themselves to charitable work, nursing work, etc. or live together in a religious order. So Yang's translation is not very proper here for it can guide the western readers to associate the word with such meanings. Hawks is clever in adopting a liberal translation to avoid dealing with such a hot potato.

In Example 8 and 11, the two translators also have divergence well expressed in their translation of "神仙姐姐" and "周姐姐". Yang follows Chinese conventionality and directly translates them into "Sister Fairy" and "Sister Chou" while Hawks follows the English customs and applies "Madam Fairy" and "Zhou Dear". Yang is exposed to Chinese culture and naturally adopts Chinese assumed kinship terms to translate "姐姐" into sister. Whereas, English people never use kinship terms to address people without blood ties and thus Hawks follows this customs and uses his familiar terms "Madam" and "Dear" to show the reverence and intimacy respectively.

In Example 9, "嫂子" is also an assumed kinship term which is used by Granny Liu to shorten the distance between her and the wife of Zhou Rui although she is much older than Zhou Rui's wife. It's translated by Yang into "sister" while by Hawks into "my Dear" to comply with their own customs.

In Example 10 and 12, "姑娘", "大娘" and "老奶奶" in Chinese are all kinship terms used as assumed kinship terms to address people even strangers. They are translated liberally in Yang's translation as "the girl and Mrs Chou address each other as equals" to avoid the embarrassing problems in Example 10, and rendered into "Auntie Chou" and "a granny" in Example 12. On the contrary, Hawks uses "Miss Patience", "Mrs Zhou" and "an old woman" to render "姑娘", "大娘" and "老奶奶" to conform to western customs.

By comparison, the conclusion can be drawn that: Mr. Yang adopts the rule of foreignization and Mr. Hawks applies the rule of domestication to render the unique assumed kinship terms into English. Behind their different translation methods lay distinctive cultural differences.

Relationship is of predominant value in China since China is a typical agricultural state, people are confined to a fixed area and they need to communicate with and help each other. As a matter of fact, every person, ever since his birthday, is placed into complex and orderly warp and woof of hierarchical relationships based on the kinship. Almost all the relationships are the extension of family relationships and blood tie is the most important tie to hold all the members together. Although the speakers have no blood links with the hearer, people think that using kinship terms to address can show their respect and intimacy, shorten the distance between communicators, acquire a harmonious atmosphere and make the whole society sound like one big family. It has become a convention in the Chinese society. Namely, to impose the kindred on people without blood ties is a Chinese convention developed during five thousand years. It is the manifestation of the close regional relation aimed at establishing mutual help and a means to maintain this relation and therefore secure mutual help. But the western people have no such a convention and they like to treat others with informality and directness. They avoid using the formal codes of conduct, titles, honorifics, and ritualistic manners in their interactions with others. If a Chinese child meets a familiar old woman living in his or her neighborhood, it's polite for the child to address her as "Grannie" regarding Chinese convention. But if a child lives in America or Britain, the most likely terms he may adopt is Mrs. or her first name because a western person thinks "Grannie" is an indication of her age and the relationship between family members and thus he or she doesn't welcome such an addressing term. Therefore, "神仙姐姐", "大娘" and "老奶奶" are translated into "Madam Fairy", "Mrs Zhou" and "an old woman" in David Hawk's translation from the perspective of his convention. His translation achieves the pragmatic equivalent although the cultural tints are somewhat lost and the target readers' expectation is satisfied.

What's more, the assumed kinship terms also embody interpersonal politeness and power among participants. And two aspects of identity, who the participants are and what roles they are taking, have been recognized as essential elements in all communication. In other words, the choice of terms of address is directly related to the interpersonal identity to maintain participants' face with the core concept of "honor" and power is

one of the main factors that bring such a face system into being. “Power refers to the vertical disparity between the participants in a hierarchical structure.” (R. Scollen & S.Z. Scollen: 2000) The person above in the hierarchical structure of their company has special privilege over his subordinates and subordinates owe certain duties to their super ordinate. But both the participants recognize and respect the social difference that place one in a subordinate position and the other in a subordinate position. Some examples as follows:

13) 方欲问时， 只见小丫头们齐乱跑，说：“奶奶下来了。”（第六回）

Version A: Before she could clear up this mystery, a flock of maids ran in crying: “The mistress is coming.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: Grannie Liu was on the point of asking what it meant, when all the maids in the house began scurrying about shouting, ‘The mistress! The mistress! She’ ll be coming out now!’ (Hawks’ translation)

14) 一面听得人回话：“林姑娘到了。”

Version A: And a voice could be heard announcing, “Miss Lin is here.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: While another of them announced in loud tones, ‘Miss Lin is here. (Hawks’ translation)

In Example 13 and 14, “奶奶” and “姑娘” are two assumed kinship terms indicating the two masters of Jung Mansion ,Wang Xi-feng and Lin Dai-yu out of the maids’ mouth. The maids are the savants and there is a large gap between the servants and the masters’ social position. Of course, here “奶奶” and “姑娘” don’ t actually mean Wang Xi-feng is the granny of maids and Lin Dai-yu is the aunt of maids. They are only the indicators of the disparity of the social status between the participants in a hierarchical structure. That is to say, “奶奶” and “姑娘” have special privilege over the maids and own power. Therefore, it is coincidentally translated into “mistress” and “miss” in Mr Yang’ s and Mr Hawks’ translation just because “mistress” and “miss” are also the indicator of power between the masters and their servants. And the dynamic equivalence is achieved although the translation can’ t represent the Chinese culture— using assumed kinship terms to indicate the power relationships.

3.2 Difference in honorifics and the cultural factors leading to it

“老爷”、“太太”、“老太太”“老祖宗” and “贾母” are the examples of honorifics to be discussed in this chapter.

“老爷”， an honorific referring to the county officials or the superiors, gradually becomes an honorific universally used with a high frequency in *HongLouMeng*. The translation of this word is to be discussed firstly. Some examples as follows:

15) 忽有家人飞报：“严老爷”来拜。”（第一回）

Version A: They had not exchanged many remarks when a servant hurried in to announce the arrival of a certain Mr. Yen. (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: But they had not exchanged half-a-dozen words before one of the servants rushed in to say that ‘Mr Yan had come to pay a call.’ (Hawks’ translation)

16) 门子听了，冷笑道：“老爷说道何尝不是大道理，……”（第四回）

Version A: The attendant sneered: “Your Honour is right, of course. But that won’ t get you anywhere in the world today.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: The usher smiled coldly. ‘What Your Honour says is no doubt very right and proper, but it won’ t wash.’ (Hawks’ translation)

17) 探春因道：“这几天老爷可曾叫你？”宝玉笑道：没有叫“（第二十七回）

Version A: “Has father sent for you these last few days?” asked Tan-chun.

Pao-yu smiled. “No, he hasn’ t.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: ‘Has Father asked to see you at all during this last day or two?’
Tan-chun began.

‘No.’ (Hawks’ translation)

18) 宝玉……说道：“快进去告诉太太：老爷要打我呢！……”（第三十三回）

Version A: “Go in quick!” he cried. “Tell them the master’ s going to beat me. Do hurry! This is urgent!” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: ‘Quickly!’ he said. ‘Go and tell them that Sir Zheng is going to beat me. Quickly! Quickly! Go and tell. Go and tell.’ (Hawks’ translation)

19) 王夫人哭道：“宝玉虽然该打，老爷也要自重。……”（第三十三回）

Version A: “I know Pao-yu deserves a beating,” sobbed Lady Wang. “But you mustn’ t wear yourself out, sir.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: ‘No doubt Bao-yu deserved to be beaten,’ said Lady Wang tearfully, ‘but it is bad for you to get over-excited.’ (Hawks’ translation)

In Example 15, “严老爷” may be a squire who is not an official and at the same level with Chen Hsi-ying. The translation is “Mr. Yan” in the two versions. Mr. is a universal honorific and can be used to show respects among common people in western countries and the translation is quite appropriate. “老爷” in Example 16 is Chia Yu-tsun. “老爷” here conforms to its original meaning, the government official, because Chia Yu-tsun at that time was just appointed as the new Perfect of Ying Tien. In English, people usually use your/his/her Honor to address the Judge and the Mayor to show their respect. Both Yang and Hawks’ s translation of your/his Honor not only are in agreement with the original meaning in the source language but also proper in the target language. In Example 17 and 18, both “老爷” indicate Chia Cheng. Its pragmatic meanings vary under different situations. In example 17, when Pao-yu and Tan-chun talk about their father, they use the appellation “老爷”, which reflects the typical Chinese traditional culture: filial piety. Children feel a life long obligation to their parents, ideally exemplified by an unreserved devotion to please them in every possible way and obey all what they say, no matter they are right or wrong. “老爷”, on the one hand, reflects that Pao-yu and Tan-chun stand in awe of their father; On the other hand, embodies Chia Cheng’ s authoritative position in the feudal extended family. Though the word’ s translation of “father” in two versions is easy for the readers of the target language to understand, the implied cultural connotation is lost.

In Example 18, Pao-yu finds that he is going to be beaten by his father. In emergency, he asks an old deaf nanny for help. Because the nanny is a servant, “老爷” here used by Pao-yu means the master of the nanny. It’ s rendered into “the master” by Mr. Yang to comply with Chinese and English traditional culture—all the servants call “老爷” the master to show their respect. But in Britain, apart from applying “Sir + first name/full name” as the honorific to Baronet and Knight, people can use Sir among the commons. It’ s translated by Mr. Hawks into “Sir Cheng” to be in agreement with British customs but fail to convey Chinese cultural tint. The Chinese social structure is basically hierarchical or vertical in nature and the asymmetrical vertical relationship is reinforced. Namely, authority and power relationship, the predominant norm or value, should be valued in daily transactions in the use of titles or honorifics. In such a culture, to call the first name of the elder is considered to be of great disobedience. So, Yang’ s translation is considered to be better than Hawks because Yang’ s translation compensates the loss of cultural tint without causing misunderstanding of the readers of the target language. While Hawks’ translation only takes the western customs into consideration with a lot of loss in Chinese cultural features though his translation accords with English culture much more authentically.

In Example 19, “老爷” used by Lady Wang, his wife, embodies the soul of Chinese etiquette—a rule prescribing that the woman must submit to her husband without conditions after the marriage in Three Cardinal Guides. Husband, owning the absolute power and authority, is master and wife is his servant. When wife addresses her husband, she must make use of honorifics to show her obedience to him. So on this level, it reflects Lady Wang and Chia Cheng’ s asymmetrical social status. Moreover, the action that Chia Cheng beat

Pao-yu heavily damages Lady Wang's interest greatly. In Chinese feudal society, women, with no social status and rights, can only hope to improve their social status in the family by bearing sons (妻以子贵). Everyone respects Old Lady Chia just because she lives with her son who should show his filial piety by the Confucianism for her. Hence Pao-yu is the very guarantee for Lady Wang to improve her position in the family. If he had anything wrong, Lady Wang's position would be precarious. In this perspective, she is very unsatisfied with Chia Cheng's at beating Pao-yu. In short, Lady Wang uses the word “老爷” to show her submission as well as dissatisfactory. And the author of the paper thinks it is not the best way for the two translators to choose “Sir Cheng” in their versions because the rich cultural connotation is lost.

“太太” is another honorific used in *HongLouMeng* with high frequency. Some examples:

20) 袭人笑道：“太太别生气，我就说了。（第三十四回）

Version A: With a sly smile she went on, “I hope Your Ladyship won't think it presumptuous” (Yang's translation)

Version B: ‘I will if Your Ladyship will promise not to be angry with me.’ Said Aroma. (Hawks' translation)

21) 宝玉笑道：“太太不知道这缘故。”（第二十八回）

Version A: “You don't know the reason, madam.” Pao-yu grinned. (Yang's translation)

Version B: Bao-yu only laughed. “You don't know the reason, Mother. (Hawks' translation)

22) (贾母) 说着便令人去看轿马，“我和你太太宝玉立刻回南京去！”（第三十三回）

Version B: She turned to her attendants. ‘Call my carriage. Your Mistress and I and Bao-yu are going to Nanking. We shall be leaving immediately.’ (Hawks' translation)

23) 那婆子道：“……太太又赏了银子，又赏了衣服，怎么不了事的。”（第三十三回）

Version A: She told him soothingly: “It's over now. Over and done with. And the mistress has given them clothes and silver too. Don't fret.” (Yang's translation)

Version B: ‘Her wages?’ the old woman asked in some surprise. ‘Bless you; of course they paid her wages! Her Ladyship gave a whole lot of money towards the funeral as well. And clothes. Paid her wages, indeed!’ (Hawks' translation)

Because of different addressers with different social ranks, the pragmatic meaning of “太太” is different. In Example 20, Lady Wang enquires Aroma about the reason why Pao-yu is beaten. It is appropriate for Aroma, a maid, to call Lady Wang “太太”, showing her respect for her mistress in the conversation. Meanwhile, “太太” is also a common honorific to refer to the wife of those officials with high ranks in feudal society. And Lady Wang is the wife of Chia Cheng who is an official with a high rank. In English, servants usually use My Lady or your/Her Ladyship as an address term to the wife of Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Baron in the serfdom-characterized feudalism culture. So it is very appropriate for the two translators to translate it into “your ladyship”.

In Example 21, Pao-yu uses “太太” to call his own mother out of two reasons. One is that Pao-yu, born in a noble family, is soaked in the Confucianism culture after his birthday. So the concept of the filial piety is deeply rooted in his mind. As a son, he thinks he should show his reverence for his mother. The second reason is that it is much more appropriate to call his mother “太太” before other people to uplift Lady Wang's family position on a public occasion. Yang's translation of “madam” expresses Pao-yu's respect accurately but their relationship is not clearly indicated. On the contrary, Hawks' translation of “mother” only takes the mother-son relationship into consideration without noticing the respect lying behind the appellation, although the relationship is clear.

In Example 22, the Old Lady Chia is furious because Chia Cheng beats her favorite grandson Pao-yu heavily. So

she uses “你太太” to alienate her from his son in a fit of great anger. One usage of Chinese honorifics is to show the alienation between people. the word “your Mistress” chosen by Yang and Hawks to render “你太太” is very proper out of the mouth of Lady Chia. Otherwise, the translation of “your wife” would be put in the shade.

In Example 23, the old deaf Nanny, a servant, calls Lady Wang “太太” in the conversation with Pao-yu. This phenomenon is very common in Chinese feudal society. Depending on the masters to live, the servants must obey their masters and stand in awe of them. Hence, “太太” shows their feelings of awe to Lady Wang. Here “the mistress”, chosen by Mr. Yang is usually used by servants to the mistress in Europe, indicating the relationship between Lady Wang and the old deaf nanny. Conversely, “Her Ladyship” chosen by Mr. Hawks indicates the high position of “Sir Cheng” clearly. Both of the two translations are somewhat appropriate.

Then some honorifics about Lady Chia are to be discussed as follows:

24) 况且这通身的气派，竟不像老祖宗的外孙女儿，竟像是个嫡亲的孙女儿，怨不得老祖宗天天口头心头一时不忘。（第三回）

Version A: She doesn't take after her father, son-in-law of our Old Ancestress, but looks more like a Chia. No wonder our Old Ancestress couldn't put you out of her mind and was forever talking or thinking about you. (Yang's translation)

Version B: She doesn't take after your side of the family, Grannie. She's more like a Jia. I don't blame you for having gone on so about her during the past few days. (Hawks' translation)

25) 宝玉道：“好祖宗，我就在碧纱橱外的床上很妥当，何必又出来闹得老祖宗不得安静。”（第三回）

Version A: “Dear Ancestress!” coaxed Pao-yu. “Let me stay outside Green Gauze Lodge. I'll do very well on that bed in the outer room. Why should I move over and disturb you?” (Yang's translation)

Version B: ‘Dearest Grannie,’ said Bao-yu pleadingly, ‘I should be perfectly all right next to the summer-bed. There's no need to move me into your room. I should only keep you awake.’ (Hawks' translation)

26) 林黛玉道：“也不过这么着。老太太还叫我吃王大夫的药呢。”（第二十八回）

Version A: “Not much,” the girl answered. “The old lady wants me to try Doctor Wang's medicine.” (Yang's translation)

Version B: ‘It didn't seem to make very much difference,’ said Dai-yu. ‘Grandmother has put me back on Dr. Wang's prescription.’ (Hawks' translation)

27) 王夫人哭道：“……况且暑天炎日的，老太太身上也不大好，打死宝玉事小，倘或老太太一时不自在了岂不事大！”（第三十三回）

Version A: “It's a sweltering day and the old lady isn't well. Killing Pao-yu is a small matter, but should anything happen to the old lady that would be serious.” (Yang's translation)

Version B: Besides, you ought to have some consideration for Lady Jia. She is not at all well in this frightful heat. It may not seem to you of much consequence to kill Bao-yu, but think what the effect would be on her. (Hawks' translation)

28) 正没开交处，听丫鬟来说：“老太太来了。”（第三十三回）

Version A: In the middle of this commotion a maid suddenly announced, “The old lady is coming!” (Yang's translation)

Version B: It was beginning to look as if they might all go on but just then there was a cry of 'Her Old Ladyship—!' from one of the maids. (Hawks' translation)

In the above examples, two honorifics--“老祖宗” and “老太太” are used by family members to call their grandmother. From Example 24 to Example 25, Bao-yu and Xi-feng call their grandmother “老祖宗” or “老太太” just because of her highest position in the Jung Mansion. All the family members have the duty to maintain her absolute power in the family. In Chinese family, the interpersonal relationship is basically asymmetrical, obligatory, and complementary, and the harmonious relationship is achieved through the efforts in fulfilling the obligations and responsibilities ascribed to each member of the family. The long operated “status identity” system defines the status for every member and every member's appropriate behavior is thus specifically detailed according to what family status an individual has. If one violates this norm, then he may run the risk of losing face and dignity, or even worse, breaking social order. “老祖宗” and “老太太” reflect the Old Lady's highest status and the reverence of all family members for the Lady Dowager in Chinese vertical family structure well. “Grannie dear” and “dearest Grannie” are chosen to translate “老祖宗”, “Grandma” is chosen to replace “老太太” by Hawks. This translation can express the intimacy between family members but fail to manifest the implied meaning of respect. Yang's translation of “Old Ancestress” and “dear Ancestress” to replace “老祖宗”; and “the old lady” to replace “老太太” clearly express the meaning of respect. Thus the traditional culture is transmitted.

In Example 26, Tai-yu applies “老太太” showing her respect for her grandmother in answering to Lady Wang and strengthening the old lady's authority over the whole family further. Hawks' translation of “Grandmother” only represents their blood ties without showing any sign of respect. So it is inferior to Yang's translation of “the old lady” which shows her respect to her grandmother clearly.

In Example 27, Lady Wang pleads with her husband to forgive Pao-yu under the excuse of “老太太”. Here, the writer thinks what Lady Wang most wants to emphasize is still the Old Lady's high position and hopes to make Chia Cheng yield under the pressure of the feudal norm—maintaining the patriarch's absolute authority. So the status factor still plays a key role. The two translators coincidentally choose “lady” to express the old lady's honorable position. But Hawks' “Lady Jia” is more authentic than Yang's “the old lady”.

In Example 28, when Lady Wang's plea has no effect, the old lady stages. Here Hawks' translation of “Her Old Ladyship” which reflects her extremely high status in the Jung Mansion is much more exactly than Yang's translation of “the old lady”.

The second highest frequent use of “贾母” in *HongLouMeng* represents her importance in the Jung Mansion because she is in the highest position in their family tree. According to Chinese traditional culture, she is the ancestress of the family and should be respected by all the family members. She is a matriarch true-to-the-fact. Yang's translation of “the lady Dowager” is much better than Hawks' translation of “Grandmother Jia”. “Dowager”, according to the explanation of ALD, means “a woman with property or title from her late husband”. This definition is quite congruous with the old lady's position. In addition, a sentence in *Jane Eyre* “The Young Lady thus claimed as the Dowager's property reiterated her question with an explanation.” can also illustrate the explanation of dowager. The dowager in this sentence refers to “Braness Ingram of Ingram park”. As a matter of fact, the old lady's position is much higher than Braness Ingram. So Yang's translation fits the original and the source language as well while Hawks' translation of “Grandmother Jia” clearly shows her position in the blood chain without showing her great power.

What's the culture behind so frequent use of honorifics? Chinese people believe in the oneness of heaven and man, which leads to the group orientation that can be further divided into group orientation and other-person orientation. Group orientation makes people put the group's interest over the individual's and emphasizes self-restraint. Other-person orientation is the extension of the group orientation, which inevitably brings the achievement of harmony as the ultimate goal in interactions in Chinese society. Moreover, the harmonious relationship that the Chinese people seek to build up is based on the fulfillment of the rule that authority and power relationship should be valued in daily transactions. Namely, authority is respected and listened to and power relationship is highly valued. This power relationship directly leads to the use of titles or honorifics whenever addressing occurs.

Conversely, the western people emphasize the individual orientation over group orientation in their culture. That's to say, individualism is the important value orientation in the western culture. The western culture originates from the ancient Greek and Roman cultures that lay importance on independence and equality. And independence and equality form the foundation for the establishment of solidarity (a dominant value in the western culture)relationship in the social interaction in the West. So each member of the community tends to sever himself from the mass of his fellows and to draw apart with his family and his friends. Obligations and

responsibilities that are highly valued in China are absolutely devalued or despised as threats to self-autonomy or freedom. Such a culture inevitably leads to the indifference of interpersonal relationships and no importance is attached to their relatives or the person around himself. That is why there are very few honorifics and no self-abasing terms in the interactions with others.

3.3 Difference in self-abasing terms and the cultural factors leading to it

The above discussion clearly indicates that individualism is the dominant value of the western people. As a result equal or horizontal relationship is highly valued. So self-depreciation is unimaginable to western people and this induces the total absence of the self-abasing terms from English. As is well known, Chinese people resist foregrounding themselves. Instead, they try to elicit and show cooperation and conciliation, to spread responsibility for communication and decision, and to nurture harmonious bonds between people. So the most efficient way they regard as reasonable is using self-abasing terms to show respect and politeness for addressee and to lower addresser's position simultaneously.

Thus the lexical gap arises. The terms to be discussed in this chapter are self-abasing terms with typical Chinese features. Some examples:

石头听了，喜不能禁，乃问：“不知赐了弟子哪几件奇处，又不知携了弟子到何地方？望乞明示，使弟子不惑。”（第一回）

Version A: The Stone was overjoyed.

“May I trouble you to enlighten me,” it said, “as to what wonderful merits you will bestow on me? And where do you mean to take me?” (Yang's translation)

Version B: The stone was delighted.

‘What words will you cut? Where is this place you will take me to? I beg to be enlightened.’ (Hawks' translation)

封肃忙陪笑道：“小人姓封，并不姓甄。只有当日小婿姓甄，今已出家一二年了，不知可是问他？”（第二回）

Version A: “My name is Feng, not Chen,” he answered with an ingratiating smile. “My son-in-law's name is Chen, but he left home a year or two ago to become a priest. Is he the man you want?” (Yang's translation)

Version B: Feng Su's smile became even more ingratiating. ‘My name is Feng, not Zhen. My son-in-law's name is Zhen, but he left home to become a Taoist more than a year ago. Could he be the one you want?’ (Hawks' translation)

如海道：“天缘凑巧，因贱荆去世，都中家岳母念及小女无人依傍教育，前已遣了男女船只来接，因小女未曾大痊，故未及行。”（第三回）

Version A: “What a lucky coincidence!” exclaimed Ju-hai. “Since my wife's death my mother-in-law in the capital has been worried because my daughter has no one to bring her up. She has sent two boats with male and female attendants to fetch the child, but I delayed her departure while she was unwell.” (Yang's translation)

Version B: ‘It so happens that an opportunity of helping you has just presented itself,’ said Ru-hai. ‘Since my poor wife passed on, my mother-in-law in the capital has been worried about the little girl having no one to look after her, and has already sent some of her folk here by barge to fetch her away. The only reason she has so far not gone is that she has not been quite recovered from her illness.’ (Hawks' translation)

正遇着方才去冯紫英家请那先生的小子回来了，因回道：“奴才方才到了冯大爷家，拿了老爷的名帖请那先生去。”（第十回）

Version A: Her son assented and had just withdrawn when he met the page sent to

invite Dr. Chang.

“I’ ve been to Mr. Feng’ s house with His Lordship’ s card,” said the page. (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: … as he did so, the youth who had been sent to Feng Zi-ying’ s house to request a call from the doctor. He had just got back from delivering his message and reported to Jia Rong as follows:

‘I took the master’ s card to the doctor as Mr Feng’ s house and asked him to call.’ (Hawks’ translation)

贾珍道：“犬妇之丧，累蒙郡驾下临，荫生辈何以克当。”（第十四回）

Version A: Chia Chen said, “We are overwhelmed by the favour done us by Your Highness in honouring my daughter-in-law’ s funeral with your presence.” (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: ‘Your Highness, I am quite overwhelmed by the honour you do us in graciously condescending to be present at the funeral of my daughter-in-law,’ said Cousin Zhen (Hawks’ translation)

水溶见他语言清楚，谈吐有致，一面又向贾政笑道：“令郎真乃龙驹凤雏，非小王在世翁前唐突，将来`雏凤清于老凤声’，未可量也。”贾政忙陪笑道：“犬子岂敢谬承金奖。”（第十五回）

Version A: The clarity and fluency of Pao-yu’ s answers made the prince turn to observe to Chia Cheng, “Your son is truly a dragon’ s colt or young phoenix. May I venture to predict that in time to come this young phoenix may even surpass the old one?”

“My worthless son does not deserve such high praise,” rejoined Chia Cheng hurriedly with a courteous smile. (Yang’ s translation)

Version B: Delighted that everything Bao-yu said was so clear and to the point, the prince observed to Jia Zheng that ‘the young phoenix was worthy of his sire’ .

‘I trust I shall not offend you by saying so to your face,’ he said, ‘but I venture to prophesy that this fledging of yours will one day “sing sweeter than the parent bird” .’

Jia Zheng smiled politely.

‘My son is doubtless unworthy of the compliment. ’ (Hawks’ translation)

The stone learns nothing from the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest and calls himself “弟子” when he addresses to them. This is the typical way for Chinese people to show politeness by means of depreciating themselves. These self-abasing terms are absent from English. Therefore, both Yang and Hawks could not but use “me ” to replace “弟子”. The way of translation is up to the west customs and easy for the readers to understand with the complete loss of its cultural tint.

In Example 30, “小” among “小人” and “小婿” is a self-abasing term usually indicating the addresser’ s lower position or younger age or the third party with the younger age or lower status than addresser. Both Yang and Hawks have translated them into “my name” and “my son-in-law”. This is only a compromising and the cultural connotation is lost to some extent.

In Example 31, “贱荆” is usually used by addresser to call his wife. Combining the meaning of “贱” — “humble” and the meaning of “荆” — “plainness of appearance or dress” together, the word means that addresser’ s wife is very humble. “家” in “家岳母” usually indicates addresser’ s relatives with high position in family tree or older age. “小女” has the same use with “小人” in Example 31. It is translated in Yang’ s version into “my wife”, “my mother-in-law” and “my daughter” respectively. Whereas “贱荆” is translated into “my poor wife” and “小女” into “my little girl” with slight change in Hawk’ s translation. It is a pity to say that his choice of “poor” and “little” has no connection with self-

denigration because “poor” means “need help or sympathy” and “little” means “small and lovely”. The reader still cannot figure out the humbleness loaded in the source language.

In Example 32, the servant addresses himself “奴才” to improve the status of his master. Hawks and Yang have no way to show this inequality in English and only translate it into “I”. In Example 33 and 34, Chia Zhen calls his daughter-in-law “犬妇” and Chia Cheng calls his son Pao-yu “犬子”. In the feudal society Chinese people like to compare the third party who are the junior to very humble subject and thus achieve their goal to debase the third party and respect the addressee. “小王” has the same cultural connotation with “小女”, “小人” and “小婿”.

The two translators coincidentally make use of the method of domestication in the above examples to comply with the western customs, but the core of Chinese culture, showing politeness by depreciating self and respecting others (夫礼者, 自卑而尊人) is lost completely.

3.4 An analysis of differences in translation of social deixis in the two versions

The above analyses show clearly that the kinship terms are the most important social deixis in *HongLouMeng*. They are not only used as the addressing terms between people with blood ties but as assumed kinship terms to show respect such as “兄”; or to show self depreciation such as “弟” between people without blood links. Because Chinese clan and family are very important, Chinese kinship terms are narrative and draw a clear distinction between paternal lineage and maternal lineage. And they are descriptive and have specific words to indicate the ancestors many generations before or the descendants many generations later. The appellations referring to men or women are clearly distinguished. Although English kinship terms go into particulars about nuclear family members, the appellations referring to other relationships are quite general. In the face of so many differences, the two translators adopt the same method—domestication to solve the problem. After all, the translation aims to cater for English readers’ expectation. When the kinship terms are used as honorifics, Yang and Hawks introduce different methods. Yang, with the intention of introducing Chinese culture to the western people, applies the method of foreignization and translates some honorifics directly with kinship terms. For example, Tai-yu called Aroma “姐姐”, the monk called the stone “石兄”, hsi-yin called Yu-tsun “兄” etc. It is directly translated into “Sister”, “Brother Stone” and “Brother”. Contrarily, Hawks uses domestication and omits all these appellations in his translation to conform to the western customs. When the kinship terms are used as self-abasing terms, both of them omit these prefix and use the common pronoun to indicate the addresser and addressee.

On the translation of honorifics, Mr. Yang also introduces the method of foreignization. In translating such expressions as “令亲大人”, “尊兄犹系同谱”, “尊夫人” “令郎” etc, he alternatively changes them into: “your respected brother-in-law”, “your honorable clan”, “your worthy wife” and “your noble/esteemed son”. This kind of translation obviously does not conform to the western customs and is the typical writer-centered translation, which aims to introduce the culture of the source language to the target language. Mr. Hawks takes the opposite way to handle this problem. When he meets such words, he simply translates them into “your brother-in-law”, “your clan”, “your wife” and “your son”. The method he applied is apparently the method of domestication which makes his translation look much more authentic though the cultural tints in deep structure are lost completely.

Self-abasing terms, which are typical in Chinese, turn out to be a real hard nut to crack. Self-abasing terms plus honorifics introduced by the author of *HongLouMeng* turn out to be lubricant of the interpersonal relationships and make the big machine—feudal hierarchical society run smoothly and normally. But the total absence of this category from English forces the two translators to adopt the method of domestication and translate the self-abasing terms into “I” or “my ××” according to the context to make up for the lexical gap.

Generally speaking, the method of foreignization is used in Mr. Yang’s translation as much as possible while the method of domestication is used in Mr. Hawks’ translation as much as possible. Because Mr. Yang is saturated with Chinese culture, in which courtesy takes precedence over truth, which is consistent with the cultural emphasis on the maintenance of social harmony as the primary function of speech. Mr. Hawks, born and educated in the western country, is very familiar with the western concept of democracy and equality. So it is very natural for them to have different attitudes towards Chinese culture and apply different methods to deal with these appellations with distinct cultural factors.

Conclusion

Chinese civilization is an agricultural culture. People are confined to the land and there is little mobility, either socially or geographically. This agrarian lifestyle directly explains the collective

(group-oriented) nature of Chinese value concept and the emphasis on family. In Chinese family, children learn the social skills necessary for group harmony, family togetherness, interdependence in relationships, respect for their place in the line of generations and saving face. Hence kinship terms play key role in maintaining the harmony in the family. Because kinship terms are narrative and detailed, they not only can express one's respect for others but also show one's self-debasement; the most important point is that they weave a complicated kinship net that holds the whole family members of a large extended family together, in which the order between the elder and the younger and the hierarchical ranks between the honorable and the humble are clearly marked. Namely, Chinese are more likely to be conscious of kinship relationships, which are seen as significant tie among members of society and will, in turn, lead to their assumptions of hierarchy. Moreover, the kinship terms extend to the whole social members and make the whole society teemed with harmony.

Honorifics and self-abasing terms altogether form another important means for ancient Chinese to smooth the relationships between people. Chinese tend to be concerned about maintaining good relationships in communication; they usually show respect for social position of addressees by means of debasing themselves. The English people have no ideas about this concept and hence have no equivalent words to express the concept, which give rise to the dilemma.

Therefore, the translation of the addressing terms with distinctive nationality and conventionality is in fact the shift of cultures. That is to say, in the process of the translation, the translator will be confined to the factors of social identity, status, face-saving and intimacy between the addresser and addressee. Venuti pointed out that the process of translation was the process to find out the common ground in two cultures. But during this process, it is hard for us to avoid meeting various differences because of different society, culture, historic background, geography, customs and so on. How to sort out the common ground? And how to handle the lexical gap? First, the translator must be aware of conventionality of social deixis. Of course, the absolute equivalence is only an ideal, it almost impossible to achieve such ideal state. What the translators can achieve through their hard work can only be something alike in spirit. To acquire this similarity in spirit, the translators also need to alternate between the two possibilities: something very alike in form or something very alike in pragmatic meaning. In translation practice, for most cases, we cannot acquire both. Then sometimes it is necessary to be faithful to the pragmatic meaning and sacrifice the form and vice versa just as a Chinese saying goes: "If I cannot have fish and the paw of the bear together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear's paws." ("鱼与熊掌不可得兼, 舍鱼而取熊掌者也")

In general, social deixis distinctly marks various social status and corresponding features. The application of the social deixis is the representation of the participants' identity, status, culture and diathesis on the communication occasion. Each generation must learn and accept its position in the system when they understand the conventionality of the social deixis. Likewise, the translation of social deixis plays a key role in accurate expression of the participants' identity and social status as well as the representation of the characters in the original work, it is necessary to learn and accept the conventional difference in social deixis between the source language and the target language and consider the cultural context. If all the information is conveyed into the translation without selection, it will lead to the wrong expression or even to the misunderstanding of the readers in the target language. Therefore, the pragmatic equivalence to solve such an intercultural problem is advocated. (He Zi ran, 1992/1994, 1996, 1997; Baker, 1992)

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