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Markedness relations in the grammar of address terms

Albert Chih-Cheng Lin
San Jose State University

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Lin, Albert Chih-Cheng, M.A.

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MARKEDNESS RELATIONS
IN THE GRAMMAR OF ADDRESS TERMS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of
Linguistics and Language Development
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Albert Chih-Cheng Lin
August, 1992

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF
LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Carol F. Justus

Dr. Carol F. Justus

Deborah Davison

Dr. Deborah Davison

Patricia C. Nichols

Dr. Patricia C. Nichols

Roula Svorou

Dr. Roula Svorou

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

W. Jon Lewandowski

ABSTRACT

MARKEDNESS RELATIONS IN THE GRAMMAR OF ADDRESS TERMS

by Albert Chih-Cheng Lin

This thesis addresses how social-psychological factors of closeness and distance govern the speaker's selection of terms in three different parts of the grammar: kinship terms, second person pronouns and addressing/naming terms. Using markedness theory, this study isolates the linguistic opposition in each part of the grammar. Markedness characterizes members of the linguistic opposition in terms of morphological and semantic complexity. In addition, it evaluates the property that governs the two terms of an opposition. Research on this subject reveals that the speaker's perception of psychosocial distance is a semantic abstraction encoded independently in each of the three different areas of the grammar of address terms. Psychosocial distance is also the property governing the markedness opposition in which intimacy is evaluated as the typical, unmarked member of the opposition and distance, the property of absence of intimacy, the marked member. This paper provides a case study of psychosocial factors in human interaction being linguistically encoded in the oppositions of language.

To my parents, Jung-Sheng Lin and Hui-Hsi Tseng

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language is essentially a communicative system by means of which people speak and interact with each other. In the daily exchange of information with other members of the same speech community, a speaker needs to make regular mention of the person he addresses and of the person(s) he refers to. Every language, therefore, has a set of relationship terms people use to address or refer to each other. This set is known as terms of address, which may include kinship terms (henceforth KTs), pronouns, and addressing/naming terms. These relationship terms are overt markings of the status of the person, who is either addressed or mentioned, with reference to the speaker. In other words, the relationship terms indicate certain speaker's attitudes and social relationships that the speaker perceives to exist between him/her and the listener or listeners. The selection of an appropriate relationship term is often conditioned by a host of social and psychological factors such as formality and intimacy.

In the present paper the author tries to discover how social-psychological factors govern the selection of an addressing form. Investigations are made regarding three different kinds of address terms: kinship terms, second person pronouns and addressing/naming terms.

In kinship terminology, a review of Lin (1982) and Tsao's (1992) work indicates that complexity in morphological form is directly reflected in kinship relations. In addition, Greenberg (1966) suggests that the semantics of kinship is encoded in language universally in certain predictable relations of

markedness. These studies predict the formal linguistic complexity found in the Chinese morphological oppositions.

This author notices further morphological patterns of complexity that are not captured by either of the Chinese studies or by Greenberg's semantic kinship properties, viz., ones based on psychosocial factors of closeness or distance. According to the results of a questionnaire survey of native speakers of Chinese, they too perceive this factor to be the one distinguishing a formal morphological opposition where there are more and less morphologically complex forms of kinship terms. According to markedness theory, the more complex form correlates with the semantically more marked. Moreover, the unmarked form lacks the property of the marked member. The results of the questionnaire suggest that a speaker's perception of psychosocial distance is the semantic property that distinguishes the more complex form from the less complex form. Psychosocial distance is encoded in KT's as a semantic property governing the markedness relations of two members of a linguistic opposition.

With regard to the terminology of second person pronouns, it has been suggested that in some languages they contrast on the basis of social factors such as social intimacy and formality. The use of addressing/naming terms such as first name as opposed to title and last name contrasts in English on a similar basis. The property of psychosocial distance found in Chinese kinship analysis is measured in these two kinds of linguistic oppositions, i.e., second person pronouns and addressing/naming terms using markedness theory. The author hypothesizes that the linguistically more complex term is also the semantically more complex one. The semantically complex form is found to

have an additional property of psychosocial distance that the unmarked form does not have.

Markedness theory in this project is employed as a way of evaluating the linguistic morphological structure of the opposition of the relationship in question. The author notices that the structural relations of the abstract concept "psychosocial distance" is linguistically encoded in Chinese KTs. The same concept also underlies linguistic oppositions in second person pronouns of some languages and addressing/naming terms of English. The author arrives at the conclusion that speakers' perception of psychosocial distance is the property that forms the basis of all three different linguistic oppositions: KTs, second person pronouns, and addressing/naming terms.

CHAPTER 2

MARKEDNESS THEORY

The concept of markedness derives from Prague School phonology of Trubetzkoy (1931). It was extended to grammatical categories and to a lesser extent lexical semantics by Roman Jakobson (1984). For the past six decades, the concept of markedness has been elaborated and applied in a number of ways. As it was being carried over from one metatheoretical paradigm to another, divergent attitudes arose towards this concept (Tomić 1989). In this chapter, we will provide a brief review of markedness in different metatheoretical paradigms such as phonology, morphology and semantics. After introducing a markedness theory and how it is treated divergently in different metatheoretical paradigms, we provide two universal criteria for making the marked/unmarked distinction between two contrasting categories of terms of address.

2.1 Markedness

2.1.1 *Phonology*

Markedness (or marking) is an important concept in structural linguistics. It derives from phonological research by the Prague School. In 1926, a linguistic society was founded in Prague under the name of the "Prague Linguistic Circle". The central figures in this society were three Russian emigre scholars: R. Jakobson, S. Karcevskij and N. Trubetzkoy. In the late 1920s, they were aware that the work of the phonologist was to establish phonemes and their mutual relations in the examined language. The concept of markedness

was derived from an awareness that no element of the system of language can be fully evaluated unless its relations to other elements of the same system are taken into account. The earlier research in this field goes back to as early as 1928. In their joint thesis presented to the first International Congress of Linguistics held at the Hague in 1928, Jakobson, Karcevskij and Trubetzkoy pointed out the desirability of a more detailed classification of phonological oppositions. Vachek (1966:54-5) summarizes:

Above all, it will be useful to regard, as a specific class of relevant phonic differences, the so-called phonological correlation is constituted by a series of binary oppositions defined by a common principle which can be abstracted (*pense independament*) from each couple of the opposed terms.

According to their further explanation in later years, "phonological correlations" were defined as "a system of phonological oppositions characterized by a common quality of correlation". The quality of correlation, in its turn, was explained as "the opposition of the presence and absence of a certain phonetic feature which differentiates a number of phonological units and which can be abstracted, in the given phonological system, from the opposed pairs" (Vachek 1966:55).

This theory of phonemic oppositions was elaborated by Trubetzkoy, whose idea about the relationship marked/unmarked became the basis of many fruitful ideas in modern linguistic methodology. In his fundamental work, *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, Trubetzkoy showed how the classification of these oppositions can be carried out with reference to both the relationship of each pair of oppositional members and to the phonemic system as a whole. He also drew attention to the pivotal role played in phonemics by binary oppositions. In

studying these simple binary oppositions Trubetzkoy observed that one member of the opposition functions as a marked one in contradistinction to the unmarked. The term *correlative pair* was used to refer to a group of phonemes, usually two in number, which differ only in a single feature of the same category (e.g., voice, when one is unvoiced and the voiced) and whose remaining shared features were not found in any other set. For example, in English /b/ and /p/ are a correlative pair since they differ in voicing only and in regard to their remaining features they are the only non-nasal bilabial stops (Greenberg 1966:12). Voicing is defined as the correlation mark, which is a phonological feature whose presence or absence characterizes a series of correlation pairs. Within one and the same correlative pair, the one characterized by the presence of the correlation mark is called the marked member of the opposition, while the other one goes as its unmarked member. Thus in the opposition of voiced /b/ to unvoiced /p/ both members have the same phonetic characteristics, but in the marked /b/ and unvoiced /p/ pair both members have the same phonetic characteristics, but the marked /b/ has one more property (that of being voiced) than the unmarked consonant has.

The first use of marked/unmarked categories arose in the context of the problem of neutralization and the archiphoneme. For example, in English, the contrast between aspirated (voiceless) and unaspirated (voiced) plosive is normally crucial, e.g., *tip* vs. *dip*, but the contrast is lost, or neutralized, when the plosive is preceded by /s/, as in *stop*, *skin*, *speech*, and as a result, there are no minimal pairs of words in the language of the type /skin/ vs. /*sgin/. From a phonetic point of view, the explanation lies in the phonetic change which happens to /k/ in this position: the /k/ lacks aspiration, and comes to be

physically indistinguishable from /g/ (Crystal 1980:241). The segment /k/ is seen to be unmarked for the neutralized property, and such a segment was termed "an archiphoneme" by Trubetzkoy.

Markedness theory thus is concerned with the representation of the asymmetric distribution of segments in sound systems. Where an opposition is possible, the "typical" pattern or property is called unmarked, and the "atypical" one marked. The Prague School also used markedness to deal with the problem of neutralization and the archiphoneme. Generative phonologists such as Chomsky & Halle (1968), Archangeli (1984), and Pulleyblank (1986) further developed markedness in several directions. These bear primarily in issues in phonology and thus are not elaborated on in the present study.

2.1.2 Morphology

Apart from markedness theory in phonology, another eminent representative of the Prague School, Roman Jakobson, first elaborated on the marked/unmarked criterion, demonstrating its application to grammatical and semantic categories. Let us begin with grammatical categories.

In his well-known study "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums" and "Signe Zéro"¹ Jakobson showed that morphological categories also arrange themselves into oppositions following the principle of binarism: a *marked* category (characterized by the presence of a particular feature of meaning which defines the limits of its use) has its corresponding *unmarked* category (characterized by the absence of the same feature of meaning). For example

¹ These two articles were reprinted as "Structure of the Russian Verb" and "Zero Sign" respectively in Jakobson's selected work *Russian and Slavic Grammar*, ed. by Linda R. Waugh & Morris Halle. New York: Mouton Publishers, 1984.

the Slavic perfect tense is a marked verbal category in relation to the present: while the present tense, although it denotes primarily present time, can also be used for the past, the perfect cannot denote the present moment, but only the past (Ivić 1979:146). Other examples are grammatical items in English such as *boy:boys* where *boys* is marked for plurality. The plural form *boys* is expressed by an overt mark, while the singular *boy* has zero. We will discuss more about morphological markedness in the following section. It should be mentioned that in his research on language universals, Greenberg (1966) found that the text frequency of the singular is in general three or four times greater than the plural. Put another way, the unmarked category occurs more frequently than the marked category.

2.1.3 *Semantics*

Among the semantic areas in which markedness theory has been applied are kinship semantics, the semantics of adjective antonyms and the hierarchy of spatial (unmarked) as against temporal expressions (marked) (Greenberg 1966:25). Jakobson (1984:47) has attempted an over-all definition of markedness as follows:

The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A.

This definition may be illustrated in the following way. To compare two KTs, *mother* and *mother-in-law*, *mother* is the unmarked category with respect to *mother-in-law*, since the latter is marked by the suffix *-in-law*. The morpheme addition follows from the semantic transformation that results when the blood

relative term *mother* becomes the spouse relative term *mother-in-law*. The marked category *mother-in-law* states the presence of affinal relationship, while *mother* states nothing about the presence of affinal relationship and is used chiefly but not exclusively to indicate the absence of it. Thus English native speakers may call their *mother-in-law* as *mother* on some occasions.

Not all semantically marked/unmarked relationships between two categories of lexemes are signaled by morphological markers. For example, there are no morphological markers indicating the semantic contrasts such as *long:short* and *high:low* where the first items are the unmarked members, though only they can be used with neutral meaning. English native speakers use the sentence *How long is the movie?* but not *How short is the movie?* unless it has already been established that the movie referred to is short.

Additionally, there is a relation of universal implication between marked/unmarked category: it is the unmarked member which is the implied or basic term and the marked which is the implying or secondary (Greenberg 1966:60). In view of the above examples, *mother* is a basic term in contrast to *mother-in-law* which is secondary and comes from *mother* affixing *-in-law*. *Mother* is implied whereas *mother-in-law* is implying. In a similar vein, *long* is primary with respect to *short* which is secondary since *long* in certain contexts such as the example above neutralizes in meaning to denote the whole scale of length and does not presuppose that the movie is long.

2.1.4 *Universal Markedness*

In this paper we use the term *terms of address* to refer to three kinds of social categories: KTs, pronouns and addressing/naming terms. We regard

these terms of relationship, consisting of elements of language, to be linguistic phenomena and hence subject to linguistic analysis and interpretation such as analysis by markedness theory. By the criterion of markedness theory, we can know how a linguistic opposition of two categories is characterized in terms of morphology and semantics. After setting up the formal linguistic opposition, we can examine what the property is which governs it.

The notion of markedness developed by the Prague School has been elaborated and applied in a number of ways. To Praguians markedness is defined in a language-specific way. Greenberg examined the universal tendencies in the way marked and unmarked values are assigned cross-linguistically, although the exact usage of the term *marked* has not been uniform (Hyman 1975:145). In the following we will describe the two language-universal interpretations of the term *marked* used in this paper.

As mentioned earlier, the term *marked* derives from its earliest use in phonology. The marked member is relatively complex in relation to the unmarked because the marked member has an additional element which was called *the mark*. Clark & Clark (1977:523-4) have summarized two of Greenberg's criteria for characterizing unmarked and marked members in an opposition as follows:

(1) Added morpheme. If expression B consists of expression A plus an added morpheme, then B is more complex than A. (Note that this is the main criterion to analyze terms of address in this paper). An example is the case of English *boy:boys* where *boys* consists of *boy* plus an added morpheme, the suffix *-s*, which is said to mark *boys* as plural. *Boys* is therefore a more complex

expression than *boy*. Similarly, *mother* is unmarked with respect to *mother-in-law*.

(2) Contextual neutralization. If expression A can neutralize in meaning in contexts that the almost equivalent expression B cannot, then B is more complex than A. In most contexts, for example, *actor* is male and *actress* female. In some contexts, however, *actor* but not *actress* can be neutralized in meaning to cover both males and female. *Actress* is therefore a more complex expression than *actor*. Note that *actress* would be considered marked by the first criterion too, since it consists of actor plus the added morpheme *-ess*.

We will use these two criteria of markedness theory to evaluate our data in terms of the structure of an opposition in which complexity of forms correlates with complexity of semantics. By complexity of semantics is meant that the unmarked form of an opposition lacks an additional property that the marked form has. We will give more detailed explanations in next chapter.

2.2 *Psychosocial Property of "closeness" in Markedness Theory*

In the previous sections, we saw that the semantic contrast between *mother* and *mother-in-law* lies in the fact that *-in-law* is additionally a morphological marker indicating the semantic property of affinity that distinguishes the affinal term *mother-in-law* from the consanguineal term *mother*.

Semantic properties of kinship distinguish pairs of KTs in sets of morphological oppositions. As we will see in the next chapter, the author proposes that the property distinguishing two KTs of a linguistic opposition where one is neutralized in meaning is based on psychosocial factors of closeness or distance. The speaker's perception of psychosocial closeness

moreover is encoded in the unmarked term of an opposition not only in the sphere of KT terminology but also in second person pronouns and addressing/naming terms.

In KT terminology, psychosocial "closeness" is based on a situation in which the speaker shares with the addressee a collective consciousness that results from strong common interests, behavior and self-image, and genealogical closeness. In the terminology of second person pronouns and addressing/naming terms, this collective consciousness is termed by Brown & Gilman (1960) "solidarity". In the following chapters, we will therefore use the word "closeness" and "intimacy" interchangeably.

CHAPTER 3

CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS

This chapter summarizes the findings of Lin (1982) and Tsao (1992) on Chinese kinship data and Greenberg's research on universals of kinship terminology. According to this review of the related literature, the semantics of kinship is encoded language universally in certain relations of markedness which we expect will predict the formal linguistic complexity found in the Chinese morphological oppositions. However, in Chinese vocative KT's where two members of a morphological opposition are neutralized in meaning, the structural relation of the morphological opposition is not captured by either the Chinese studies or by Greenberg's semantic kinship properties. Through a questionnaire survey, the author confirms his hypothesis that the speaker's perception of psychosocial distance is the property governing the structural relation of the morphological opposition. In other words, the abstract concept of psychosocial distance distinguishes the more complex form from the less complex form of KT's in a formal linguistic markedness opposition.

3.1 Lin's Findings (1982) on Chinese KT's

3.1.1 *Morphological and Semantic Analysis*

The following two sections will center around Lin's research, which describes the morphological, semantic and markedness structure of Chinese KT's.

In Chinese, there exist a large number of KT's whose relationships can be described with accuracy. In her Ph. D. dissertation (1982) Lin specified the

reason why there could be a large number of Chinese KTs. She pointed out that Chinese morphemic composition is the most important characteristic that is responsible for this phenomenon. She did an in-depth study from morphological and semantic perspectives on 369 Chinese KTs found in written texts from the tenth century (Song dynasty) to the early twentieth century (late Qing dynasty). All 369 KTs were made up of 21 focal morphemes. She analyzed the distribution of these discrete morphemes with respect to the sequential ordering. She explained that the relationship between related terms that are generated from the same root morpheme is explicated by a step-by-step (or level-by-level) process of morphological expansion and semantic extension. Following hers and Tsao's (1992) explanation, this process can be illustrated by the term *waicengzufu*² 'maternal great-grandfather' as follows:

Figure 1 Morphological Expansion and Semantic Extension of Chinese KT

level:	+3	+2	+1	<--	<i>ZU</i>
morpheme:	<i>wai</i>	<i>ceng</i>	<i>ZU+FU</i>		
meaning:	on the maternal side	of three ascending generation	a male relation of two or more ascending generations		a focal term for two or more ascending generations

The term *wàicēngzǔfù* is viewed as a focal morpheme *zǔ* plus two prefixes *wài-* and *cēng-* and a suffix *-fù*. In this case the suffix *-fù* is called a gender modifier and *wài-* 'on the maternal side' and *cēng-* 'of three ascending generation' as prefixes are called type modifiers since they denote the semantic meaning of kin type.

² The Pinyin system of Romanization is employed regarding Chinese KT data in this paper.

It is clear that every Chinese KT has a focal morpheme, i.e., a root or a stem. Each focal morpheme "generates" a set of KTs by means of affixation. The prefix in a term is called a type-modifier whereas the suffix is called a gender-modifier. The morphological expansion is produced by the addition of modifiers to a focal morpheme one by one. Consequently, the meaning extends by the addition of a morphological feature, which also constitutes a formal marking.

3.1.2 *Markedness Principles of Chinese KTs*

Given this analysis above, Lin found that there are five markedness principles in Chinese KTs (Lin 1982:93-100):

(1) Terms for three or more generations from ego are marked by the addition of three morphemes as against terms for two generations from ego which are morphologically unmarked. These three morphemes can be *cēng*, *gāo* or *xuán*, which literally means '3 generations above (older than) ego', '4 generations above ego', '4 generations below (younger than) ego' respectively.

(2) Non-patrilineal kin are marked by the addition of *wài* 'outside' as against patrilineal kin which are unmarked.

(3) Affinal kin are marked by the addition of *nèi*, *jiù*, *yí*, *fù*, *mǔ*, *fū*, or *xù* as against consanguineal kin which are unmarked. The literal translations of these morphemes are:

Nèi : inside
Jiù : mother's brother
Yí : mother's sister
Fù : father
Mǔ : mother
Fū : son's wife, wife
Xù : daughter's husband

(4) Collateral kin are marked by the addition of *bó*, *shú*, *gū*, *jiù*, *yí*, *zhí*, or *wài-shēng* as against lineal kin which are unmarked.

Bó : father's elder brother
Shú : father's younger brother
Gū : father's sister
Jiù : mother's brother
Yí : mother's sister
Zhí : brother's child
Wài-shēng : sister's child

(5) Cousins are marked by the addition of *táng*, *zài-zóng*, *zú*, *gū-biǎo*, *jiù-biǎo*, or *yí-biǎo* as against siblings which are unmarked.

Táng : father's brother's child
Zài-zóng : follow a second time
Zú : sib, tribe
Gū-biǎo : father's sister's child
Jiù-biǎo : mother's brother child
Yí-biǎo : mother's sister's child

(6) Female descendants are marked by the addition of *nǚ* 'daughter' as against male descendants which are unmarked.

The study of markedness is related to the study of language universals. Lin (1983b) compared these six principles mentioned above with the universal markedness principles of KT by Greenberg (1966:81-2). Greenberg summarized language universals in kinship terminology as follows: Lineal is unmarked as against collateral, consanguineal is unmarked as against affinal, male is unmarked as against female. In regard to sex of referent, older is unmarked in relation to younger. In regard to generation there is a more complex set of relationships. In general, the closer a generation is to ego, the more unmarked it is. Likewise, each ascending generation is unmarked in relation to the corresponding descending generation. According to Lin (1983b), her principles for Chinese, (1), (3), (4), and (5) agree with Greenberg's universal semantic markedness principles in kinship terminology since in each case the

unmarked kin terms are genealogically closer to ego than the marked KTs. However, her principles (2) and (6) are exceptions to the universal principles. Principle (2), that the non-patrilineal kin are marked by the addition morpheme *wài* 'outside', is language-specific since traditional Chinese society is patriarchal. Principle (6), the universal principle that male is unmarked as against female regarding sex of referent, can be applied only in descendants of Chinese KTs. Genealogically, the marked female descendants and unmarked male descendants may be equally close to ego. However, after marriage in patriarchal society, the marked female descendants will not be perceived to be as close as the unmarked male descendants to ego.

3.2 Re-examination of Lin's Findings

3.2.1 *Language Biases of Chinese KTs*

In this section we re-examine Lin's study and discover that Lin's markedness principles in Chinese KTs correspond to the universal tendency of language biases in KTs that favor near relatives over far relatives and blood relatives over spouse's relatives. These language biases show up in the markedness of KTs:

one generation away : two generations away : three generations
away : . . .

blood relative : spouse's relative

As Clark & Clark (1977:542-3) point out, universal biases that treat relatives unequally occur in many languages. The favored kin terms, the unmarked ones, are less complex. For example, in terms of generation English has a progression from *father* to *grandfather* to *great grandfather* and so on. There is an increasing complexity of expression with the addition of *grand* and *great* for

a more distant generation relationships. This applies to descendants as well, as in *grandchild*, *great grandchild*, and *great great grandchild*. As for spouse's relatives, these are clearly marked in English with respect to blood relatives, as in *mother-in-law* versus *mother* and *sister-in-law* versus *sister*. The added morphemes *-in-law* mark a relative as belonging to one's spouse. This increasing complexity of expression is also shown in Figure 1 above (p. 14) with regard to Chinese data. We will develop this in more detail in the next section.

Clark & Clark also provided a reason for the language biases:

It seems fairly clear why these distinctions and biases should exist. Humans, by their biological nature, have parents and grandparents, and-with the usual systems of stable marriage-they may have brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, cousins, and children. It seems only natural to distinguish the care-taking generations from those being taken care of, and to give one's ancestors, who are necessarily there, priority over one's descendants, who aren't. The relatives most closely associated with a person, either biologically or as caretakers (and often both), will be near relatives, hence it is the distant relatives who should be marked. In-laws are acquired only by marriage, so they too are out of the ordinary and should be marked. Put simply, languages will develop kin terms useful for everyday purposes, and this favors ancestors, near relatives, and blood relatives (1977:542-3).

This generalization applies to Chinese in that the near relatives and blood relatives of kin terms are less complex unmarked terms. The increasing complexity of expression reflects our biases: the far relatives are not favored and therefore the near relative terms are less complex.

3.2.2 *Hierarchy of Markedness*

In the previous section, we gave an English example of language biases in which distant generations are more marked and thus expressed with greater

complexity of expression in English KTs. In this section we discuss language biases of Chinese KTs in more detail examining the term *wàicēngzǔfù* 'maternal great-grandfather'. Its morphological expansion and semantic extension illustrates the principle that the morphological patterns of complexity are mapped onto semantic kinship properties. In addition, we find that of two contrasting terms, the unmarked term denotes the closer genealogical relationship to ego while the marked term denotes the more remote genealogical relationship from ego.

Let us now re-examine the morpheme composition of kin terms in figure 1. As mentioned before, the morphological expansion is produced by the addition of modifiers to a focal morpheme one by one. KTs generated by the same focal morpheme within the same set can be distinguished by different expansion levels. Terms containing the focal morpheme and one additional morpheme, either a suffix or a prefix, belong to the first expansion level. Terms containing the focal morpheme and two additional morphemes, which can be either one prefix and one suffix or two prefixes, belong to the second expansion level. Terms containing the focal morpheme and three additional morphemes, always two prefixes and one suffix, belong to the third expansion level. It is clear that terms in a higher expansion level are produced by adding an extra morpheme to terms in the next lower level. In figure 1, *wài-cēng-zǔ-fù* 'maternal great-grandfather' in level 3 is expanded from *cēng-zǔ-fù* 'great-grandfather' in level 2 which is expanded from *zǔ-fù* 'grandfather' in level 1. *Zǔ-fù* 'grandfather' is in turn expanded from the focal morpheme *zǔ* 'grandparent' literally. Note that a semantic property distinguishes between each level of morphological complexity.

Before deriving the principle, let us recall the criterion of markedness theory mentioned in chapter 2. The markedness criterion states that if expression B consists of expression A plus the added morpheme, then B is **more complex than A**. In other words, expression B is more marked than A. In this light, the term *wài-cēng-zǔ-fù* 'maternal great-grandfather' is more complex than *cēng-zǔ-fù* 'great-grandfather' in level 2, which is more complex than *zǔ-fù* 'grandfather' in level 1. In other words, the closer a KT is to ego, the more unmarked it is. The semantics of kinship terms isolate the genealogical distance expressed by the morphological structures of language. Genealogically speaking, a person is closer to his grandfather than to his great-grandfather. But socially speaking, this may not be true.

In the spirit of Tsao (1992), a hierarchy of markedness according to degree of morphological complexity may be proposed:

Level 1 < Level 2 < Level 3

Here the mark '<' means 'less marked than'. Markedness is seen as a gradient concept: one term is more marked than the other and, among marked terms, some are more marked than others.

This hierarchy of markedness can be viewed from another perspective. Each level of expansion results from the process of adding one morpheme. And each Chinese character represents one single morpheme. Thus the term in level 3 would be longer than level 2 and level 1. To combine this point to the one mentioned above, we arrive at the principle that the longer the term is, the more marked (more complex) the term. When the term is more marked, through the morphological expansion, the meaning of the term is extended to refer to a

more distant relationship from ego. However, we are also equally interested in the other side of the coin, i.e., the shorter the term, the less marked.

3.3 Reduplicated/non-reduplicated KTs and Markedness Theory

3.3.1 *Reduplicated and Non-reduplicated KTs*

In the previous section, it was suggested that kinship semantics governs the formal linguistic complexity found in Chinese morphological oppositions of literary KTs, used in epistolary style such as letters or obituary notices or in scientific descriptions such as census register documents. However, kinship semantics fails to explain the difference in morphological complexity of a linguistic opposition for two kinds of vocative KTs which are neutralized in meaning. These two kinds of vocative KTs are reduplicated KTs and non-reduplicated KTs. In markedness analysis, their morphological complexity is characterized such that non-reduplicated KTs are more complex than reduplicated KTs. Markedness theory also predicts that the more morphologically complex form will correlate with the semantically more marked. The unmarked element will be missing the property which distinguishes the more complex form from the less complex.

In Chinese, reduplicated and non-reduplicated KTs referring to the same addressee can neutralize in meaning in some contexts. Semantic kinship properties thus fail to distinguish the oppositions of reduplicated and non-reduplicated KTs. We propose an alternate hypothesis here, that the speaker's perception of psychosocial distance is the property distinguishing these two kinds of vocative KTs in oppositions. This hypothesis is tested using a questionnaire survey. Before introducing our proposed abstract property, let us

examine what the reduplicated and non-reduplicated KT's are and how they are characterized in linguistic markedness oppositions.

In Mandarin Chinese there exists a special subset of vocative KT's that are employed in everyday life. These reduplicated terms are colloquial and disyllabic. Li and Thompson give a good description in their grammar (1981:36), providing a list of examples as follows:

Figure 2 Chinese Reduplicated KT

a. <i>bàba</i>	father
b. <i>māma</i>	mother
c. <i>gēge</i>	older brother
d. <i>didi</i>	younger brother
e. <i>jiějie</i>	older sister
f. <i>mèimei</i>	younger sister
g. <i>yéye</i>	paternal grandpa
h. <i>nǎinai</i>	paternal grandma
i. <i>bóbo</i>	older brother of father
j. <i>shúshu</i>	younger brother of father
k. <i>gūgu</i>	paternal aunt
l. <i>jiùjiu</i>	maternal uncle
m. <i>lǎolao</i>	maternal grandma
n. <i>gōnggong</i>	husband's father
o. <i>pópo</i>	husband's mother

As a morphological process, reduplication means that a morpheme is repeated so that the original morpheme together with its repetition form a new word. Such a new word is generally semantically and/or syntactically distinct from the original morpheme (Li & Thompson 1981:28). In the list above, the monosyllabic morphemes are reduplicated to form KT's. The monosyllabic morphemes in these reduplicated KT's are mostly bound morphemes--morphemes that can not occur as independent words. The only exceptions, according to Li & Thompson, are *bà* 'father' and *mā* 'mother'. This is not quite true. The exceptions should also include the morphemes such as *gē* 'older

brother' and *jiě* 'older sister'. (*Dì* 'younger brother' and *mèi* 'younger sister' are rarely, if ever, heard in isolation. We will provide the reason for that in later discussion). Thus, the morphemes that can occur independently are these terms: *bà*, *mā*, *gē*, *jiě* 'father, mother, older brother, older sister' respectively.

The monosyllabic bound morphemes given in reduplicated form in Figure 2 for reduplication may also occur with other morphemes, such as morphemes denoting numbers to form terms of address. For instance, *èr-jiě* 'number two older sister' can be used to address one's second older sister, though the general term of address denoting older sister is a reduplicated form, *jiě-jiě*. In another example, *sì-jiù* 'number four uncle' is used to address one's fourth maternal uncle, while the general term of address for maternal uncle is the reduplicated form, *jiù-jiù*. Thus we see that these monosyllabic bound morphemes, the focal morpheme in Lin's analytical terms, can be affixed to the numbers ranging from two to ten to indicate the order of seniority.

The above descriptions suggest that the monosyllabic bound morphemes can be reduplicated to form the general term of address for one's relative. Otherwise, the monosyllabic bound morphemes can be suffixed to the number to form non-reduplicated KTs, indicating the order of seniority. In this light, there are two kinds of vocative KTs: one is reduplicated, the other is non-reduplicated. For example, *gēge* is a general term indicating one's older brother while *èrgē* is a term denoting a specific order of seniority, namely, one's second older brother. The morpheme *èr* in *èrgē* means 'two'. One's second older brother can be addressed as either *gēge* or *èrgē*. This much will suffice as background information about the reduplicated and non-reduplicated KTs.

Let us see in the following section how they are characterized in linguistic oppositions.

3.3.2 *Markedness Aspects of Reduplicated and Non-reduplicated KTs*

In this section we employ markedness theory to set up measures of formal linguistic complexity in Chinese morphological oppositions. By the criterion of markedness theory, the difference between these two kinds of kinship terminology lies in the fact that one is more complex than the other in terms of morphology. The following are our interpretations. Consider these two examples:

- (1) $g\bar{e} : g\bar{e}ge$ 'older bro' : 'older brother'
(2) $g\bar{e}ge : \bar{e}rg\bar{e}$ 'older brother' : 'second older brother'

In each set of examples, the left-hand term is unmarked with respect to the right-hand term. Let us examine example (1) first. As mentioned before, markedness theory holds that if expression B consists of expression A plus an added morpheme, then B is more complex than A and B is therefore more marked than A. In this perspective, the term $g\bar{e}ge$ in (1) is marked as against $g\bar{e}$ because it is reduplicated from $g\bar{e}$ and thus more complex than $g\bar{e}$.

With regard to example (2), before complicating things a little further, let us introduce Tsao's viewpoint (1992). The universal understanding of markedness theory states that a term that is morphologically and phonologically less complex is unmarked when compared with another term of the same length that is morphologically and phonologically more complex. Tsao proposed that since it is generally agreed that adding an identical morpheme--as in the case of reduplication--is less complex morphologically and phonologically than adding a different one, it follows that reduplicated KTs are unmarked as against

their non-reduplicated counterparts. In other words, the reduplicated KT *gēge* is unmarked compared to the non-reduplicated *èrgē*. Based on these interpretations, Tsao set up a hierarchy of markedness as in Figure 3 (where '<' means 'less marked than').

Figure 3 Hierarchy of Markedness in Chinese KTs

one-morpheme terms <

disyllabic reduplicated terms <

disyllabic non-reduplicated terms <

trisyllabic terms with reduplication <

trisyllabic non-reduplicated terms

(Tsao 1992)

Markedness is considered as a matter of degree in this model of hierarchy below, established and based on the complexity principle that the marked member is more complex than the unmarked member in terms of either phonology or morphology.

Thus far, according to markedness theory, the morphological opposition is characterized as follows: the reduplicated KTs are unmarked and less complex while the non-reduplicated KTs are marked and more complex. In the following section, we will subject these two kinds of KTs as data to a questionnaire survey, in which we inquire about the speaker's perception of psychosocial factors of closeness or distance. In addition, we will provide the context where these two kinds of KTs are neutralized in meaning, and hence we need an additional property to distinguish them in markedness opposition. The

existence of a feature of speaker's perception of psychosocial closeness or distance is shown by the results of the questionnaire survey.

3.4 Questionnaire Survey

3.4.1 Data, Method and Subject

Data. The data are based on Chinese reduplicated and non-reduplicated KTs, which we have introduced in section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. There are six parts to the questionnaire survey (see Appendix A). Reduplicated KTs and non-reduplicated KTs are compared in each part of the questionnaire: one-morpheme terms vs disyllabic reduplicated terms in part I; one-morpheme terms vs. disyllabic non-reduplicated terms in part II; disyllabic reduplicated terms vs. disyllabic non-reduplicated terms in part III; disyllabic reduplicated terms vs. trisyllabic terms with reduplication in part IV; disyllabic non-reduplicated terms vs. trisyllabic terms with reduplication in part V; and trisyllabic terms with reduplication vs. trisyllabic non-reduplicated terms in part VI.

In the first part, there are eight colloquial kinship terms in four groups. Each group is comprised of two kinship terms: single morpheme kinship terms such as *ba*, *ma*, *ge*, *jie* (unmarked), and reduplicated terms such as *bàba*, *māma*, *gēge*, *jiějie* (marked). For instance:

Part I

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. (a) <i>bà</i> | (b) <i>bàba</i> | 'father' |
| 2. (a) <i>mā</i> | (b) <i>māma</i> | 'mother' |
| 3. (a) <i>gē</i> | (b) <i>gēge</i> | 'older brother' |
| 4. (a) <i>jiě</i> | (b) <i>jiějie</i> | 'older sister' |

The subjects were asked to choose one term in each question that s/he feels to be closer to her/himself.

The second part of the questionnaire consists of two questions:

Part II

1. (a) *gē* (b) *dàgē* 'older brother'
2. (a) *jiē* (b) *èrjiē* 'older sister'

Again, the subjects were allowed to choose one term in each question that is felt to be more intimate.

The third part of the questionnaire is composed of six questions:

Part III

1. (a) *gēge* (b) *dàgē* 'older brother'
2. (a) *jiējie* (b) *èrjiē* 'older sister'
3. (a) *bóbo* (b) *èrbó* 'older brother of father'
4. (a) *shúshu* (b) *sānshú* 'younger brother of father'
5. (a) *gūgu* (b) *èrgū* 'paternal aunt'
6. (a) *jiùjiu* (b) *shìjiù* 'maternal uncle'

The fourth part of the questionnaire compares the disyllabic reduplicated terms with the trisyllabic terms with reduplication. There are four questions as follows:

Part IV

1. (a) *bóbo* (b) *èrbóbo* 'older brother of father'
2. (a) *shúshu* (b) *sānshúshu* 'younger brother of father'
3. (a) *gūgu* (b) *èrgūgu* 'paternal aunt'
4. (a) *jiùjiu* (b) *shìjiùjiu* 'maternal uncle'

The fifth part of the questionnaire compares four disyllabic non-reduplicated terms with four trisyllabic terms with reduplication.

Part V

1. (a) *èrbó* (b) *èrbóbo* 'older brother of father'
2. (a) *sānshú* (b) *sānshúshu* 'younger brother of father'
3. (a) *èrgū* (b) *èrgūgu* 'paternal aunt'
4. (a) *shìjiù* (b) *shìjiùjiu* 'maternal uncle'

In the last part of the questionnaire, there is only one question. The unmarked trisyllabic term with reduplication and the marked trisyllabic non-reduplicated term are contrasted as follows:

Part VI *Lín bóbo* : *Lín laǒbó/Línbófù* 'Mr. Lin'

These terms above involve the extended use of kinship terms in Chinese. According to Chao (1956) and Tsao (1992), some of the KTs are extensively employed in addressing unrelated people. Reduplicated KTs are also used for this purpose. For instance, if my father and Mr. Lin are good friends, then the KTs used with my own family will be extended and applied to members of the Lin family by prefixing each term with their surname. Thus, Mr. Lin would be called *Lín bóbo*, *Lín bófu*, or *Lín Laǒbó*, but never *Lín Xiānshēng* ('Mr. Lin'), which would be appropriate for addressing someone your family does not know. Based on this point, the final question was designed to ascertain what the difference of speaker's perception of socio-psychological distance is between the less complex term (reduplicated KT) and more complex term (non-reduplicated KT).

Method. We presented two groups of data in each part of the questionnaire. There are two points that should be mentioned. One is that the markedness analysis in section 3.3.2 suggests that terms in column (a) are unmarked with respect to terms in column (b). Another is that with the exception of part I, terms in column (a) are the general term with respect to terms in column (b), the latter being terms denoting the order of seniority. When both terms in column (a) and (b) can refer to the same person, they are neutralized in meaning. The questionnaire, therefore, requests information about the speaker's perception of psychosocial factors of closeness or distance. More detailed discussion with regard to these two points follows.

In markedness analysis, terms in column (a) are unmarked with respect to terms in column (b) which are marked, in all parts of the questionnaire. To

put this another way, terms in column (a) are less complex than terms in column (b). It is clear that terms of column (b) are more complex than terms of column (a) in part I, II, IV, V since there are added morphemes in terms of column (b). With regard to part III and VI, terms of column (a) and (b) share the same degree of morphological complexity. Elsewhere, the terms of column (a) are unmarked with respect to terms of column (b) given the universal understanding of markedness theory that in the case of reduplication, adding an identical morpheme is less complex morphologically and phonologically than adding a different one.

In section 3.3.1, we have introduced the reduplicated KTs as general terms for addressing kin and the non-reduplicated KTs as terms denoting the order of seniority since they are suffixed to numbers. With the exception of part I, all the terms in column (a) are general terms, whereas all the terms in column (b) are terms denoting the order of seniority. To apply the criterion of contextual neutralization in markedness theory, in the context where terms in column (a) and (b) refer to the same person, terms in column (a) can neutralize in meaning while terms in column (b) cannot. Therefore, terms in column (b) are marked with respect to terms in column (a). For example, *gēge* in column (a) is a general term for any older brother while *èrgē* in column (b) is a term for one's second older brother. The term *gēge* but not *èrgē* can be neutralized in meaning to cover both older brother and, say, one's oldest brother.

A relative addressed by a KT denoting the order of seniority can also be addressed using the general term. Therefore, the questionnaire regards the terms of column (a) and column (b) as potentially referring to the same person. Then the subject's psychosocial perception toward the two columns of terms is

questioned. The subjects were asked to choose between the two variant KTs referring to the same person the one that is felt to be closer to her/him, irrespective of her/his own actual usage of KTs in everyday life.

Subjects. There were forty-two subjects, all Taiwan Mandarin speakers. Half of them were students at San Jose State University in California. Half of them were relatives of the author's who immigrated from Taiwan. All of the subjects were literate in Chinese. The subjects were all bi-lingual since they spoke both Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin. Mandarin was elicited because there are no reduplicated KTs in Taiwanese.

Since there are differences between Taiwanese and Mandarin KTs, the questionnaire opens with a paragraph informing the subjects that the questions are relevant to the use of colloquial KTs only in Mandarin. All the KTs in the questionnaire are written in Chinese. A copy of the questionnaire appears as Appendix A.

3.4.2 *Results and Discussion*

Results from forty-two completed questionnaires were tabulated. The following figure shows the numbers of responses to each question. The letters T, R, and Q in the following figure stand for terms in column (a) and (b), number of responses, and number of questions, respectively.

Figure 4 Results of the Questionnaire

Part I

<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>T</td></tr> <tr><td>R</td></tr> <tr><td>Q</td></tr> </table>	T	R	Q	Column (a) One-morpheme terms	Column (b) Disyllabic reduplicated terms
T					
R					
Q					
Q 1	40	2			
Q 2	40	2			
Q 3	41	1			
Q 4	41	1			
Average-percentage	96%	4%			

Part II

<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>T</td></tr> <tr><td>R</td></tr> <tr><td>Q</td></tr> </table>	T	R	Q	Column (a) One-morpheme terms	Column (b) Disyllabic non-reduplicated terms
T					
R					
Q					
Q 1	25	17			
Q 2	27	15			
Average-percentage	62%	38%			

Part III

<div style="text-align: right;">T</div> <div style="text-align: right;">R</div> <div style="text-align: right;">Q</div>	Column (a) Disyllabic reduplicated terms	Column (b) Disyllabic non-reduplicated terms
Q 1	19	23
Q 2	20	22
Q 3	20	22
Q 4	22	20
Q 5	20	22
Q 6	22	20
Average-percentage	49%	51%

Part IV

<div style="text-align: right;">T</div> <div style="text-align: right;">R</div> <div style="text-align: right;">Q</div>	Column (a) Disyllabic reduplicated terms	Column (b) Trisyllabic terms with reduplication
Q 1	30	12
Q 2	28	14
Q 3	24	18
Q 4	28	14
Average-percentage	66%	34%

Part V

<div style="text-align: center;">T</div> <div style="text-align: center;">R</div> <div style="text-align: center;">Q</div>	Column (a) Disyllabic non-reduplicated terms	Column (b) Trisyllabic terms with reduplication
Q 1	32	10
Q 2	30	12
Q 3	30	12
Q 4	34	8
Average-percentage	75%	25%

Part VI

<div style="text-align: center;">T</div> <div style="text-align: center;">R</div> <div style="text-align: center;">Q</div>	Column (a) Trisyllabic terms with reduplication	Column (b) Trisyllabic non-reduplicated terms
Q 1	42	0
Average-percentage	100%	0%

In the first part of the questionnaire, 96% of the subjects strongly feel that one-morpheme KT's in column (a) sound closer to them. This result is significant because we found that psychosocial distance is the property governing the marked/unmarked oppositions of KT's. Remember that in markedness analysis the formal morphological complexity is set up in the

oppositions where column (a) terms are unmarked with respect to column (b) terms. For example, *bà* 'father' is unmarked in column (a) while *bàba* 'father' is marked.

There is no semantic property to capture the relative morphological complexity of the opposition since both terms in the opposition refer to father. However, 96% of the subjects do perceive the column (a) terms to be felt closer to them. This phenomenon suggests that the property governing the relation of the marked/unmarked opposition should be based on speaker perception of psychosocial closeness or distance.

Let us recall our discussion of markedness theory in section 2.1.1. Remember that in the opposition /p:/b/ of English, voicing is the correlation mark (or the phonological feature) whose presence or absence characterizes /p:/b/ as an opposition. In other words, voicing is the property that distinguishes two members of the opposition. Thus, both members have the same phonetic characteristics, except that the marked /b/ has one more property (that of being voiced), which the unmarked consonant lacks. In a similar vein, since 96% of the subjects prefer column (a) terms as feeling closer to them, psychosocial distance is strongly suggested as a property that distinguishes column (a) terms and column (b) terms. The marked column (b) terms have one more property--distance, which the unmarked column (a) terms lack. The KTs in column (a) are unmarked, suggesting that they are less complex. 96% of the subjects felt column (a) terms to be more intimate. Therefore, the employment of less complex terms in column (a) may imply that there is psychosocial closeness between speaker and addressee. This explanation accounts for why only the single morpheme KTs, *bà* 'father', *mā* 'mother', *gē* 'older brother', and *jiě* 'older

sister', are immediate family members (Tsao 1992). It follows conversely, then, that except for the above four single-morpheme kin terms it is hardly, if ever, the case that Mandarin speakers address their kin using single-morpheme KTs. For example, *shúshu* 'younger brother of father' won't be addressed as *shú*, nor *jiùjiù* 'maternal uncle' as *jiù*.

Dìdi 'younger brother' and *mèimei* 'younger sister' belonging to the immediate family constitute two noticeable exceptions regarding the previous point because *dì* and *mèi* are rarely, if ever, heard. However, this practice can be explained by the address rule that in addressing younger relatives of the same generation, personal names are often preferred--as was also observed by Chao (1956) and Tsao (1992).

Let us now discuss the results of part II of the questionnaire. The percentages show that 62% of the subjects regard the unmarked terms in column (a) to be closer to themselves. The percentage of column (a) in part II is lower than that of column (a) in part I.

With regard to part III, 49% of the subjects chose column (a) in contrast to 51% of the subjects who chose column (b). Comparison of the two sets of percentages shows a two percentage point difference between them. This difference in percentage is not significant because it is considered within the margin of error. The subjects are divided into two groups where half of them prefer column (a) while the other half column (b). This result in part III is different from the other parts of the questionnaire. Perhaps since III (b) terms are more frequently used vocatively than III (a) terms, they have more intimate affect.

There is one further point that should be mentioned. Graphemically, all the terms of column (b) in part III are less complex than those of column (a) as we begin a detailed inspection of structure of Chinese characters between two columns:

Part III

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|----|-------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>gēge</i> | 哥哥 | (b) <i>dàgē</i> | 大哥 | 'older brother' |
| 2. (a) <i>jiějie</i> | 姐姐 | (b) <i>èrjiě</i> | 二姐 | 'older sister' |
| 3. (a) <i>bóbo</i> | 伯伯 | (b) <i>èrbó</i> | 二伯 | 'older brother of father' |
| 4. (a) <i>shúshu</i> | 叔叔 | (b) <i>sānshú</i> | 三叔 | 'younger brother of father' |
| 5. (a) <i>gūgu</i> | 姑姑 | (b) <i>èrgū</i> | 二姑 | 'paternal aunt' |
| 6. (a) <i>jiūjiu</i> | 舅舅 | (b) <i>sìjiū</i> | 四舅 | 'maternal uncle' |

From this illustration above, it is evident that all the words of column (b) are graphemically less complex than that of column (a) because of the strokes used to form the written characters. It seems possible that subjects may have associated graphemic simplicity with intimacy, perhaps in absence of any other perceptible difference. However, we did not test for this interpretation.

Be this as it may, we cannot propose that the words in column (b) are morphologically unmarked with respect to the words in column (a), because each Chinese character represents one single morpheme, and the morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit of grammatical analysis in a language. Morphologically speaking, column (a) terms and column (b) terms share the same complexity of expression since each of the words in both columns constitutes two morphemes. As noted above, according to Tsao that the terms in column (a) are unmarked with respect to the terms in column (b) is due to the fact that adding an identical morpheme is less complex morphologically and phonologically than adding a different one in the case of reduplication. For example, in terms of phonology, when the reduplicated morpheme is monosyllabic, the second syllable takes a neutral tone. Since the second

syllable of all the words in column (a) takes a neutral tone, consequently they are less complex phonologically than the words in column (b). Our data do not appear to support Tsao's claim.

In part IV, the percentage of column (a) is higher than that of column (b): 66% vs. 34%. In part V, the percentage is 70% vs. 30%. With regard to the last part of the questionnaire, the percentage of column (a) is highest among the six parts. 100% of the subjects perceive the trisyllabic terms with reduplication as more intimate to them. By the criterion in markedness theory, all terms of column (a) are less complex than all terms of column (b). The 66%, 71% and 100% of column (a) for parts IV, V, and VI respectively suggest that the subjects perceive the unmarked term as definitely more intimate than the marked term for the same referent.

With the exception of part III, the results of the questionnaire suggest that the unmarked column (a) terms are felt to be closer to the subjects. Since, as mentioned before, column (a) terms and column (b) terms are neutralized in meaning, psychosocial distance is regarded as the additional property governing the markedness opposition of morphological complexity in Chinese KTs. With this abstract property, we are in position to propose that the less complex terms devoid of the property of distance denote psychosocial intimacy.

CHAPTER 4

SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

When we speak, we constantly make choices between linguistic variables that enable us as individuals to identify with a social group or to separate ourselves from it. In the previous chapter, we saw that certain linguistic choices a speaker makes indicate the relationship in terms of psychosocial closeness or distance that the speaker perceives to exist between him/her and the listener or listeners related to him/her by blood or marriage. In the following discussion, we will look at the relationship between people who are not necessarily kin by examining a specific aspect of communication: namely, the choice of two pronouns in the second person.

On the basis of Chinese KT data examined in the previous chapter, the author hypothesizes that the property of psychosocial distance is encoded in language as a property governing the markedness relations of two members of a linguistic opposition. It has been suggested that pronouns in some languages contrast on the basis of social factors. Therefore, in Chapter 4 and 5, the author will bring in further evidence from pronouns to test the hypothesis that a linguistic opposition might be based on psychosocial factors of intimacy and distance.

4.1 **Tu/Vous and Markedness Theory**

4.1.1 *Tu and Vous*

In a classic article, Brown & Gilman (1960) analyzed the two second person pronouns of address in European languages as signifiers of systems of

social relationships. The European development of two singular pronouns of address begins with the Latin *tu* and *vos*. In Italian they became *tu* and *voi* (with *Lei* eventually largely displacing *voi*); in French *tu* and *vous*; in Spanish *tu* and *vos* (later *usted*). In German the distinction began with *du* and *Ihr* but *Ihr* gave way to *er* and later to *Sie*. English speakers first used "thou" and "ye" and later replaced "ye" with "you" (Brown & Gilman 1960:25). This distinction all but disappeared after Shakespeare's time, but may still occur in religious contexts such as prayers, or in poetry. As a convenience, the forms of these pronouns are generally referred to as T forms describing the familiar pronouns and V forms the polite pronouns.

According to Brown & Gilman (1960), the Latin T/V distinction (*Tu/Vous*) began as a difference between singular and plural: the T forms were used for addressing one person, and the V for more than one person. However, a complication arose where the T/V distinction underwent semantic change. They explain this complication as follows:

In the Latin of antiquity there was only *tu* in the singular. The plural *vos* as a form of address to one person was first directed to the emperor, and there are several theories... about how this may have come about. The use of the plural to the emperor began in the fourth century. By that time there were actually two emperors; the ruler of the eastern empire had his seat in Constantinople and the ruler of the west sat in Rome. Because of Diocletian's reforms the imperial office, although vested in two men, was administratively unified. Words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both. The choice of *vos* as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality. An emperor is also plural in another sense; he is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative. Royal persons sometimes say 'we' where an ordinary man would say 'I.' The Roman emperor sometimes spoke of himself as *nos*, and the reverential *vos* is the simple reciprocal of this (Brown & Gilman 1960:255).

The consequence of this usage was that the 'royal you' to the Roman Emperor was extended to others who exercised power. By medieval times the upper classes showed mutual respect and politeness through the use of V forms only. Medieval nobles would generally address each other as V, whether talking to one person or more than one, while the lower classes would address each other as T. The upper classes would address the lower classes with T but receive V. This nonreciprocal T/V usage therefore came to symbolize a 'power' relationship (Crystal 1987).

Later, rather than simply as a mark of respect due to a power relationship, the V forms were used as signs of politeness or any kind of social distance. T forms correspondingly began to be used as markers of social closeness and intimacy where two people agreed they had strong common interests, behavior and self-image, termed by Brown & Gilman "solidarity". Thus, between equals, it became possible to use either T or V, depending on the degree of solidarity one wished to convey. Lower-class friends would address each other as T, and use V to strangers or acquaintances. Upper-class people would do likewise.

Apparently the T/V distinction can be, and is, used to control social interactions by indicating the degree of power and solidarity between the parties. Consider T/V usage in terms of the dyad, two interacting parties. If the two exchange mutual T (the singular), they are signaling intimacy (or solidarity). If one member of the dyad gives the singular and the other has to use the plural V back, then power is being signaled by the one who gives T and gets V; however, in these circumstances where there is a power relationship motivating one usage (T=lack of respect), and a solidarity relationship motivating another

(T=social closeness), situations of uncertainty often arise. For example, during a meal, should diners address servants as T or V? The diners are more 'powerful' (and so should use T), but they are also socially distant from the servants (and so should use V). Similarly, should children address their parents as T (because they are intimates) or V (because there is a power difference)? By the 20th century, such conflicts had in most cases been resolved by following the dictates of the solidarity dimension. These days diners address waiters as V, and children address parents as T (Crystal 1987). Brown & Gilman described the linguistic changes that resolved the conflict of T/V variation as follows:

Once solidarity has been established as the single dimension distinguishing T from V the province of T proceeds to expand. Thus the mutual T for solidarity gradually came to replace the mutual V of politeness since solidarity is often more important than politeness in personal relationships... and the development of open societies with an equalitarian ideology has acted against the nonreciprocal power semantic and in favor of solidarity. The larger social changes created a distance for the face-to-face expression of differential power (Brown & Gilman 1960:261).

Putting this quotation another way, they suggested that the modern change in pronoun usage in certain European languages follows from the unconscious consensus of their speakers to extend the solidarity ethic and to minimize the power differential.

4.1.2 *Markedness Aspects of the T/V Opposition*

We have seen that second person pronouns are used by the speaker indirectly to demonstrate the objective relationships existing between the speaker and addressee. In this section we are concerned with T/V pronouns as

analyzed by markedness theory. We propose that the T forms are unmarked with respect to the V forms which are marked.

After examining the T/V distinction in many languages, we found that the T forms are unmarked while the V forms are marked in two respects. Semantically speaking, the plural category is marked as opposed to the singular category that is unmarked. Thus, the V pronouns are marked with respect to the T form. And much more significantly, children generally acquire the singular category before the plural category, corresponding to Jakobson's statement that the unmarked category is usually learned earlier than the marked (Jakobson 1968). We thus generalized the contrast 'T pronouns-V pronouns' as a case of the contrast 'unmarked-marked'. Thus far, we have generalized the T/V opposition determined by the semantic property which governs their relation. In the following discussion, the author will analyze T/V opposition on the basis of social factors because it is significant to all societies that relationship terms such as T and V denote individual relationships and group structure. Based on social factors of T/V usage, the author proposes that distance is the additional property governing T/V opposition.

In the preceding section we concluded the point that the T forms are markers of intimacy: in contexts of social closeness A and B exchange T pronouns; in contrast, A and B exchange V pronouns in relations of social distance; A gives T and receives V in relations of dominance where A ranks higher than B. The V forms imply the social distance which can be determined by such parameters as people's comparative ages, genders, and sociocultural backgrounds. For example, the usage of V forms occurs due to the politeness or social formality between people. In addition, the V forms imply people's

relative power. The social distance and power relationships can be grouped as non-intimacy relationships. In such a way, we can divide the labor between two social relationships: intimacy denoted by the usage of T forms and non-intimacy denoted by the usage of V forms. Therefore, we can dichotomize the contrast 'intimacy (T)-nonintimacy (V)' as a case of contrast 'unmarked-marked'. Psychosocial distance is the non-linguistic property that distinguishes the contrast of unmarked/marked pair of terms in this case because they differ in that the marked V forms have one more property, distance, which the unmarked T forms lack.

More importantly, it should be mentioned that it appears to be a world-wide phenomenon that plural pronouns can be used to singular addressees to show deference or distance. In addition to the cases described by Brown & Gilman (1960) for French, German, Spanish and Italian, Brown & Levinson (1987:198-9) provides other languages where this occurs. These languages include Russian, Slavic languages, Greek, Canadian French, Yiddish, Hungarian, Swedish, Czech, Quechua, Tamil, Welsh, and many African languages.

Brown & Levinson provide a number of possible motives for the phenomenon:

On the one hand 'you' (plural) provides a conventional 'out' for the hearer (as R. Lakoff 1973a has observed). That is, since it does not *literally* single out the addressee, it is *as if* the speaker were giving H the option to interpret it as applying to him rather than, say, to his companions. The fact that by conventionalization it no longer really does give H that out does not render it useless. Rather, it conveys the *desire* of the speaker to render H that tribute, while fulfilling the practical needs of clarity and on-record talk... A second possible motive is this: in kinship-based societies in particular, but in all societies where a person's social status is fundamentally linked to membership in a group, to treat persons

as representatives of a group rather than as relatively powerless individuals would be to refer to their social standing and the backing that they derive from their group. In some societies, of course, the individual's social standing is so much derived from group membership that for one to take the life of a member of another group leads to indiscriminate retaliation on *any* member of the slayer's group, without preference for the slayer himself. In such social settings, persons are always representatives, and the motivation for a plural 'you' of deference or distance would be the same as for the plural of the 'we' of corporations and corporations sole (Brown & Levinson 1987:198-9).

In other words, deference to the hearer is communicated by including him/her among a number of people. This widely used strategy for indicating deference is, as Allen & Burridge (1991) pointed out, euphemistic. For example, in French, a speaker uses the second person plural as a deference mode for addressing a singular hearer in (1), the plain form in casual speech in (2):

- (1) Vous êtes très gentille, madam.
2:p are very kind madam
"You are very kind, madam."
(2) T'es très gentille, maman
2:s:are very kind mommy
"You are very kind, mommy."

In example (1), the speaker acts on the normal presumption that any individual is representative of a group, and derives social standing accordingly. Because there is safety in numbers, the addressee is less vulnerable as a member of a group than if s/he were alone--any threat to the one addressed may be perceived as a threat to the whole group; thus, the speaker will pretend to show greater respect for the addressee than if the addressee were a lone individual (Allan & Burridge 1991:42).

We now return to the usages of T/V and their relation to markedness theory. The T/V form may be interpreted as the unmarked/marked opposition in

which the two members are governed by the property of distance. In other words, T forms are less complex than V forms. Because they lack the property of distance, the T forms are less complex and are able to denote social intimacy perceived to exist between the speaker and the addressee.

4.2 *Nǐ* (T)/*Nín* (V) and Markedness Theory

4.2.1 *Hypothesis and Field Testing*

Analogous to T/V in many European languages is Mandarin Chinese *nǐ/nín*, also an unmarked/marked distinction, because *nín* is phonologically more complex than *nǐ*. In the following discussion, we describe a questionnaire designed to determine the usages of *nǐ/nín*. From their uses we examine whether *nǐ/nín* bears out our conclusion from the previous section. Before conducting the questionnaire, let us see what Chao and Fang found in regard to the use of *nǐ/nín*. According to Fang's research (1983:502) and Chao's grammar (1968), the rules governing *nǐ* and *nín* could basically be summed up as follows:

Nǐ

1. Familiarity: e.g., classmates, fellow students, fellow workers, colleagues, intimate friends.
2. Lower rank: e.g., clerks, servants, workmen, peasants.
3. Equals of the family and kin: e.g., husband and wife, brothers and sisters, cousin.

Nín

1. Special status: e.g., chief of state.
2. Higher rank: e.g., officials, judges, gentry.
3. Celebrities: e.g., famous scholars, professors, famous writers.
4. Ascending generation: e.g., grandparents, parents, parents-in-law, uncles and aunts.
5. Strangers or elders in the community.

To investigate the present-day uses of *nǐ* and *nín*, we employed a questionnaire. Following Brown & Gilman (1960), the questionnaire was in English except for *nǐ* and *nín* written in Chinese. It began with a paragraph informing the subject that the questions were relevant to the use of the second singular pronoun. Since there is such distinction between T and V in the dialects of central and southern China including Taiwanese, the subjects were also asked to imagine themselves in some social situation and then to say what pronoun they would use in Mandarin.

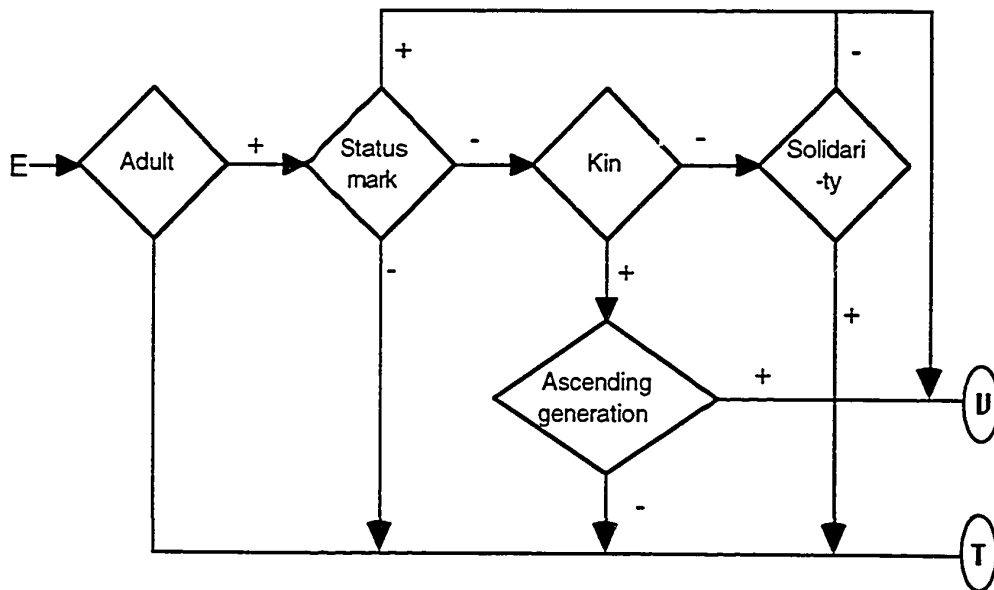
In the spirit of the form of the questionnaire in Brown & Gilman (1960), 20 items elicit information about the usage between the subject and his mother, father, grandfather, grandmother, his wife, siblings, aunt and uncle. The questionnaire also asks about usage between the subject and his boss, boss' wife, politician, elder in the community, strangers, fellow student, and waiter. A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix B. As for the subjects, they were 26 persons who came from Taiwan. The subjects who speak Taiwan Mandarin were all students of San Jose State University in California.

4.2.2 *Results and Discussion*

There are complete responses from 23 subjects. The result of the questionnaire shows that 99% of the subjects would probably use *nǐ* to people of intimacy, familiarity and lower rank (cf. Questions 9-15). This use of *nǐ* corresponds to Fang and Chao's rules. However, the use of *nín* has undergone change in which *nín* has been replaced to some extent by *nǐ*. This replacement, contradicting Fang and Chao's rules, is particularly evident in address to ascending generations of kin group (cf. Questions 1-7). For example, 81% of

the subjects would probably use *nǐ* to family members of ascending generation. 79% of the subjects prefer *nǐ* to elders in the community. 69% of the subjects tend to prefer *nín* for addressing higher ranks such as a boss, a politician or an official (cf. Questions 16-18). As the percentages suggest, it seems that the linguistic replacement of *nín* by *nǐ* is still in process. In addition, 71% of the subjects are prone to use *nín* to teachers and 70% to strangers (cf. Questions 19 & 20). Following Ervin-Tripp (1972), we can summarize the results by using the following chart:

Figure 5 Addressing System of T/V distinction in Chinese



This flow chart can only summarize or symbolize the general tendency of the selection process in a homogeneous speech community. It gives a description of the contemporary two-choice system of *nín* and *nǐ*. The entrance

point in this flow chart is on the left, and from left to right are a series of binary selectors (the diamonds). Each path through the diagram leads to a possible outcome, that is, one of the possible alternative forms of address. The flow chart demonstrated the effects of determining factors (the diamond selectors) on the choice of an alternative form of address. Special status refers to higher rank and celebrities such as government officials, judges, famous writers. Since over fifty percent of the subjects are prone to use *nín*, we treat members of special rank as belonging to the V form in this flow chart. Solidarity applies to classmates, fellow students, fellow workers, colleagues, and intimate friends. In this system, deference is given adult strangers and older persons.

4.2.3 *Markedness Aspects of the Nǐ/Nín Opposition*

The uses of *nǐ* and *nín* will be explained by the principles developed in the previous sections. Generally speaking, the subjects prefer to use *nǐ* (T) to their ascending generations, equals of family and kin, and people of familiarity. By the dictates of the solidarity dimension, the subjects choose *nǐ* (T=social closeness) not because there is a power difference, but because they and the addressee are intimates. Furthermore, all the subjects tend to use *nín* (V) to people of higher rank, teachers, boss and stranger--those people who are socially distant from the addressee. There also could be a power relationship motivating the use of *nín* (V) to people of higher rank such as a boss.

To compare *nǐ* and *nín* by markedness theory, *nǐ* is unmarked with respect to *nín* because *nín* is phonologically more complex than *nǐ*. However, when *nǐ* and *nín* denote social relationship, we need an additional property distinguishing two members of the *nǐ/nín* opposition. This property is distance.

Nín has the property of distance since it is used to show difference or a power relationship between people.

As we have seen, the unmarked *nǐ* (T) is preferred between people of intimacy. However, many subjects told me that they definitely would use *nǐ* to ascending generations or people of familiarity except in the case of telling a joke or saying something sarcastic, when they would choose *nín* instead. This specific use of code choice will be explained below.

One further universal characteristic of markedness theory may be related to this usage. Markedness holds that the unmarked member is the productive or regular one. In this sense, corresponding to our foregoing discussion, *nǐ* is unmarked since it is "normal" and "typical" in personal relationships. Solidarity denoted by the usage of *nǐ* is often more important than politeness in personal relationships. When *nín* occurs as a marked choice for addressing people of intimacy, it signals that the status quo between speaker and addressee is changed. This phenomenon suggests that the speaker may register a change in attitude toward the addressee by changing the style of addressing from that which s/he has been using in prior discourse, or which s/he normally uses. According to Ervin-Tripp (1972), the speaker's co-occurrence rule is the selection of alternates made within the repertoire of a speaker in terms of previous selections. The range of possible alternates reflects the styles of address available. In this case, the speaker's co-occurrence rule is applied. We will give a more detailed discussion regarding this point in the next section.

4.2.4 *Style of T/V Addressing*

As part of their communicative competence (Hymes 1972), both speaker and addressee bring to any talk exchange tacit knowledge that each utterance is a **choice from a set of** alternative means of communication. Successful communication requires speakers to pay careful attention to the style of language s/he uses. In its restricted sense, style refers to the selection of linguistic forms to convey social or artistic effects (Chaika 1989:40). It involves the relations among the participants in a language activity, especially the formality they adopt (colloquial, formal, e.g.: Crystal 1980:337). To be more specific, in making an utterance, the speaker will select particular forms in response to the degree of formality, informality, and familiarity appropriate to the context of the utterance. Joos (1961:11) identified the following five levels of formality: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. Needless to say, intimate style is less formal than casual, casual less formal than consultative, and so forth; thus the five levels of decreasing formality may be listed in the following way:

frozen > formal > consultative > casual > intimate

These five points of reference are guidelines. There are no fixed boundaries between each of the different styles and any one person's language will reflect a wide range between the extremes of frozen and intimate style. Styles vary according to who we are and with whom we are communicating; whether we are speaking or writing; where we are and when the utterance takes place; what we are talking about; and how we feel about the whole situation. If any one of these factors is changed, the style may well change according (Allen & Burrige 1991:244-5).

We thus know that style is an integral part of a communication system and determines how a social interaction proceeds. Its determination is based on a wide variety of stylistic choices, of which the most obvious are lexical choices. As John Gumperz (1971) pointed out, one's choices of linguistic alternants "reflect the positions actors [parties in an interaction] assume relative to each other". By linguistic alternants he meant sets of words and/or phrases that share meaning but differ in that one or more members of the set carries a social connotation. This connotation gives information about the speaker's social status and about how he or she wishes to be treated; therefore, style tells whether the social interaction is formal or informal. It may also tell listeners how to take what is being said: seriously, ironically, humorously, angrily, loving, or dubiously (Chaika 1989:40-1).

Bearing these points in mind, we review the empirical data in the previous section. Recall that we have pointed out that when *nín* rather than *ní* occurs as a marked choice for addressing people of intimacy, it signals that the status quo has been changed. For example, the speaker may choose the style of the polite form *nín* to their friends in order to say something sarcastic. Such address behavior will affront addressees' positive face, which is their desire that they themselves, and things dear to them, be valued by others (Allen & Burridge 1991). The status quo between speaker and addressee has changed since the addressee's face has not been maintained any longer through the change of stylistic choice.

Nín is also used to show deference or to keep a social distance between people of intimacy, giving the addressee positive face or negative face respectively. To use an appropriated style is to maintain face between speaker

and addressee. Address behavior involving a choice among several variants of style is sociolinguistically meaningful because extra-linguistic factors determine the selection of grammatically interchangeable forms in a given conversational context, and consequently the variant chosen expresses the social relationship between people. This is what the data from the questionnaire confirms.

CHAPTER 5

ADDRESSING/NAMING TERMS

In the previous chapter, we investigated the T/V distinction in some of the world's languages. T and V are characterized in an opposition which is based on psychosocial factors of intimacy and distance. In this chapter, we will investigate the use of first name (FN) as opposed to title and last name (TLN) in American English. FN/TLN usage is parallel to that of T/V. The FN form, like the T pronoun, connotes friendship or intimacy; by contrast, the TLN form is like the V pronoun in connoting deference or relative power between people. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is again to illustrate an instance of psychosocial distance as the property governing the linguistic opposition of relationship terms.

5.1 Addressing/naming Terms and Markedness Theory

5.1.1 *Basic Research on Addressing/naming Terms*

The work of Roger Brown and his colleague Marguerite Ford (1961) has probably received the most attention among publications dealing with form of nominal address. In their brilliant work, "Address in American English" (1961), they examined the use of First name and the use of Titles + Last name in American English. The authors divided instances of address into three classes: FN was taken to include full first name (e.g., Robert), familiar abbreviations (e.g., Bob), and diminutive forms (e.g., Bobbie). For the purpose of this classification, titles include, in addition to Mr., Mrs., and Miss, such occupational titles as Mr., Senator, Major, and the like. Brown and Ford (1961) investigated the

occurrence of TN vs. TLN examining American plays, by observing address behavior in a Boston firm, by interviewing informants, and by tape recordings.

According to the authors, there are just three logically possible dyadic patterns of which we consider here only the FN and TLN. Possible are the reciprocal exchange of FN, the reciprocal exchange of TLN, and the nonreciprocal pattern in which one person uses FN and the other TLN. In the majority of cases, the authors find that FN is reciprocated, while TLN is used only at the beginning of acquaintances. Non-reciprocity of FN and TLN is caused by differences in age or occupational status: that is, the asymmetric use of title, last name, and first name indicates inequality in power. Additional nominal variants are classified as follows: Title alone (T), e.g., Professor, Doctor, Nurse, Madam, Sir or Miss; last name alone (LN), e.g., Smith; or multiple naming, e.g., variation between Mr. Smith and Fred for the same addressee. Note that title alone is more respectful than TLN; last name alone is placed halfway between FN and TLN.

Based on Brown & Ford (1961), the system of address terms in American English in descending order of intimacy is summarized as follows:

Figure 6 Addressing Term System in American English

<u>Term</u>	<u>Example</u>
1. First name (FN)	<i>Jane !</i>
2. Last name (LN)	<i>Smith !</i>
3. Title alone (T)	<i>Nurse !</i>
4. Title + last name (TLN)	<i>Mr. Simpson !</i>

5.1.2 *Markedness Aspects of the FN/TLN Opposition*

Address term usage has been productively analyzed by interactional sociolinguists. It seems clear that all languages have address forms and specific rules that determine their appropriate use. In this section, we will discuss some American English address forms that could be analyzed by our markedness theory.

Every time speakers call someone or refer to him or her by name, they indicate something about their social relationship or personal feelings about that individual. A person saying *Robert Simpson* might be on first-name terms such as *Robert* or *Bob*. This person as a doctor might be called *Dr. Simpson*. In a formal social interaction, he might be called *Mr. Simpson* or *Mr. Robert Simpson*. Thus a person has multiple names. Following Brown & Ford, we will examine the use of FN and TLN. Thus the person *Robert Simpson* could have the following terms of address:

Figure 7 FN Versus TLN

<u>FN</u>	<u>TLN</u>
Full first name: <i>Robert</i>	<i>Mr. Simpson</i>
Familiar abbreviation: <i>Bob</i>	<i>Mr. Robert Simpson</i>
Diminutive form: <i>Bobbie</i>	<i>Dr. Simpson</i>

In this example, FN and TLN refer to the same addressee. Morphologically speaking, they differ in that FN has one morpheme while TLN has two morphemes. In the application of markedness theory concerning this point, the less complex FN would be unmarked, the more complex TLN marked. FN and TLN are thus characterized in a markedness opposition. There is one further point. FN and TLN also contrast in that each of them carries a different

social connotation, giving information about the speaker's social status and how s/he wishes to be treated. Therefore, correlated with the added complexity of form is an additional semantic property that distinguishes two members of the FN/TLN opposition. Let us see what the different social connotation is.

Address terms can be used reciprocally or nonreciprocally. In the first case, speakers address each other with the same type of term (FN or TLN). This is a sign of a symmetrical social relationship in which both parties have the same status (friends, colleagues, and so on). In the previous section we concluded that intimacy and distance determine symmetrical relationships: in the majority of cases, FN is reciprocated while TLN is used at the beginning of an acquaintance in American English. The unmarked FN implies social intimacy while the marked TLN implies social distance. In addition to the usage for an acquaintance, TLN could be used for someone to force difference by maintaining the formality of TLN. Social formality and respect imply social distance, which is denoted by the usage of TLN. To compare FN and TLN in symmetrical social relationships, the unmarked FN occurs more frequently than the marked TLN, corresponding to the notion of frequency in markedness theory. TLN in American English is most likely to be used at the beginning of acquaintances, then replaced by FN as the parties get to know each other.

In the case of nonreciprocal usage, there is an asymmetrical relationship, one in which the difference in status between participants is marked. Thus one person might use FN and the other TLN. A power relationship is seen in such asymmetrical usage, as for example in a doctor-patient or teacher-student relationship.

Given these descriptions, TLN usage implies that social distance could be motivated by relative power between people and sociocultural factors such as formality and deference. Formality, politeness and power relationships can be grouped together as nonintimate relationships. And recall that FN implies social closeness. Thus, to parallel with the T/V distinction we can dichotomize the contrast 'intimacy (FN)-nonintimacy (TLN)' as a case of contrastive 'unmarked-marked'. The property that distinguishes the formally less complex FN from the more complex TLN here is social distance.

5.2 *Style of Addressing/naming Terms*

Addressing/naming someone appropriately depends on the role the speaker perceives the addressee to be in the situation of utterance. The forms of addressing or naming may differ in different situations. To employ variants of addressing forms on different occasions involves the notion of style of speech. The style of speech a speaker uses depends on two conditions: first, the role the speaker perceives the addressee to have adopted relative to the speaker in the current situation of utterance, or perhaps on some prior occasion; secondly, the speaker's communicative purpose on the present occasion (Allen & Burridge 1991:40). An example could be an older person's saying, "Oh, call me Bob," when previously he was called "Mr. Simpson". The style of speech changes, signaling that he wishes more solidarity in the relationship.

Based on Allen & Burridges' interpretations on the five point scale for style mentioned above: frozen > formal > consultative > casual > intimate, it is proposed that the mark '>' between consultative and casual means 'more marked'. TLN could be employed as frozen or formal style where there is

relatively greater power or social distance between speaker and addressee. The speaker uses an unreciprocated differential form of address. In frozen or formal style of speech, many titles identifying roles or social positions can be employed. They may include Mr. President, Madam Chairman, Sir, Madam, and so on. As in the previous section, these will not be analyzed here. We are concerned only with the data of TLN and FN in discussions of style of speech and markedness theory. We now return to the use of TLN. TLN can also be used in consultative style where speaker is superior in status but of friendly disposition toward addressee, or where speaker and addressee are of similar social status but there is considerable social distance between them.

Where speaker and hearer are of similar social status and there is little social distance between them, the informal, in-group language found in casual and intimate style is the regular mark of solidarity. These styles are marked by FN, including full first name, diminutives, ellipsis, nickname, and so on. Allen & Burridge do not claim that it is possible to recognize firm boundaries between adjacent pairs in the five point scale, which is used as a guideline. But since we are only considering two kinds of linguistic data, that is, TLN and FN, we are in a position to find a boundary between adjacent pairs. TLN is applied in frozen, formal and consultative styles, whereas FN is applied in casual and intimate style. Thus the boundary is between consultative and casual style. In our previous analysis, TLN is marked with respect to FN, which is unmarked. In this connection, frozen, formal and consultative style are more marked than casual and intimate style.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study of terms of address has argued that speakers' perception of psychosocial distance is the property that governs the markedness oppositions in kinship terms, second person pronouns, and addressing/naming terms. The abstract semantic concept of psychosocial distance is encoded independently in three different areas of the grammar of address terms.

The employment of markedness theory in this project helps to hypothesize a connection among the linguistic oppositions' complexity of forms inherent in kinship terms, pronouns, and addressing.naming terms. It clarifies the linguistic structure of the oppositions in question, correlating differences in formal complexity and differences in the encoding of abstract psychosocial semantic facts of intimacy and distance. Markedness theory evaluates intimacy as the typical, unmarked member of the opposition and distance (the property absent from intimacy) as the marked member. It also explains how language encodes this psychosocial concept in systematic linguistic oppositions. In other words, markedness theory not only helps analyze complexity of form, but more importantly it offers an evaluation criterion for how the psychosocial concept has been encoded in the formal linguistic oppositions. This project provides an example of how psychosocial factors in human interaction are linguistically encoded in the oppositions of language.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ON CHINESE VOCATIVE KTS

年齡: _____ 性別: _____

在下列問題中, 不管您實際如何稱呼您的親人(I~IV)或朋友的親人(V), 請選一項你覺得叫起來比較親的稱謂語。(a. 與 b. 二個稱謂語指稱同一個人)

- | | | | |
|------------|----|--------|------------|
| I. _____ | 1. | a. 爸 | b. 爸爸 |
| _____ | 2. | a. 媽 | b. 媽媽 |
| _____ | 3. | a. 哥 | b. 哥哥 |
| _____ | 4. | a. 姊 | b. 姊姊 |
| II. _____ | 1. | a. 哥 | b. 大哥 |
| _____ | 2. | a. 姊 | b. 二姊 |
| III. _____ | 1. | a. 哥哥 | b. 大哥 |
| _____ | 2. | a. 姊姊 | b. 二姊 |
| _____ | 3. | a. 伯伯 | b. 二伯 |
| _____ | 4. | a. 叔叔 | b. 三叔 |
| _____ | 5. | a. 姑姑 | b. 二姑姑 |
| _____ | 6. | a. 舅舅 | b. 四舅 |
| IV. _____ | 1. | a. 伯伯 | b. 二伯伯 |
| _____ | 2. | a. 叔叔 | b. 三叔叔 |
| _____ | 3. | a. 姑姑 | b. 二姑姑 |
| _____ | 4. | a. 舅舅 | b. 四舅舅 |
| V. _____ | 1. | a. 二伯 | b. 二伯伯 |
| _____ | 2. | a. 三叔 | b. 三叔叔 |
| _____ | 3. | a. 二姑 | b. 二姑姑 |
| _____ | 4. | a. 四舅 | b. 四舅舅 |
| VI. _____ | 1. | a. 林伯伯 | b. 林老伯/林伯父 |

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ON CHINESE 2ND PERSON PRONOUN

Sex: ___ Age: ___ Native language: ___ Hometown: ___
 Education: ___

Please read the following questions regarding the use of the second singular pronouns of address. Please **pretend** you are in **your country** and imagine what you would say in **Mandarin** in each situation of the question. Write out your answer in the space provided.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your mother?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>2. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your father?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>3. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your grandmother?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>4. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your grandfather?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>5. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your married older brother/sister?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>6. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your older brother's wife?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>7. (a) Which pronoun would you use</p> | <p>1. (b) Which would she use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>2. (b) Which would he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>3. (b) Which would she use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>4. (b) Which would he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>5. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>6. (b) Which would she use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____</p> <p>7. (b) Which would s/he use in</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

in speaking to your uncle/
aunt?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

8. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to elders in the
community?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

9. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a fellow student
in school?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

10. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a close friend?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

11. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a fellow
colleague in the office?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

12. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a sibling?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

13. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to your husband/
wife?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

14. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a waiter?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

15. (a) Which pronoun would you use
in speaking to a clerk in the
store?

(probably) 你 _____

speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

8. (b) Which would s/he use in
speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

9. (b) Which would s/he use in
speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

10. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

11. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

12. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

13. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

14. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____
(probably) 您 _____

15. (b) Which would s/he use
in speaking to you?

(probably) 你 _____

- (probably) 您 _____
16. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your boss?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
17. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to a high ranking government official?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
18. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to a politician?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
19. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your teacher?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
20. (a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to a stranger?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
- (probably) 您 _____
16. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
17. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
18. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
19. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____
20. (b) Which would s/he use in speaking to you?
 (probably) 你 _____
 (probably) 您 _____

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