

Cultural Implications behind Power and Solidarity- A Case Study of Chinese and British English Address Forms

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Power and solidarity are two important notions in Sociolinguistics. Power indicates the social distance between people while Solidarity implies a similarity and a degree of closeness and intimacy between people who are equally powerful in the social order. As part of a linguistic system, address forms can signify power and solidarity between the addresser and the addressee. Rules of selecting appropriate address forms reveal the social norms and cultural characteristics of a nation. This paper explores the Chinese and British cultural characteristics behind power and solidarity by analyzing address forms which contains these two semantics. By exploring the address forms and the evolution in their usage by the Native Speakers of both Chinese and English, an attempt is made to see how the East and the West differ in their basic communication, whether formal or informal. I also intend to prove that Chinese is still a more formal and complex language in its address forms on the basis of the differences existing and varying with factors such as rank, age, gender, relationship and occupation, etc.

Keywords: Chinese and British Address Forms, Power, Solidarity, Culture, Sociolinguistics

Introduction

Address forms are really part of complete semantic systems having something to do with social relationships. Thus the use of address forms is essential to social communication, which involves identifying and selecting appropriate address forms. The address forms of a language are arranged into a complex address system with its own rules. There are many alternative address forms for the speaker to choose from when addressing the same person. On the other hand, the hearer may make an assumption about the speaker's intentions or purposes, and prepare himself/herself for further communication. Thus if a person wants to communicate appropriately, he/she needs to acquire the address rules so as to know what forms of address are possible and appropriate.

There are universals in address rules; for example, title plus last name (TLN) is used to express respect; first name (FN) is used to show intimacy; nick name is employed to show endearment. Though there are

variations in address form usage across individuals, there are general differences across languages, because address rules are closely related to the culture of a people. They vary according to social determinants. Hence, different peoples have different address rules which can reflect the distinct cultural characteristics such as the ethnic group's or nation's history, ethics, behavior norms or moral codes and beliefs of the nation.

The Chinese and English languages belong to different language families. Chinese culture and British culture have their own distinct characteristics. As is seen in this paper, the address forms of the Chinese language are much more complicated than the British English ones. The purpose of this study is to explore the cultural characteristics behind social power and solidarity by comparing the address forms in these two languages within Sociolinguistics. It is hoped that this paper can contribute to research on social interaction, thought patterns, values and beliefs in China and Britain and thus benefit the cross-cultural communication.

Overview of Address Forms

Definitions of Address Forms

There are various definitions of address forms. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1998) defines it as “a name or a title, esp. that is formal or descriptive”. According to Dunkling (1990, p.22), an address term is a numerically and attitudinally marked designator which (a) functions as a particle to pronominal ‘you’ to form a notionally paradigmatic phrasal ‘you’; (b) consists of names, words, or a combination of both; (c) is used for the benefit of a speaker, addressee, or a third party hearer either optionally or necessarily for grammatical, practical, social, emotional or externally-imposed reasons. Fasold (2000, p.1) defines address forms as the words speakers use to designate the person they are talking to while they are talking to them.

In most languages there are two address forms: names and second-person pronouns. This paper is limited to names which include titles, kin terms, and endearment terms.

Influential Studies of Address Forms

The research of address forms can be traced to Brown and Gilman (1960) whose study is regarded as pioneering and very significant in Sociolinguistics. They examined the second person pronoun usage in French, German, Italy and Spanish via various methods such as informal interviews and a survey questionnaire. They held that pronoun usage is

governed by the semantic model of power and solidarity which are two components playing a significant role in human communication.

Later, Brown and Ford (1964) conducted a study of the address system of American English which investigated the use of FN and TLN. They observed three possible patterns of address forms: mutual reciprocal exchange of FN, mutual reciprocal exchange of TLN, and nonreciprocal pattern in which one gives FN and receives TLN or vice versa. It is found that intimacy and distance are the key factors in selecting address forms in symmetrical relationships: when the addresser and addressee are at the beginning of acquaintance, they employ TLN to address each other while FN is reciprocated when they become more familiar.

Another significant research into the American address forms was carried out by Susan Ervin-Tripp (1972) who regarded address form system as a series of choices which concerns choice among alternative ways of addressing. Her investigation presents the FN and TLN distribution in American English and then summarizes the regularities of their usage. Besides, she displayed a number of factors which may affect the choice of address forms.

Zhao Yuanren (1952/1976), a Chinese American linguist, gave a detailed description of the Chinese address system in his paper *Chinese Terms of Address* which divides Chinese address forms into (1) vocatives, or terms of direct address to call a person by, (2) designatives, or mentioning terms which one uses as part of the connected discourse in speaking of a person. Zhao also emphasizes the distinction between oral address forms and the written ones. On the basis of the data collected in some famous literature works, sociolinguist Chen Songcen (1986) conducted a research into second-person pronouns of *ni* (you) and *nin* (a respect term for you) in Beijing dialect.

Imitating Ervin-Tripp's format, Zhu Wanjin (1992: p.16) designed selection chart of the Chinese address forms, which shows how social factors manipulate the choice of Chinese address forms.

Cui Xiliang (2000) studies Chinese pronouns and their addressing functions in communication in different dialects in China. He not only lists the patterns of pronoun address forms, but also analyzes their cultural motivations, which have given some hints to the author of this paper. Chen Xiafang (2002) published her research about address forms which is conducted from a socio-pragmatic perspective. Hu Shiyun (2007) explores the Chinese traditional culture in kin terms with a diachronic approach. Enlightened by the previous studies above, this research will explore the

cultural characteristics of address forms in Chinese and British English from the aspects of power and solidarity in Sociolinguistics, which have not been covered by other researchers.

Notions of Power and Solidarity

The notions of power and solidarity in Sociolinguistics are proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960, p. 255), who find the use of the familiar pronoun T (the first letter from Latin *tu*) and the deferential pronoun V (the first letter from Latin *vos*) were governed by two forces. One is power and the other is solidarity. Power is a relationship between at least two persons. The relationship is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot dominate in the same area of behavior, that is to say, there are no equal power equals. Thus, power refers to superiority of one person over another in at least one dimension such as rank or occupation. Generally speaking, those whose social statuses are higher, have power over those whose statuses are lower. For example, employers are assumed to have power over their employees.

'Power' is self-explanatory, but 'solidarity' is harder to define. Power concerns the social distance between people- how much experience they have shared, how many characteristics they share (religion, sex, age, region of origin, race, occupation, interest, etc.), how far they are prepared to share intimacies, and other factors (Hudson 2000, p.122). Solidarity implies a sharing between people who are equally powerful in the social order, with a degree of closeness and intimacy. This relationship is inherently reciprocal (Fasold, 2000, p.4). When there exists solidarity between the conversation participants and in which people are intimate, T forms will be employed to address each other mutually for example, "*Di's butler bows out in sneakers!*" is the title of an article in *Daily Mirror*, 17, May1984. Fairclough (1992/2006, p.112) thinks "Di" should have been used only among Diana's family and friends. The press reduces Diana to "Di" to make the readers feel that the royal family is like the rest of us (journalists and readers), and we can use the reduced term to refer to Diana as if there is close relationship between Diana and both journalists and readers. When "Di" is used here, solidarity exists between them.

Language is the carrier of culture. Power and solidarity semantics in address forms are universal but they can also reflect distinct cultural characteristics. For example, there are more humble and honorific address forms in the Chinese language due to the fact that Chinese people have a tradition of valuing modesty. Besides, power is more obvious in Chinese address forms as social order in rank, age, family, occupation etc., has

been considered important since the ancient times while it is less evident in British address forms as equality is more emphasized in British culture. All these will be explored in the following analysis.

Power in Chinese and British English Address Forms

People of different ages, or in different ranks, or of different occupations have different statuses between which there exists a certain degree of hierarchy and where there is hierarchy between two people, there is power. This part will compare the differences reflected in address forms in status power between the Chinese language and British English that exist in noble titles, officialdom, family formations, age and occupations to prove the unique cultural characteristics in the address systems of the two languages.

Noble Titles and Officialdom Hierarchy

It is undeniable that in any society there is hierarchy which exists more in officialdom. However, hierarchy is more distinct in officialdom in Chinese address forms while nobility in British English ones. As we know, Great Britain has an aristocracy from which many members of the House of Lords come. There are inherited titles that came through ancestors such as duke, earl, marquis, lord and knight. These titles except "knight" can be used with last names or full names. People with these titles can address others by FN while they have the privilege of being addressed with TLN or Sir. Such titles can be passed down to the descendants, so there are still quite a lot of people with hereditary titles.

Great Britain also has had the honor system since the 19th century (Yan Zhaoxiang, 2000, p. 317), which is considered to have created and enlarged the hierarchy of its people. There are heated arguments on the radio and in the newspaper about whether they should keep this honor system. Each year there are two Honor Lists. One is for the New Year and the other is on the Queen's birthday. Those who have made an outstanding, inspirational national contribution over a long period are honored with the award of peerages and knighthood. Accordingly, famous and prominent people in politics, sport, theater, the arts industry and those who have helped humanity in various ways, such as in medicine, or charity work, will always be nominated by public, government departments, interest group and business for the Honors Unit. After being approved by the Central Honor Committee and finally, by the Prime Minister and the Queen, they get the titles. If they have been given the title 'Peer', they will be called Lord or Lady plus their full names or last names. If they have been given the title 'Knight', they will be addressed Sir

plus their full or last names. For example, Sir Cliff Richard has done a great deal in helping the Tear Fund which helps the poor in the world amongst other charitable things. He sings at concerts all over the world to raise money for the poor. His work was recognized by the government and was honored with a knighthood. The titles given by the government can be used in their life time but cannot be passed down to their descendants. Those whose ranks are high in the army, medical profession or university, for example, can be called Sir or Lord but without the last name. When a person is called Sir or Sir+LN, he has power over the addressee.

In China, there are no titles of royal family nor of noblemen but officialdom is much more emphasized than royalty or aristocracy. Therefore, the Chinese address system has more titles of officialdom which can be used with last names.

China had a feudalism history of more than two thousand years ripe with official-oriented values. Influenced by the tradition, power in official hierarchy is very obvious in Chinese address forms. On the other hand, the depth of Chinese culture is the relationship between people which reflects its moral codes and hierarchy (Chen Janmin, 1989, p.14). The relationship in general seems to be a social network. Everyone has his own position in the network. The titles of officialdom represent their status and positions. Everyone must obey his/her superior. To be more exact, Chinese culture is a hierarchical culture. In doing something, Chinese seldom think "What is what?" they are inclined to think "Who is who?". Hence, different titles of officialdom are used to address those in different positions.

All books that are considered as classics of Chinese behavior norms always tell people the human relation according to feudal ethics which in turn show the importance of obvious hierarchy. Chinese traditional culture values harmony most. (Zhou Hanfu, 2006) Deeply influenced by the ethics, since the Spring and Autumn Period (from 771 to 403 BC) ancient Chinese people tended to think that balance and harmony were the basic condition for the stability of a unity. Therefore, the first thing that was emphasized was the harmony of the hierarchy of the human relationship according to feudal ethics. The purpose was to make people of all ranks obey the superiors so as to stabilize the sacredness of the feudal system. They did not want to have any rebellion. When each person is defined with their titles, they will know whom they should obey without condition. As a result, TLN must be employed to show respect and obedience. It is thought that the reason that the Chinese feudal system lasted for so long was partly due to this traditional custom.

The address term *tongzhi* (comrade) has been used in China since 1949 and was used more frequently during the Cultural Revolution which was a socio-political movement from 1966 through 1976. Though 'comrade' is still used to show equality, it is only used at formal meetings or in the news. In daily life people seldom use it any more.

It follows that if a person is higher in rank than you are, you should show your respect to him/her by addressing him/her TLN rather than *tongzhi* (comrade) or Mister or Mrs. The TLN shows the hierarchy precisely in terms of officialdom by the presented official titles. Thus in Chinese there are more titles that can be used with last names. The following titles of officialdom are not used with last names in English but they can be in Chinese: director (of a factory, department, section, etc.), mayor, manager, president (of a company or a university), governor (of a province), secretary (of a Party committee), principal, headmaster, chancellor, county magistrate, village head, team leader, captain, aircraft commander, conductor head, commander, field marshal, general, lieutenant, major, captain, political commissar, political instructor.

Besides these titles, there is another structure: last name+the name of the department+ *Zhang* (head). For example,

Li Guan Zhang Li (last name) + *Guan*(library) + *Zhang*(head)
Cai Chang Zhang Cai(last name) + *Chang*(factory)+*Zhang*(head)

In Chinese address system, almost all those who have official titles can be addressed with this structure. Thus addressees' official ranks are signified so as to suggest their superiority and power. Whereas few official titles are used in British address system, officialdom is less emphasized and equality is more pursued.

Family Hierarchy

Family hierarchy can be caused by two factors. The first is generation. The patriarch clan system was one of the important features of social organizations in ancient China. In order to maintain this system, the so-call *sangang wuchang* (three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues) were specified as feudal ethical codes according to which the son should be obedient to the father. (Zhu Zhongmin, 2011) In a father-son conversation, asymmetrical address is used in both Chinese and British English. Parents in China however, have more power over their children than those in Britain. When people are angry or teasing, they like to use the colloquial term *laozi* (father) to address themselves so as to show they are more powerful than you. In one of his stories, Lu Xun, one of the most

famous Chinese writers and thinkers, created Ah Q as an image of psychological triumph. In a fight, a man defeated him and walked away with a triumphant air. Ah Q thought to himself, "Oh, I was beaten by my son at last and the world is awful.", and then also walked away with a triumphant air. He insulted the man by calling him his son. He was defeated physically but he won the fight psychologically. This story appears in the middle school language textbook and has been adapted into a feature film and drama, and very popular in China.

Since father has power over a son and a grandson is inferior to the son, a grandson's status is the lowest of the three. When a Chinese is reprimanded strongly by someone, he may say, "He reprimanded me as if I were his grandson". If a person is addressed *erzi* (son) or *sunzi* (grandson) by someone who is not his parent or grandparent, he considers himself insulted.

People with Chinese traditional concepts will judge a person by his behavior in his own family. The Chinese are required to have the virtue of *xiao* (filial piety) which is a very important part of Chinese culture. Accordingly, if you are dutiful both to the country and your parents, you will be a hero. It is a criterion used to judge a person's morality. *Xiao* (filial piety) does not only require one to look after and respect one's parents but also absolutely obey one's parents. Hence, children are in the position that is lower than the parents. The descending generation should obey the ascending one to make the family stable and harmonious. According to this, children must obey every wish of the parents. You never address your grandparents, parents, uncles and aunt by name due to the hierarchy as these address forms imply the superiority of the older generation.

Now in some one-child families, the children may be the center of the families and may dominate the families. As a result, the whole thing may be reversed, but in most families, parents have more power over their children than British parents. In Chinese, there is a term: *fumu guan* (parent official). As early as 2000 years ago, Xun Zi, the great Chinese thinker and educator said, "Sovereigns are people's parents." Later in the Song Dynasty (960--1279) *fumu guan* was used to refer to officials. The term: *gongpu* (civil servant) is much newer to Chinese. So the former is more frequently used than the latter. On the surface of the language, the term seems good, because normally parents love their children and are responsible for them. A parent official may be responsible, caring and kind like people's natural parents but some Chinese intellectuals do not like this term, because in Chinese culture, parents have authority over their children and their responsibility and caring result from their higher status;

there is also the implication that other people should always obey them. So some scholars suggest *gongpu* (public servant) be used instead of *fumu guan* (parent official) because the former implies a kind of duty while the latter indicates a kind of power as parent figures.

The younger generation is taught to respect the people of the older generation whose social status is above that of the former. For the former addressing the latter by their first names or full names would be considered rude and offensive. They can only address them by their kin terms. In Britain, there has been a tendency for people to address their parents-in-law by their first names to show their intimacy though some people address their parents-in-law as "Dad" and "Mum". In the Chinese address system, under no circumstance should a Chinese address their parents-in-law by their names. They have no choice. The Chinese have to address their fathers-in-law as "Dad" and their mothers-in-law as "Mum". In the British address system, there is a growing tendency for children normally to call their aunts and uncles by their first names though the title "Aunt" or "uncle" is used in indirect speech when there are several members of the kin category, for example, Uncle Tom. Whereas, in the same case, Chinese seldom use the title "aunt" or "uncle" with the first name among family members. They use the structure of the order number of the addressee's age plus aunt or uncle, for example *dayi* (eldest aunt), *eryi* (second eldest aunt).

Another factor that can cause family hierarchy is the family branch. The patriarch clan system was a dominant concept in Chinese history. (Zhu Zhongmin, 2011). Thus, the meaning of family is not the same in the West as in China. In the West, it usually refers to the basic form of the family organization--the nuclear family of a husband, a wife, and their children. But in China the concept of a family is broader; it may either refer to a nuclear family, or to an expanded grouping based on the nuclear family.

In ancient feudal China, the family was the controlling unit of the country. A person's fortune was closely related to that of his family. When one member of the family committed a crime, all the members including the relatives of the family would also be affected and might be punished. Conversely, if a member was promoted, all his relations would benefit from it.

In Britain, women adopt their husbands' surname after they are married even this practice is no longer universal. The wife of the Prime Minister, for example, has retained her maiden name. Chinese women do

not adopt their husbands' surnames; in fact, Chinese think more highly of their surnames than the British do. As is well known to anthropologists, kin terms in Chinese come in two distinct sets, one for use in addressing those in the patrilineal branch and the other for use in addressing those in the matrilineal branch. In a family tree, those who share the same family name are regarded as, so to speak, insiders while those who do not are to some extent considered as outsiders.

In English, grandfather can refer to either the father's or mother's father; while, in Chinese, different terms are used to refer to the father of one's father and mother. So there are different kin terms for those of the father's branch and the mother's branch, respectively.

One of the characteristics of the patriarch clan system was adopting paternal consanguineous relationship to maintain social hierarchy. The relative distance was taken consideration in their social life. (Yao Weijun, 2002) In accordance with the traditional concepts, the members of one's patrilineal branch are closer while those in his matrilineal branch are further away even though the two members' genealogical distance is the same; this is because those in the father's branch will share the same surname. The address forms for grandpa, grandma and grandson of the paternal side in Chinese are respectively *yeye*, *nainai* and *sunzi*. There are different address forms for those of the mother branch. For example, the relations in one's mother's or daughter's or sister's branch will belong to the *wai* (other) part. So one's mother's father is called *waigong* (other grandpa) and mother's mother is called *waipo* (other grandma). One's daughter's son is called *waisun* (other grandson). One's sister's son is called *waisheng* (other nephew).

The address forms of those on the father's side connote a feeling of "clannish bonds". Hence, it is important to have the descending generation to inherit the family name. There is a Chinese maxim which runs: "There are three ways of being a bad son. The most serious is to have no heir." The heir refers to sons that can pass the family name to the descending generation. That is why so many Chinese prefer sons to daughters. In Britain, it is only important for those families with inherited titles to have sons, because only sons can pass the inherited titles to the descending generation. However, the percentage of titled families is very small. Some ordinary families do have the desire to have a son to pass the family name but the desire is not as strong and common as it is in China.

Age Hierarchy

According to Western ethics, all people are equal. They believe this equal human right is given by God. Before God, everyone is equal and there is no one special, and no one has more power than anyone else. In the British address system, age difference is not as significant as in China. So if a person is older, even a generation older, this does not mean he is superior to the younger and the younger does not need to feel inferior or humble. Children today often call their parents' friends (of the same age as or even much older than their parents) by their first names. Chinese children who address their parents' friends in this way would be considered impolite, no matter how familiar and intimate the children and the adults are. In British universities, some students will even call their teachers FN when they are familiar with each other.

Throughout Chinese history, young people are taught to respect elders. At the same time, "elders" implies more worldly knowledge and experience. For example, teacher for Chinese is *xiansheng* and *laoshi*. The literal translations of these two words are "born earlier" and "old master". Hence, older people are highly respected and have absolute power and sometimes even a single day makes a person socially older. Therefore, you should never address a person by his first name if he is much older than you even if you know him intimately unless you are a superior to him. In accord with this tradition, people like to be referred to as "older" by using *lao* which means old in Chinese. It can be used with the surname to address people of the same age or older without appearing to be insulting. On the contrary, it shows intimacy and respect. For example, if your SN is Li, you may be called *Lao Li*.

If a celebrated scholar or artist is very old, people will address him with the form SN+*Lao* (old) to show high respect. For example, an old and famous anthropologist, Fei Xiaotong was addressed as Fei *Lao*. When *lao* is used in this way, it is an honorific title which means venerable. But in English, if old is used to address a person, he may not only feel unhappy but may also be offended because being older does not have the same high prestige and power as in Chinese, and old may have an insulting interpretation.

In English, when someone introduces his brother or sister or cousin, he does not usually indicate whether the brother or sister or cousin is older than he. But in China, people will say, "This is my elder brother or elder sister." so as to indicate the difference in age. In China, if an addressee is several years older than the intimate addresser, the former

may be called by first name plus the term *ge* (elder brother) or *jie* (elder sister) to establish the age. For example, if an older male's first name is Weimin, he may be called Weimin *Ge* by his younger intimate friends.

As the elders are respected and have more power in China, Chinese kin terms tend to establish age. Take aunt as an example: the term for father's or mother's elder sister is not the same as his or her younger sister. Father's elder sister is called *guma*, while Mother's elder sister is called *yima*; wife of father's elder brother is called *bomu*. The address terms for uncle in Chinese are equally complex as aunt. Cousin in English has eight equivalents in Chinese, which distinguish the age, genealogical distance and gender clearly, namely *tangge* (the patrilineal male cousin who is older than the addressor), *tangdi* (the patrilineal male cousin who is younger than the addressor), *tangjie* (the patrilineal female cousin who is older than the addressor), *tangmei* (the patrilineal female cousin who is younger than the addressor), *biaoge* (the patrilineal male cousin who is older than the addressor), *biaodi* (the patrilineal male cousin who is younger than the addressor), *biaojie* (the patrilineal female cousin who is older than the addressor), *biaomei* (the patrilineal female cousin who is younger than the addressor).

Occupational Hierarchy

In both China and Britain, white collar workers are more respected than others, and there is power between people of different occupations but in English, less hierarchy is shown through address forms. In the British address system there are only a few occupational titles that can be used with last names for example, professor, doctor and police and armed forces officers. To emphasize individualism is part of the English moral philosophical grounding. A person cannot be valued by what he does or his position within the society. In Britain, when people are introduced for the first time, they usually use Mr. or Miss instead of the professional titles. They make the professions implicit also for politeness because it could be embarrassing when you introduce a professor to a bus driver if you mention their professions.

The Chinese tend to highlight hierarchies; the superiority of good occupations is shown through the address forms. Hence, addressing a person by his professional title is more common in Chinese than in English. This is to honor the person with a high occupational status. In Chinese, almost all the white collar workers' occupational titles can be used in this way: last name+the title of the occupation. The titles of occupations that can be used with last names are: teacher, engineer, editor, journalist,

coach, director (of a film), interpreter, doctor, accountant, cashier, conductor (of an orchestra), lawyer, inspector, secretary.

If an editor's last name is Li, you can address him Editor Li to show your respect. However, if the occupations are looked down upon, contempt of the occupation can be manifested linguistically by using the structures like the main work+*de* (of). For example,

English	Chinese	Literal translation
cleaner	<i>saodi de</i>	the one who sweeps the ground
door keeper	<i>kanmen de</i>	the one who guards the door

Another structure is the main work + *fu* (man). For example,

English	Chinese	Literal translation
porter	<i>jiaofu</i>	feet man
sedan-carrier	<i>jiaofu</i>	sedan man

In the old society (before 1949), people of these occupations were addressed in this way with contempt. The titles were used alone without surnames or full names. Nowadays, these types of address forms are still used to refer to persons when they are not present but these are seldom used directly to a person's face.

Solidarity in Chinese and British English Address Forms

As mentioned above, the relationship in solidarity is inherently reciprocal. When two people are equally powerful in social order, they have the need to distinguish a degree of common ground which goes beyond having equal power. This is where solidarity comes in. (Fasold, 2000, p. 4). A sharing of people and intimacy are intended and can be shown in the address forms.

Kinship Address Forms

Due to the influence of patriarchal clan system, consanguinity for Chinese is more important than for other nations. (Yao Weijun, 2002) Therefore, kinship is more emphasized in Chinese culture than in British culture due to traditional values. Compared with the British address system, Chinese has two distinct features. The first is that it has many more kin terms which are very complicated.

A striking feature is that kinship address terms are socialized to shorten the distance between people. In English, kin terms are usually

used to address only those who share the same kinship. But in the Chinese system, kin terms are utilized among non-kin and even non-acquaintances to solidify interpersonal relationship, and establish congenial personal relationship. An uncle and aunt of a close friend are usually addressed as "uncle" and "aunt". The father and mother of a close friend are also addressed as "uncle" or "aunt", if the friends are about the same age of the addressee. Many kin terms are frequently used to address non-kin and strangers. The term, *da* which means 'elder' is frequently put before the terms to show affection and respect.

In Chinese classics, such as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West*, there are stories about sworn brothers and sisters. In real life there are still sworn brothers and sisters. Once there is brotherhood or sisterhood between them, they must be loyal to each other and share weal and woe. The sworn brothers or sisters are addressed by ordinal number plus Brother according to their ages. For example, the eldest one will be called Eldest Brother. The second eldest is called Second Brother. In the Criminal Fraternity, when people form a gang, they will very likely address each other in that way. Today in China, students of the same university, especially of the same supervisor like to address each other with the terms which consist of the words "brother" or "sister" in Chinese. There are four terms altogether used according to the ages of the addresser and the addressee.

In Britain, friends of a family may be addressed as aunt or uncle by the children. In churches, kin terms may be used. For example, people in Christian churches use brother and sister to refer to their fellow Christians to make themselves feel close. In Catholic churches, monks and nuns call each other brothers and sisters and the terms of father and mother are used as titles of status to show that they are heads of brothers and sisters. Sometimes older people address young men as "son" to show their intimacy. However, kin terms are used much less frequently to address acquaintances. In the British address system, only "aunt", "uncle" and "son" are used to address the non-kin and strangers are very seldom addressed with kin terms.

Endearment Terms

In English, there are more endearment address terms than in Chinese and the terms are used more frequently and affectionately. This striking contrast is due to three reasons.

The first is the influential traditional concept. China has a history of 5,000 years while Britain of 3,000 years. The most important fact is that Chinese feudalism ended only in this century, while in Britain it ended in the 15th century. *Zhongyong* (The Doctrine of the Mean) whose essence includes moderation, rectitude, and propriety was advocated in one of the books of Confucian teachings and has been followed by Chinese for more than 2000 years. (Xu Xingyan, 2007, p. 91) According to the feudal ethics, in any situation all the officials must obey the rulers; all the people must obey the officials and all children should obey their parents. In old feudal China, marriages were mostly arranged by parents. In order to prevent love arising between males and females, there was even an accepted rule that a male was not allowed to take something directly from a female's hand in order to avoid physical contact.

Since people did not have the right or the chance to choose their spouse, they had to suppress their love. Before the day they got married, they did not even know each other, let alone love each other. Their marriage was just to fulfill the duty to the family or physical need. Their marriage was not based on love. Through history, arranged marriages were not common in Britain, though royalty usually used this method for political reasons, and the upper classes to safeguard their wealth and lands. Normally, people would marry the person they loved.

The second reason is due to the personality of most Chinese people. Influenced by the feudal ethics, Chinese tend to obey their superiors and suppress themselves and resign themselves to adversity, thus developing an introvert personality. Hence, their feelings are more subtle and hidden. In the Western culture, self is more emphasized and people develop an independent self. Their personality is more extrovert and expressive. If they love a person, they express it more openly than the Chinese. For example, at the airport and railway station, when a couple is separated, the Chinese do not kiss or hug though they may want to do so very much but to kiss and hug somebody good-bye is very common in Britain.

The third reason is that the Chinese have fewer love stories in their history than the English. In the West, Love is from God. People often talk about love, and since the medieval times, there have been a lot of love stories. Today even in children's stories there are love affairs. Films and novels in the West describe love and sex more frequently and directly. However, only in the past 20 years, can Chinese people see Chinese actors and actresses kiss and hug in Chinese films. In Chinese folk songs, the lovers address each other as "elder brother" and "younger sister" instead

of "lover". In the 1993 CCTV Chinese New Year Celebration Show, there was a short comedy. In which, a country girl had just arrived in a city at night to visit her aunt. She failed to find the way to her aunt's home. Then she asked a man the way. In order to show his warmth and friendliness, the man addressed her as "little younger sister" in their conversation. The girl stopped him, "Don't call me 'younger sister'. It will result in something bad". Here she meant that that would cause some love affair between them.

You seldom find such endearment terms as "lover", "dear", "sweetheart" etc., in Chinese ancient poems. The Bible is a classic in the West and has greatly influenced Western culture. Song of Songs in the Bible (1976, pp. 734-741) is regarded as a kind of love song. In it, love is shown openly. The term "lover" is used seventeen times, "darling" six times. You can also find such words as "kiss", "embrace", "love" and "fainted with love" in it. In Chinese ancient poems, love is usually expressed very subtly.

In Chinese, "dear" is normally used only in the letters to one's family members or teachers. In the letters to friends or official letters, "dear" is seldom used. Even in addressing their own spouse, many Chinese are too shy to employ "dear" in front of other people and even in front of their children. In the countryside many people employ "the mother of the child" or "the father of the child". In Manchester and in the north of England, "love", "darling" are used to address strangers to show their warmth and friendliness. When you ask the way, when you go shopping, and when you do a stranger a favor, you are likely to be addressed with these terms. Even the announcers on Manchester Easy Listening Radio Station call their audience "love" or "darling" on the telephonic conversation during the broadcasting. But in China, if a girl is addressed by a stranger as "love" or "darling", she may suspect that the stranger is going to sexually harass her.

Conclusion

This paper indicates that power and solidarity are reflected in both Chinese and British address forms and hierarchies which generate power exist in both cultures. In Britain, people with inherited and honored titles have the privilege of being addressed with TLN or Sir as origin is more valued while in China people with official titles should be addressed with last name plus official titles as officialdom hierarchy is highlighted in China due to the official-oriented values. On the other hand, in Britain, participants' status can be determined by rank and occupation while in

China status is by generation, age and occupation. The ascending generation has power over the descending one in China. Besides, age is another factor that causes power between interlocutors. Older people have the superiority. From the solidarity reflected in the address forms, we can see that the British pursue equality more than the Chinese. English kin terms are simple and are usually limited in addressing people sharing kinship while those for Chinese are extremely complicated and are used to address friends and even strangers because the family is a very important part of Chinese culture. The British are more expressive in their feeling and have more terms of endearment and use them much more frequently and openly. In sum, the address forms of the Chinese language are more complicated and possess more colorful cultural characteristics as address forms are closely related to traditional concepts such as official-oriented and/or clan-oriented values.

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