

The role of second person pronouns in expressing social behavior: An undocumented case in Zamboanga Chavacano

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Abstract

Studies in the use of second person pronouns with respect to the addressee are typically associated with the expression of politeness, formality, solidarity, and social distance. No study has ever been conducted yet relative to the expression of emotion. To add to the growing body of literature in sociolinguistics, this study investigated the undocumented role of the Zamboanga Chavacano second person singular (2SG) pronouns in expressing mood and other kinds of social behavior (i.e., interactive social distance, familiarity, formality, and politeness) with respect to the addressees' social status. Mixed methods were employed in this study. Data used for this study included naturally occurring data, direct observation of everyday interaction, and survey responses from 106 Chavacano speakers. This study revealed overwhelming linguistic phenomena relative to social behavior and social status. The choice of 2SG exhibits typical mood, familiarity, politeness, respect, and formality. The intrusion of non-Chavacano pronoun in the pronominal system is also evident. The pronoun shift or alteration is caused by anger or annoyance, as well as interactive social distance.

Keywords: *Chavacano, pronoun, social behavior, Zamboanga City*
ISO 639-3 language codes: *cbk*

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Human interaction can be considered one of the responsible factors for the emergence of various types of social behavior. Social behavior can be both psychological and sociological. Since language plays a pivotal role in the society and its culture, it has always been associated with the expression of social behavior. If one desires to be socially competent in a multilingual society, he/she should find out who uses what, when, and for what purpose (Wardough, 2006). Any form of speech act or act sequence has essential cultural information embedded in it (Wolfson, 1986). Brown and Gilman (1960) said that, "linguistic styles are potentially expressive when there is covariation between characteristics of language performance and characteristics of the performers. When styles are interpreted, language behavior is functionally expressive" (p. 272).

With respect to the addressee, there are several linguistic means to express social behavior such as politeness, formality, social distance, and mood. One linguistic means is the use of address forms or personal pronouns, which are affected by several factors in the formation of social implications. Early work on understanding pronouns and their social implication was done by Brown and Gilman (1960). Studies in the use of personal pronouns were found to express politeness, formality, power, solidarity, and social distance with respect to the addressee (e.g., Sinnott, 2013; Pariña, 2011; Millan, 2011; Ennis, 2010; Helmbrecht, 2003; Brown & Gilman, 1960, to mention a few).

1.2 Studies in Pronouns

According to Helmbrecht (2003), personal pronouns belong to the deictic expressions of a language. It means that a speaker may use different kinds of linguistic means to refer to one or more people that he wants to talk about or to talk to. Helmbrecht introduced the four distinctive features of personal pronouns. First, personal pronouns are inherently referential expressions. Second, the referent of a personal pronoun can be identified only with respect to the actual speech event. Third, there are two basic speech act roles, speaker and hearer, which are opposed to a negatively defined non-person category. Lastly, personal pronouns are shifters. This means that they have a systematically changing reference depending on the change of speech act roles during a conversation. In the case of Rivera-Mills (2011), it should be noted that the study is another concept because the shift or changing reference (i.e., *voseo* to *tuteo*) is diachronic or generational, from first generation to third generation.

Brown and Gilman (1960) rigorously discussed the semantics of the use of pronouns of address in exhibiting social behavior including the general semantic evolution of the pronouns *tu* and *vos*, which have passed through the same general semantic sequence in French, Italian, and German languages, but eventually evolved differences in usage. The singular pronouns of address were derived from Latin *tu* and *vos* and in Spanish *tu*, *vos*, and later *usted* (Brown & Gilman, 1960). In the study of Ennis (2010) in Ecuador Spanish, particularly in Quito, children use *usted* and reject the use of *vos* with teachers. The pronoun *vos* is not a preferable way to address an older speaker. Hence, *usted* is the appropriate pronoun to address an older speaker. In countries such as Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, where there is a predominant use of *vos* or *voseo*, *vos* is used in formal writing, billboards, and media advertisements. Research studies on *voseo* have been found to have a relationship with socioeconomic class distinction (e.g., Rivera-Mills, 2000, 2011), accommodation pattern (e.g., Hernandez, 2002; Rivera-Mills, 2011), familiarity and solidarity (e.g., Lipski, 1988; Kapovic, 2007), and age and gender (e.g., Moyna & Vanni Ceballos, 2008).

In European languages, the use of second person plural pronouns (2PL) is a means to express politeness. It is also a common phenomenon for politeness distinctions to emerge in second person pronouns in the said languages. Helmbrecht (2003) discussed these politeness distinctions in second person pronouns. For instance, 2PL is used by French and other languages in Europe and in the world to address the addressee or hearer politely. He posited that while many languages conventionalize the polite use of 2PL for the reference to a single addressee, pragmatic rules underlying the usage of 2PL may not be the same across languages. The familiar and the polite forms may be used either asymmetrically or symmetrically. In other words, in the polite form, one of the interlocutors has to give a polite form and the other uses a familiar form in return; in the familiar form, both use the same level of politeness.

In addition, Helmbrecht (2003) explains that politeness is a functional domain of the language where two social parameters seem to be pivotal with respect to politeness: one is involved with relevant social rank, power, and prestige of the individual members within the society while the other is involved with social distance. According to him, about 25% of all languages have politeness distinctions in pronouns and that the occurrence of politeness distinction shows certain geographical foci. A noteworthy finding shows that of 100 languages, the most common technique to address other people politely is through the use of 2PL.

In the Philippines, Pariña (2011) investigated the role of the Tagalog second person pronouns in exhibiting different social behaviors of Filipino household helpers. Her study showed that age, educational attainment, and length of stay are factors influencing the type of pronoun to be used. The plural form of pronouns is preferred by the younger age bracket. This finding was related to the observation of Tan (2005), who posited that Filipino culture would dictate the pluralisation of

pronouns when addressing elderly people. It also showed that politeness is exhibited whenever the household helper uses a plural form on a single individual. It was concluded that Tagalog second-person pronouns exhibit power, solidarity, and politeness or respect. The phenomenon where 2PL is used to refer to a single addressee may be related to how people addressed emperors of the eastern and western empires, where words (e.g., *vos* originally in the plural form) address to one man were addressed to both the emperor and the people by implication. An emperor is addressed in plural form because he is the summation of his people (Brown & Gilman, 1960).

1.3 Studies in Expressing Emotions

There are various ways in which a person's emotions can be recognized. Studies that determine mood or emotions are typically done through acoustic and linguistic cues, e.g., pitch and loudness of voice. For example, in the study of Sobin and Alpert (1999), emotion in speech such as fear, anger, sadness, and joy is determined through acoustic attributes involving both encoders and decoders for the detection of emotion. Other acoustic features include formants (i.e., each of several prominent bands of frequency that determines the phonetic quality of a vowel), vocal tract cross-section areas, mel-frequency cepstral (i.e., sound with a short-term power spectrum), Teager energy operator-based-features (i.e., tool used to analyze single component signals from an energy point of view), intensity of the speech signal, and speech rate (Ververidis & Kotropoulos, 2006).

In the study of Polzehl, Schmitt, Metze, and Wagner (2011) where they elaborated the exploitation of linguistic and acoustic feature modeling for anger classification, pitch, loudness, and spectral characteristics were found to be promising determinants in anger recognition in speech.

Using similarity measures or tests that include the use of signal waveform, frequency coherence, power spectral density, log-likelihood score, and Dynamic Time Wrapping (DTW), technique, anger, irritation, and disgust emotional states were also recognized (Palo, Mohanty, Mohanty, & Chandra, 2016). It was concluded further that the primary anger state is closer to the disgust state than the irritation state. This helps us understand that anger detection can lead to an improvement in human relationship and social system refinement.

Shaheen, El-Hajj, Hajj, and Elbassuoni (2014) propose a new approach for emotion classification in English sentences, where emotions are treated as generalized concepts extracted from sentences. Here syntactic and semantic analyses were carried out through the use of Wordnet and ConceptNet. Emotions like happiness, sadness, anger, surprise, and fear were recognized through words relative to emotions (e.g. *thank you my friend, they annoy me*) and hash tags (e.g., *#irritation, #annoyance*, etc.).

1.4 Studies in Social Distance

In the study of social distance, Helmbrecht (2003) referred to it as, "the degree of intimacy and familiarity relative to one another" (p. 193). The parameters were introduced in the pioneering study on the polite use of personal pronouns of Brown and Gilman (1972, as cited in Helmbrecht, 2003). Through repeated interactions of symmetrically dependent individuals, closeness in relationships is achieved (Kelley et al., 1983).

Social distance is also associated with Wolfson's Bulge Theory (1986), which was based on how the frequencies of certain types of speech behavior plot out on a diagram, with the two extremes (i.e., minimum and maximum) displaying a characteristic bulge. In other words, the two extremes show a very similar behavior, while the relationships leaning more toward the center show marked differences. The theory examines the ways in which different speech acts are realized in actual everyday speech and compares behavior in terms of the social relationships between the interlocutors. Wolfson concluded that the more status and social distance are seen as fixed, the

easier it is for speakers to know what to expect of one another. This scenario may be similar to interactive social distance (Bogardus, 1947; Karakayali, 2009), which refers to the relationship between the frequency and intensity of interactions between two parties. This means that when both parties lose contact, the tendency to communicate and interact with each other also weakens.

Further, social distance was found out to decrease sensitivity to fairness in the ultimatum game. That is, participants show less sensitivity to fairness when deciding for a stranger, as indicated by fewer rejected unfair offers (Kim, Schnall, Yi, & White, 2013).

1.5 Zamboanga Chavacano Sociolinguistic Situation

To better understand this study, it is important to note that Zamboanga Chavacano is a surviving Spanish-based creole language spoken by more than a million speakers (native and non-native) in the Philippines, particularly in Zamboanga City. Although the vocabulary is largely taken from the superstrate, the substrates such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Bisayan, and Hiligaynon have also contributed to the development of the language. It is very unlike the Chavacano of Cavite (Cabangon & Tendero, 2011), which is now close to extinction (Fortuno-Genuino, 2011).

UNESCO (2003) identified nine major evaluative factors of language vitality. These are intergenerational language transmission; absolute number of speakers; proportion of speakers within the total population; trends in existing language domains; response to new domains and media; materials for language education and literacy; governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use; community members' attitudes toward their own language; and amount and quality documentation. Through intergenerational transmission, public domains, the City Government's language preservation project and ordinances, and the Mother-tongue Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE), Zamboanga Chavacano is surviving up to this present time. However, its orthography is still subject to debate because it is highly hispanicized. For example, the spelling system is strongly based on Spanish; hence, it contradicts the natural way that speakers would spell words. Miravite, Sanchez, Tardo, Vitoria, and Delos Reyes (2009) noted that Chavacano words need not be spelled the Spanish way. The study of Madrazo and Madrazo (2018) using an initial corpus reveals several cases of multiple orthography for a given word, which clearly show variation in spelling.

1.6 Chavacano Second Person Singular Pronouns

Originally, the second-person forms in Zamboanga Chavacano only included *uste*, *tu*, and *vos*. These pronouns have variations in spelling and pronunciation (i.e., *oste* for *uste*, *etu*, *itu* for *tu*, and *evos*, *evo*, *vo*, *bos*, *bo* for *vos*). The pronoun *ka* is not listed as part of the Chavacano pronominal system in many Chavacano books. For example, in the Chavacano grammar and structure book of Yap-Aizon (2011), *you* has only three variants, i.e., *uste*, *tu*, and *vos* (with sub-varieties *vo*, *evos*, and *evo*). The Zamboanga Chavacano orthography of the Department of Education has only two, i.e., *uste* and *tu* (DepEd, 2016). Many old and new Chavacano books used in the MTB-MLE do not also recognize *ka*. But in Miravite et al. (2009), *ka* is included in the list of personal pronouns. They also emphasized that Chavacano need not be hispanicized. It is worthy to note that Lipski (2012) showed that the younger generation has incorporated the Tagalog 2SG *ikaw/ka* onto the Chavacano system. One of the responsible factors for borrowing the pronoun *ka* is language contact. Lipski termed this as remixing a mixed language where a new pronominal system in Chavacano has emerged. Another reason is that it has an underlying purpose or social implication. Consequently, this study included *ka* in the choices of pronouns, considering that it has been widely used by speakers.

2. The study

The previous section reviewed different studies and concepts relative to pronouns and social behavior, and no study has ever been conducted yet relative to pronoun alteration when expressing emotion and when there is an interactive social distance between the speaker and the addressee. Thus, the purpose of this study was to investigate the undocumented role of the Zamboanga Chavacano 2SG *you* (i.e., *ka, tu, uste, vos*) in exhibiting social behavior. Specifically, this study aimed to determine 1. the speakers' choice of 2SG in expressing two different emotions (i.e. typical mood and anger/annoyance) with respect to the addressee's social status; 2. if there is a pronoun shift/alteration from typical mood to anger/annoyance; and 3. if there is pronoun shift/alteration when there is an interactive social distance or when the speaker meets a friend whom he has not seen/met/talked for a long period of time (henceforth long-time-no-see friend).

Social distance and emotion recognition are shown to be conveyed through linguistic cues, and it is clear that the way one treats or communicates varies from one person to another depending on closeness or familiarity and mood. Considering that pronouns have changing reference and that Chavacano has four 2SG to refer to one person, it was posited that the alteration of pronouns is likely to occur when a speaker is angry or annoyed and when there is social distance between the speaker and the receiver.

3. Method

This study employed descriptive qualitative and quantitative research designs. The first phase of this study was done through observation of everyday interaction, as well as through personal experience as speaker of the language. The second phase was done to provide an empirical evidence for the observation of the role of 2SG in the expression of emotions and other kinds of social behavior.

The participants were 106 Chavacano speakers of Zamboanga City: 59 were male and 47 were female and aged between 19 and 25. Subjects aged between 19 and 25 were chosen because they belong to the young adulthood phase, so the pronouns they use when addressing younger and older people would be determined easily.

A questionnaire written in Chavacano was administered to them. The questionnaire contained simple questions. Enclosed in parentheses were the four choices of 2SG in which one was to be chosen with respect to the addressees' social status.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts. The first part of the questionnaire determined the type of 2SG used when addressing particular people of different social status in normal or typical mood. These people included members of the family, friends, and other people of the society. The second part determined the type of 2SG used when angry or annoyed. However, the assumed addressees were delimited to members of the family and friends, since it is not usual for one to be angry or annoyed at other people in the society. The last part determined the choice of 2SG used when there is an interactive social distance or when the speaker meets a long-time-no-see friend. The questionnaire was submitted to three reliable English professors who are native Chavacano speakers for validation. They agreed that the items were relevant, but the questionnaire still underwent minor revisions. Further, the respondents were also interviewed to determine their reasons for choosing a certain type of pronoun and for shifting from one type of pronoun to another.

For ethical consideration, the respondents were given consent to decide regarding their involvement in the study. The purpose of the study was explained to them, and they were assured that the data will be treated with utmost confidentiality. It was also explained that the results will contribute to the general knowledge of Chavacano.

The data of this study were analyzed and interpreted through frequency and percentage distribution generalizing the choice of 2SG relative to social behaviour, and conclusions were

drawn in the process. Responses from the interviews were translated into English and cited in the results and discussion section.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 Choice of Second Person Pronoun vis-à-vis Typical Mood

This study was undertaken to determine speakers' choice of 2SG in expressing a typical mood with respect to the addressee's social status. Table 1 presents the frequency (*f*) and percentage (%) distribution of the choice of 2SG in the typical mood when an addressee is addressed. It also presents the pronouns mostly used by the speakers.

It is revealed that the speakers used four different types of 2SG, i.e., *uste*, *tu*, *ka*, and *vos*. The result for the choice of 2SG vis-à-vis speaker's typical mood shows that the choice varies depending on the social status of the addressee. It shows that the majority of the participants use *tu* when addressing both older and younger people, as well as non-intimate people. These include grandparents, parents, uncles/aunts, older brothers/sisters, younger brothers/sisters, nephews/nieces, older cousins, older common friends, older and younger new friends, teachers, officials, tricycle/jeepney drivers, older and younger schoolmates, older and younger neighbors, and older and younger unfamiliar persons. It also reveals that the majority use *ka* when addressing younger cousin, older and younger close friends, and younger common friends. At a closer look, it is noteworthy that none use *vos* when addressing older people, people who are higher up in the society's organization, or much-respected people. Lastly, many use the pronoun *uste* when addressing their grandparents, uncles or aunts, government officials, tricycle/jeepney drivers, older neighbors, and unfamiliar persons.

The results show that the four variants of 2SG have underlying purposes and are manifested in the type of pronouns the speakers use. These pronouns are used depending on the social status of the interlocutor or the receiver. By using these pronouns, one may sound polite, impolite, awkward, informal, formal, or very formal to the receiving party or to nearby listeners.

The pronoun *uste* is very formal and is associated with respect and politeness. This is the reason why it is mostly used to address older people. The pronoun *tu*, which is used to address both younger and older people, is formal and is associated with politeness, formality, or respect. While it is too formal to use *uste*, the pronoun *tu* is used by the majority because they naturally recognize the importance of culture of respect when addressing those kinds of people. For instance, one respondent said, "*Of course, we also need to respect people. It's not appropriate to use vos to older people, you know that.*" It can be implied that this is the safest pronoun to use with anybody. The theories that social status and age are variables in signifying the choice of pronoun are affirmed in this study. The findings also confirm the claim of Cabangon (2004) that the selection of language use is governed by cultural rules.

Table 1

Choice of second person pronoun in the typical mood

Addressee	Pronouns in Typical Mood								Mostly used
	ka		tu		uste		vos		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
1. Grandparents	0	0	92	87	14	13	0	0	tu
2. Parent(s)	3	3	97	92	6	6	0	0	tu
3. Uncle/Aunt	3	3	84	79	19	18	0	0	tu
4. Older Brother/ Sister	16	15	70	67	7	7	12	11	tu
5. Younger Brother/ sister	21	20	52	49	2	2	31	29	tu
6. Niece/Nephew	21	20	63	60	7	7	14	13	tu
7. Older Cousin	27	25	58	55	13	12	8	8	tu
8. Younger Cousin	41	39	36	34	6	6	23	22	ka
9. Older Close Friend	38	36	36	34	10	10	21	20	ka
10. Younger Close Friend	44	42	29	27	6	6	27	25	ka
11. Older Common Friend	36	34	46	43	10	9	14	13	tu
12. Younger Common Friend	46	43	32	30	6	6	22	21	ka
13. Elder New Friend	35	33	57	54	10	9	4	4	tu
14. Younger New Friend	42	40	49	46	7	7	8	8	tu
15. Teacher	1	1	91	86	14	13	0	0	tu
16. Government Official	3	3	73	70	28	27	1	1	tu
17. Tricycle/ Jeepney Driver	3	3	69	66	32	30	1	1	tu
18. Older Schoolmate	23	22	72	69	9	9	1	1	tu
19. Younger Schoolmate	33	31	58	55	7	7	7	7	tu
20. Older Neighbour	5	5	69	66	31	30	0	0	tu
21. Younger Neighbour	31	30	46	44	22	21	6	6	tu
22. Older Unfamiliar person	11	10	52	50	41	39	1	1	tu
23. Younger Unfamiliar person	29	28	58	55	16	15	2	2	tu

However, the Chavacano language has also created a distinction between the younger generation and the older generation. For instance, the use of the pronoun *ka* is discouraged because it is not Spanish-based or an original Chavacano word. At a closer look, the majority did not use the pronoun *tu* when addressing close friends and other younger people. Instead, the pronoun *ka* is used. It is used because, according to them, they find it formal when *tu* or *uste* is used. For example, one respondent said, “*It is very awkward for me to use tu with my close friends. It’s disgusting.*” This supports the claim of Yap-Aizon (2011) that speakers use other types of pronouns when they feel awkward to use the formal pronouns *tu* and *uste*. A more familiar pronoun is used instead. Trudgill (1983) and Pariña (2011) also explain that an intimate relationship may elicit a more familiar pronoun. In this case, the pronoun *ka* is an informal and familiar pronoun.

The pronoun *vos* is not used specifically in addressing grandfathers or grandmothers, parents, uncles or aunts, teachers, and older neighbors. This implies that it is very impolite and disrespectful when used to address much respected people. This affirms the claim of Camins (1999) that Zamboanga Chavacano *vos* is used with common people and may be rude, disrespectful, and derogatory when used to address someone who is an acquaintance, of equal social status, or of

lower ordinary class. Hence, the pronoun *vos* is very informal. However, using the pronoun *vos* may not be totally impolite and disrespectful when used to address someone very close. As Yap-Aizon (2011) noted, *vos* or *evos* is used among very close friends who feel awkward to say *tu*. It can also be used to mark intimacy, humor, and in other cases anger and annoyance.

Furthermore, the four variants of 2SG may be classified into four according to their degree of formality and social implications. Examples are cited below:

(1) **uste – very formal**

<i>Donde</i>	<i>uste</i>	<i>anda?</i>
where	you	go

‘Where are you going?’

(2) **tu – formal**

<i>Donde</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>anda?</i>
where	you	go

‘Where are you going?’

(3) **ka – informal**

<i>Donde</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>anda?</i>
where	you	go

‘Where are you going?’

(4) **vos – very informal**

<i>Donde</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>anda?</i>
where	you	go

‘Where are you going?’

In addition, as mentioned earlier, many Chavacano books do not include *ka* in the Chavacano pronominal system because it is not Spanish-based. Older generation speakers as well do not acknowledge it. It can be argued that the number of participants (i.e., 106) in this study who use the pronoun *ka* is inadequate to give a conclusive statement; however, at a closer look, it is very surprising that all of the participants use the pronoun *ka*. In the observation of everyday interaction, this is rigorously used by many speakers especially those aged 40 and below. In rare cases, Chavacano speakers between the ages of 40-60 use it when addressing people of the same status or age level, e.g., husband to wife, or vice versa. In this case, the pronoun *ka* may be included in the Chavacano pronominal system.

Helmbrecht (2003) explained that “the linguistic strategies to account for the social relations between interlocutors may lead to the intrusion of new pronominal forms” (p. 190). For example, in Spanish the pronouns *usted* and *ustedes* became an integral part of the pronominal paradigm. These forms are derived from a complex term of polite address *vuestra merced* which means, ‘your grace’ (Helmbrecht, 2003). Lipski (2012) also explained that personal pronoun systems are relatively impervious to replacement or borrowing in a bilingual contact environment. It should be noted that it is not only Spanish that is the contributing language to the development of Chavacano language. Tagalog, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon have also contributed to the birth of this language. Olaer (2006) found lexical items from Hiligaynon, Tagalog, and Cebuano in Chavacano contemporary written literature. Austronesian elements in Zamboanga Chavacano were also traced by Barrios (2006). McCormack and Wurm (1979) explain that if a language is not yet fully developed, its richness and sophistication has to develop yet in order to meet the expression needs

of the speakers. In this case, we can say that Chavacano is still expanding or growing. Lipski (2012) attempted to categorize the changes that a language goes through according to stages. He said that the Chavacano pronominal system has evolved in at least three stages and is entering its fourth. Each stage can be correlated with the proportion of contacts with Spanish and Philippine languages. Morphologically, the inclusion of the pronoun *ka* in Chavacano by the many speakers may be considered as a suppletive process.

4.2 Choice of Second Person Pronoun vis-à-vis Anger/Annoyance

This study was undertaken to determine the speakers' choice of 2SG in expressing anger or annoyance with respect to the addressee's social status. Table 2 presents the frequency (*f*) and percentage (%) distribution of the choice of 2SG when the speaker is angry or annoyed at their addressees. It further shows the most frequently used pronouns by the speakers.

Table 2

Choice of Second Person Pronoun when angry or annoyed

Addressee	Pronouns when Angry or Annoyed								Most Frequent
	ka		tu		uste		vos		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
1. Grandparents	4	4	86	81	16	15	0	0	tu
2. Parent(s)	4	4	94	89	8	7	0	0	tu
3. Uncle/Aunt	7	7	88	83	11	10	0	0	tu
4. Older Brother/ Sister	25	24	45	42	1	1	35	33	tu
5. Younger Brother/ sister	27	25	27	25	1	1	51	48	vos
6. Niece/Nephew	30	28	33	31	4	4	39	37	vos
7. Older Cousin	35	33	41	39	8	8	22	21	tu
8. Younger Cousin	32	30	26	24	4	4	44	41	vos
9. Older Close Friend	25	24	31	29	8	8	42	40	vos
10. Younger Close Friend	31	29	22	21	3	3	50	47	vos
11. Older Common Friend	36	34	32	30	5	5	33	31	ka
12. Younger Common Friend	40	38	18	17	1	1	47	44	vos

Table 2 shows that the majority of the speakers used *tu* when addressing grandparents, parents, uncles/aunts, older brothers/sisters, and older cousins. Although angry or annoyed, a culture of respect is still manifested. Culturally, it is deemed inappropriate to express anger or annoyance toward an older person. The results also show that the majority of the speakers used *vos* when angry/annoyed at their younger brothers/sisters, nieces/nephews, younger cousins, older and younger close friends, and younger common friends. In this context, the pronoun *vos* is not associated with impoliteness and/or disrespectful behaviour, but solely for expressing anger or annoyance unless otherwise used with much respected people (i.e., grandparents, parents, uncles/aunts, teachers, etc.). It also reveals that the majority use *ka* when they were angry/annoyed at their older common friends.

At a closer look, the number of speakers who used *tu* when angry at their older brothers/sisters is not very far from the number of speakers who used *vos*. This means that the number of speakers who used *vos* in typical mood increased to 22 per cent when angry/annoyed,

and the number of speakers who used *tu* in typical mood decreased to 25 per cent when angry/annoyed. Although the majority of the speakers used *ka* when angry/annoyed at their older common friends, the number is not far too different the speakers who used *tu* and *vos* with the same interlocutors. This means that the number of speakers who used *vos* in typical mood increased to 18 per cent when angry/annoyed, but the number of speakers who used *tu* in typical mood decreases to 13 per cent. These findings imply that those who used *tu* still establish politeness despite being angry/annoyed; those who used *vos* were associating it with anger or annoyance, and those who used *ka* were being neutral.

To give more detailed findings and to determine whether there was a pronoun shift from typical mood to anger/annoyance, table 3 below shows the frequency (*f*), percentage (%) distribution, and ranking of shift occurrences.

Table 3

Shift Occurrence vis-à-vis mood (angry or annoyed)

Pronoun Shift	Total		Rank
	f	%	
ka-vos	104	8.18	3
tu-vos	113	8.88	2
uste-vos	10	0.79	10
TOTAL	227	17.85	
tu-ka	116	9.12	1
uste-ka	18	1.42	7
vos-ka	17	1.34	8
TOTAL	151	11.88	
ka-tu	43	3.38	4
uste-tu	40	3.14	5
vos-tu	16	1.26	9
TOTAL	99	7.78	
ka-uste	2	0.16	11
tu-uste	27	2.12	6
vos-uste	1	0.08	12
TOTAL	30	2.36	
TOTAL SHIFT	507	39.86	
RETAINED	765	60.14	

It shows that there are a total of 507 (39.86%) occurrences of pronoun shift. It also reveals that the majority of the shift occurrences were from *tu* to *ka* (i.e., 116 shift occurrences) followed by *tu* to *vos* (113 shift occurrences) and *ka* to *vos* (104 shift occurrences). At a closer look, the majority of the speakers shifted to the pronoun *vos* (i.e., 227 shift occurrences) and *ka* (i.e., 151 shift occurrences). Some shifted to the pronoun *tu* (i.e., 99 shift occurrences) while a few shifted to *uste* (i.e., 30 shift occurrences).

It is pretty clear that there were shifts from one type of pronoun to another brought about by anger or annoyance. This is a normal but a unique phenomenon in the exchange of conversation among Zamboanguenos. This finding is related to Ennis's (2010) study of Ecuadorian Spanish and Yap-Aizon's (2011) claim that in Zamboanga Chavacano, *vos* or *voseo* is used when one is angry. However, the tendency to shift or change that in one type of 2SG form to another still depends on

the receiving party's social status and age. It remains the same when addressing someone who is older (i.e., grandfather/mother, parents, uncle/aunt) because it is disrespectful to use *vos* to older people. The pronoun shift from *uste*, *tu*, or *ka* to *vos* is limited only when addressing someone who is a bit older and younger. Nevertheless, the shift to another type of 2SG form signifies anger or annoyance. It can be implied that the younger the receiving party, the more chances of pronoun shift to occur.

In this study, mood is recognized both in acoustic and linguistic cues. Pitch and loudness of the voice were clearly manifested in the natural spontaneous speech where emotion is authentic, i.e., when the speaker is angry or annoyed regardless of the type of pronoun. This means that the pitch and loudness of the voice vary when the speaker is in a typical mood and when angry or annoyed. What is unique in this study is the alteration of 2SG in anger and annoyance.

Further, the predominant use of *vos* or *voseo* in modern Spanish in countries such as El Salvador, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua has not been associated with mood, particularly anger and annoyance. In fact, in countries like Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, *vos* is used in formal writing, billboards, and media advertisements. Research studies on the use of *voseo* have been found to hold a relationship with socioeconomic class distinction (e.g., Rivera-Mills, 2000, 2011), accommodation pattern (e.g., Hernandez, 2002; Rivera-Mills, 2011), familiarity and solidarity (e.g. Lipski, 1988; Kapovic, 2007), and age and gender (e.g. Moyna, & Vanni Ceballos, 2008). However, in the study of Ennis (2010), it was found out that *voseo* in Ecuador Spanish serves many overlapping and contrasting functions. It can express anger, closeness, and, for young and upper-class men, humor. Likewise, in Chavacano, *vos* serves many functions within contexts that are perceived appropriate, i.e., it can express closeness, anger, and humor. Hence, 2SG *vos* of Zamboanga Chavacano and Ecuadorian Spanish in Quito have similarities in functions. I agree with the claim of Ennis that the 2SG *vos* or *voseo* is more than just a pronoun; it consists of a set of beliefs and associations that are enacted and drawn upon each time it is used.

4.3 Second Person Pronoun vis-à-vis Interactive Social Distance

This study was also undertaken to determine the speakers' choice of 2SG when there is an interactive social distance or when the speaker meets a long-time-no-see friend. Table 4 presents the frequency (*f*) and percentage (%) distribution of shift occurrences when there is an interactive social distance between the speaker and the addressee.

Table 4

Shift Occurrences vis-à-vis interactive social distance

Pronoun Shift	f	%
ka-tu	28	26.42%
ka-uste	2	1.89%
ka-vos	2	1.89%
uste-ka	6	5.66%
uste-tu	2	1.89%
tu-uste	3	2.83%
tu-ka	12	11.32%
vos-uste	1	0.94%
vos-ka	3	2.83%
vos-tu	3	2.83%
Total Shift	62	58.49%
Retained	44	41.51%
N=106		

The results show a pronoun shift or alteration when meeting a long-time-no-see friend. There are 62 (58.49%) occurrences of pronoun shift, the majority of which are caused by shifts from the informal/familiar type of pronoun *ka* to the formal *tu* and from *tu* to *ka*. This means that the speaker shifts from one type of 2SG usually used in the past to another type when meeting a friend that has not been seen for long period of time. Examples are cited in (5) and (6).

(5) Choice of Pronoun in the Past (familiar)

Donde *ka* ese ya compra?
 where you that PAST buy
 ‘Where did you buy that?’

(6) Choice of Pronoun when both meet (formal)

Que tal ya *tu*?
 how already you
 ‘How are you?’

The findings show how Chavacano is distinct among other languages. When both parties lose contact with each other, the tendency to communicate and interact with each other also weakens. This is the reason why one tends to shift from a familiar type of pronoun used in the past to a formal/polite pronoun. The pronoun used in the past could also be so informal or informal that it is necessary to shift to a formal or very formal one to establish formality or politeness. The familiar pronoun *ka* or *vos* may be awkward; hence, the formal pronoun *tu* is preferred instead. It is also possible that the speaker wants to establish familiarity rather than formality; hence, the pronoun *ka* is used instead of *tu*. The use of *ka* does not imply disrespectfulness or impoliteness when used with people of the same age level or social status. In fact, it shows intimacy and familiarity. This affirms the claim of Helmbrecht (2003) that there is a distinction between familiar/equal and

formal/polite in the use of 2SG. This scenario may be what Bogardus (1947) and Karakayali (2009) refer to as interactive social distance, which indicates the frequency and intensity of interaction between two parties. Thus, the choice of 2SG, particularly the shift or alteration, is clearly caused by interactive social distance. The lesser the interaction between two parties, the less familiar pronoun is being used while the frequent interaction the two persons have, the more familiar pronoun is being used.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has revealed overwhelming linguistic phenomena relative to social behavior and social status. The choice of 2SG exhibits typical mood, familiarity, politeness, respect, and formality. The intrusion of non-Chavacano pronoun (i.e., *ka*) is evident in the pronominal system of Zamboanga Chavacano. The pronoun shift or alteration expresses anger or annoyance. It is also caused by interactive social distance, although not in all cases. Millan (2011) termed this case as mixed-use. It happens when the varieties are accompanied by particular social dimensions (Pariña, 2011). This phenomenon is just an example of language and cultural barriers existing between the native Chavacano and the non-native Chavacano speakers in Zamboanga City. This is a dilemma for most of the non-native people who live or want to live in Zamboanga City. This makes the Chavacano language complex among the non-native speakers. However, this is what makes the language very unique.

The non-native speakers who are learning the language need to be careful in using the pronoun *vos*. Nevertheless, when the language is adopted and used on a daily basis, particularly the use of the 2SG, it becomes simple but distinctive especially in a socially situated interaction. One should immerse himself/herself first into the culture of Zamboanguenos to master the use of the Chavacano 2SG.

The study recommends psycholinguistic or phenomenological research on how children of a very young age use these varieties of 2SG with respect to the interlocutor's social status and age. Language policy makers, particularly the local government and the Department of Education, may consider the inclusion of the pronoun *ka* in the Chavacano pronominal system. They also have to invest in in-depth studies of Chavacano as there remain issues in the lexicography and its orthography.

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