

ADDRESS IN PILIPINO RADIO DRAMAS:
ALTERNATION AND CO-OCCURRENCE RULES¹

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1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will look at the covariation between linguistic forms for address and situational features. The linguistic forms to be considered are the nominals of address (e.g. *Inay* 'Mother', *Doctor Roman*, *Sweetheart*), the pronouns of address (*ikaw* 'second person singular' or *kayo* 'second person plural' used with a single addressee), and the respect enclitics *po* and *ho*. The situational variables with which these linguistic forms will be correlated have been derived from those used in the seminal studies of Brown and his associates on address systems.

2. RELATED LITERATURE

The studies that have most influenced the analysis are those done by Brown and his associates on the second person pronoun in Indo-European languages and on American address.

In 'The pronouns of power and solidarity', Brown and Gilman (1960) delineated the system that governs the giving and receiving of the formal pronoun *vos* and the informal pronoun *tu* in several Indo-European languages as made up of the dimensions of power and solidarity. The rule they discovered was, in general, the greater the distance between two interlocutors on the vertical axis of power and/or the horizontal axis of solidarity, the greater the probability that at least one of them would give *vos*.

In their analysis, they discovered that the giving and receiving of *tu* and *vos* was determined initially by only the dimension of power. Differences in power yielded asymmetrical address, with the superior giving *tu* and receiving *vos*. Power equals exchanged symmetrical address, depending on their social class, with the upper class exchanging *vos* and the lower class exchanging *tu*. However, the system gradually evolved to differentiate address between power equals, that is, another dimension emerged to encode closeness or distance between equals; thus *tu* became associated with intimacy and *vos* with non-intimacy.

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Furthermore, they saw that permutations of these two dimensions produced a grid with six boxes, corresponding to categories of persons defined by their relationship to a speaker.

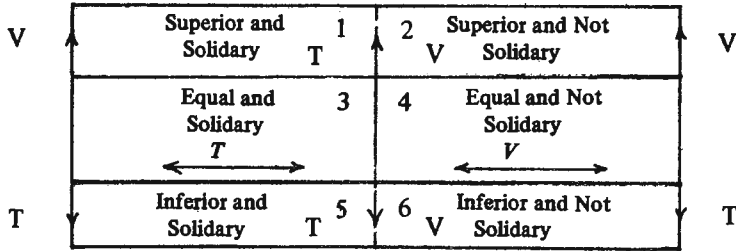


Figure 1

A grid based on the power and solidarity axes:

Different categories of addresses in their relation to a speaker (From Brown and Gilman 1960:259)

In all the boxes except for 1 and 6, the speaker has no problem—there is no conflict between the power and solidarity dimensions. However, boxes 1 and 6—the upper left and lower right boxes—present a dilemma to the speaker. For the upper left box, the power semantic would dictate *vos* but the solidarity semantic would dictate *tu*, and the result would be conflicted address. The example given by Brown and Gilman of a power superior who is solidary is a parent. In address to one’s father, the power dimension would require that the son give *vos* while the solidarity dimension would require *tu*. For the lower right box, the power semantic would dictate *tu* but the solidarity semantic would dictate *vos*, resulting again in conflicted address. An example of an inferior who is not solidary is a waiter in a restaurant. In address to a waiter, the power dimension would require that the customer give *tu* while the solidarity dimension would require *vos*. Based on the evidence gathered on usage in the past century for certain Indo-European languages, Brown and Gilman have made the claim that the conflicted address has been resolved in favor of the solidarity semantic. That is, in both the cases of the son’s address to the father and the customer’s address to the waiter, the demands of the solidarity semantic seem to have overridden those of the power semantic; the result is that the son’s address to the father would probably be *tu* and the customer’s address to the waiter would probably be *vos*.

In a subsequent paper, ‘Address in American English’, Brown and Ford (1964) showed that these two axes—now renamed status and intimacy—were also operating in the giving and receiving of Title + Last Name (TLN) and First Name (FN) in American English. Reciprocal Naming is used by two interlocutors operating on the horizontal axis of intimacy; if they are on the ‘non-acquaintance’ end of the horizontal axis, they use Mutual TLN, and if they are on the ‘familiarity’ end, they use Mutual FN. On the other hand, non-reciprocal address is used by two interlocutors distant from each other on the vertical axis of status, with the superior giving FN and receiving TLN.

It is clear that the relationships between linguistic and situational features must be quite complex. Thus, the questions have been raised: ‘How is it that the speaker is able to choose socially appropriate formal linguistic items in speech events?’ and ‘How, once the appropriate choice has been made, do similarly appropriate choices continue to be made during the course of the interaction?’ (Bell 1976:94).

For purposes of conceptualizing an answer, Ervin-Tripp (1972) has proposed the operation of two kinds of sociolinguistic rules: alternation rules and co-occurrence rules. The effect of an alternation rule is to select an item from a list of items that can fill the same slot in one context; an example of the operation of an alternation rule would be

opting to call an addressee by FN rather than TLN. The alternation rule, therefore, is the sociolinguistic equivalent of the paradigmatic axis of descriptive linguistics, a paradigm being a set of elements belonging to the same word class. Once the choice of FN has been made, there will have to be interdependence among the choices within this alternative and therefore the speaker will be under certain constraints in his choice of other linguistic forms; in my own address system, once I use FN with a person, then I do not use the respect enclitics *po* and *ho* or the second person plural *kayo* for the addressee. This is the co-occurrence rule operating, its scope being what linguists call the syntagmatic axis.

This paper will present the nominals of address, the second person pronouns, and the respect enclitics appearing in the radio dramas within the framework of the power-solidarity, reciprocal-non-reciprocal patterns proposed by Brown and his associates, and will point out the alternation and co-occurrence rules, as suggested by Ervin-Tripp, that are at work in their use.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. THE DATA

The corpus for the study consists of the scripts of seven top-ranking 30-minute radio programs in 1977-78: *Love Story* (henceforth *LS*), *In Unum Deum* 'In One God' (*UD*), *Hukumang Pantahanan* 'Courthouse for the Home' (*HP*), *Ito ang Katotohanan* 'This Is the Truth' (*IK*), *Pinagpala* 'Blessed' (*PP*), *Mga Mata ni Angelita* 'The Eyes of Angelita' (*MA*), and *Bukang Liwayway sa Takipsilim* 'Dawn at Dusk' (*BL*).² These dramas cover a wide range of plots—from romances to moral dramas to legal and medical stories to tales of the supernatural.

Radio dramas differing in length were chosen, on the assumption that a study of address forms should be based on a wide range of social relationships; it was felt that different kinds of social relationships and changes in these relationships would be displayed best in such an array.

LS, *UD*, *HP*, and *IK* present a different story every day Monday through Saturday; *PP* (now off the air) featured a story complete in one week (Monday through Saturday); *MA* and *BL* are long-running serials. Using systematic random sampling, 120 radio dramas were obtained to constitute the corpus: 24 scripts for *PP*, 20 each from *LS*, *UD*, and *MA*, and 12 each from *HP*, *IK*, and *BL*.

Ten writers were responsible for the 120 scripts, broken down into one writer each for 32 scripts, 24, 20, 11, 10, 9, 6, 5, 2, and 1. Six female writers accounted for 98 scripts; four male writers accounted for the remaining 22.

3.2. PROCEDURE

Each script was read once to get the story line and the relationships among the characters in the story, and then reread to note the use of forms of address. The occurrence of nominals of address, second person pronouns, and respect enclitics was recorded on note cards, with the interlocutors involved being properly identified. In the process of recording and sorting the cards, reference was oftentimes made to the thumbnail sketch of the characters provided at the beginning of the script.

²In the case of *HP*, *IK*, and *BL*, not only the scripts were studied, but also the tapes of these scripts. This was done to see if radio talents introduced any significant changes in their rendering of the prepared scripts.

On the whole it can be said that talents make only minimal changes in their reading. The most frequent modification concerns the insertion or front-shifting of nominals of address and the addition of respect enclitics.

Since the changes are relatively few, it is possible to draw solid conclusions merely from an analysis of the scripts.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 NOMINALS OF ADDRESS

Following Brown and Ford (1964: 236), First Name (FN) will here be taken to include full first name (e.g. *Eduardo*) plus familiar abbreviations and diminutive forms (*Edward*, *Eddie*, *Ed*). Titles (T) will include the English-derived civil status terms *Mister*, *Misis*, and *Miss* and their Tagalog equivalents *Mamá* (becoming *Mang* before FN) and *Ale* (becoming *Aling* before FN), occupational titles like *Doctor* and *Director* (of a hospital), and, additionally, kin titles (which Brown and Ford apparently set aside in their study) like *Itay/Inay* 'Father/Mother' and *Ninong/Ninang* 'godfather/godmother'. Multiple Names (MN) will refer to the use of different forms of FN (full first name, abbreviation, diminutive) and/or pet names (*Sweetheart*, *Mahal* 'Love').

4.1.1. RECIPROCAL ADDRESS

One way to map the patterns of reciprocal address is to locate the two ends of the scale of horizontal social relationship: One end will therefore be at the point of acquaintance and the other end at the point of intimacy. One end appears to be marked by Mutual TLN, the other by Mutual MN, with a wide middle represented by Mutual FN.

The examples to be cited show the members of the dyad beginning with Mutual TLN and then moving towards Mutual FN, with instances of dispensation being initiated by the male member of the dyad.

In *LS#4*, Emily Andrade and Ronnie Fernandez meet again after the passage of several years. As college students they had become enemies--on a dare she had tried to flirt with him and had been unceremoniously rebuffed. When they meet again, it is in a hospital; he is a surgeon and she, an accident victim, is in his care. She addresses him as Doctor Fernandez and he addresses her as Miss Andrade. After a few minutes into their conversation, he reveals that he has always been her secret admirer; she says she did not realize 'Doctor Fernandez' had harbored tender feelings toward her. Whereupon he says: *Puede bang Ronnie na lang, Miss Andrade?* 'Can it be just Ronnie, Miss Andrade?' And she answers: *Kung ganoon, bakit hindi na lang Emily?* 'In that case, why not just Emily?'

In the same vein, in *LS# 10*, Maria Theresa Guzman is a nurse in a hospital who shows special devotion and kindness to the mentally retarded niece of Vincent Valdemor. During their first two meetings, they exchange *Miss de Guzman* and *Mr. Valdemor*. In the last scene he addresses her as *Maria Theresa* and admits to being in love with her; in her reply she uses *Mr. Valdemor*, and he quickly remonstrates: *Please, Vincent na lang* 'Please, just Vincent'.

Of the dyads in the scripts, approximately one-half involve members who are equals having a relationship on the more intimate end of the horizontal axis and therefore exchange FN. The familiarity in these dyads stems from certain similarities in background (age, sex, occupation, etc.) or a certain 'likemindedness' (to borrow Brown and Gilman's term), plus the overlay of frequent contact.

What is noticeable is that between males, Mutual FN alternates with the Mutual T *Pare* (reduced from *Kumpare*, from Sp. *compadre* 'co-male godparent'). In the scripts, Mutual *Pare* (often *Pare ko* 'my *Pare*') is used as a sign of camaraderie by males who know each other fairly well, whether or not there really is a ritual relationship between them; *Pare* is an address term that crops up often when the interlocutors are drinking or exchanging banter. As a spin-off from this use, *Pare* is also used in addressing strangers when friendliness is the desired effect.

The Mutual T *Kumare* or reduced *Mare* (from Sp. *comadre* 'co-female godparent') appears much less in the scripts, appearing only twice, between two women of whom one is the godmother of the other's daughter and the second between two women whose respective son and daughter are married to each other. In the second instance, the two women also use the Mutual T *Balae*, which is the Tagalog address and reference word for this kind of affinal relationship. In both cases, this T is in alternation with FN. Although *Kumare* or *Mare* is also used even if there is no ritual or affinal relationship, that is, in informal situations between female friends, it appears that *Mare* has a more limited distribution than *Pare*: *Mare* is not used in addressing female strangers.

The greatest intimacy in social relationships is that shared by couples. With couples, and noticeably especially if the relationship is illicit, the norm is Mutual MN, that is, Mutual FN alternates with endearment terms like *Sweetheart*, *Darling*, *Honey*, and, very occasionally, *Mahal* 'Love'. The endearment terms are preponderantly English perhaps because when such relationships are depicted, they usually involve urbanized, modernized men and women.

4.1.2. NON-RECIPROCAL ADDRESS

Non-reciprocal address reflects the vertical axis of social relationships, the axis of power. In this case, one of the parties to the interaction gives FN while the other gives TLN or TFN or just T. TFN did not figure in the American data presented by Brown and Ford partly because it is a pattern infrequently used in English and partly because they excluded kin titles from their study, but it is a very prominent address form in the Philippine context. The T prefixed to the FN may be a kinship term (e.g. *Ate Rosanna* 'elder sister Rosanna'), a Tagalog civil status term (e.g. *Mang Romano* from *Mamã* + linker *-ng* 'Mr. Romano'), a Spanish civil status term (e.g. *Senyorita Mitchie* 'Miss Mitchie'), or a courtesy term (e.g. *Brother Sebastian*).

In the data, the superordination-subordination relationship stems from three sources:

(1) A difference in generation: In kinship—whether lineal, affinal, or ritual—members of the ascending generation give FN but receive T (FN). (As a convention, the parentheses will be used to enclose an optional element.) If the setting is rural and/or lower class, the parents are addressed as *Itay/Inay-Tatay/Nanay* 'Father/Mother'; if the setting is urban and middle class and the parents are non-traditional, they are addressed as *Pápa/Máma* or *Daddy/Mommy*; if the setting is upper class, the parents are addressed as *Papá/Mamã*. The rural/urban locale and lower/middle/upper class distinctions are again reflected in the kinship terms for uncle and aunt: *Tiyo/Tiya* + FN or the T *Tiyong/Tiyang* alone are used in the rural and/or lower class setting, and *Tito/Tita* (with or without FN) for the urban and/or middle or upper class setting. *Ninong/Ninang* 'godfather/godmother' are used in both settings, as are *Lolo/Lola* 'grandfather/grandmother'.

The members of the descending generation receive FN, although this FN can alternate with the kinship term for child. *Hijo/hija* (from Sp. 'son/daughter') appear restricted to those parents belonging to the middle/upper class; *anak* 'child' has no such restriction. Parents of whatever class and in whatever locale address their children as *anak*, especially during emotionally heightened moments of the drama; therefore, for middle/upper class parents, *hijo/hija* can co-occur with *anak*. The use of *hijo/hija* extends to all members of the ascending generation—grandparents, uncles and aunts, godparents—belonging to the middle/upper class.

(2) A difference in age: Elder siblings and their spouses receive T (FN), i.e. *Kuya/Ate* 'elder brother/sister' and give FN. In the scripts, whatever the social class of the inter-

locutors and whatever the setting, younger siblings always address their older siblings with *Kuya* and *Ate*.

Adults with an age difference of several years use non-reciprocal address, the elder using FN and the younger using TLN or TFN. It is not clear what the approximate number of years separating the interlocutors is; unfortunately, the data are mainly instances of adults separated by a generation, being dialogues typically involving one person talking to the mother of a friend. The address of the younger person to the older person shows alteration ranging from *Donya Clotilde* (Spanish T + FN) to *Misis Andrade* (English T + LN) to *Aling Minang* (Tagalog T + FN), reflecting address to a wealthy aristocratic interlocutor, a middle-class urban interlocutor, and a lower-class rural interlocutor.

Children give TLN or T(FN) to adults and receive FN. In some instances, children receive generic Tagalog names like *ineng* 'female child'.

(3) A difference in occupational status: As Brown and Ford have pointed out, this may be of three kinds:

- 1 a relation of direct and enduring subordination (e.g. master-servant, employer-employee). . . 2 a relation of direct but temporary subordination involving someone in a service occupation (e.g. waiter, boot-black) and a customer. . . 3 an enduring difference of occupational status that does not involve direct subordination (e.g. United States senators have higher status than firemen) (1964:236)

There are several instances of case 1 — address between employers and employees and between masters and servants. Superiors are addressed with TLN (e.g. *Mr. Reyes*) or the T *Sir* and they address their subordinates with FN (e.g. *Jimmy*). Domestic helpers may address their employers with the kinship terms *Kuya/Ate* 'elder brother/sister' (with or without FN), or the English terms *Sir/Misis* (apparently *Sir* and *Misis* can be paired just like *Sir* and *Ma'am*) or the Spanish terms *Senyora/Senyorita* (no instance of *Senyor*) (with or without FN) and they invariably receive FN. From the data it appears that scriptwriters think that young couples favor being addressed as *Kuya/Ate*, that not-so-young and liberal-minded employers prefer *Sir/Misis*, and that hacienda owners and old-rich families expect *Senyora/Senyorita*.

Direct but temporary subordination involving one person in a service occupation and a customer is exemplified by the relationship between a taxi driver/jeepney driver and his passenger. In the data, the taxi driver/jeepney driver is addressed with the T *Mamà* 'Mister' and his reply is also a T, *Mister/Misis/Miss*. Although Ts are exchanged, this probably should not be considered reciprocal address: *Mister/Misis/Miss* appear to be higher Ts (more prestigious because they are associated with white collar employees?) than *Mamà/Ale*.

The head of the medical staff and the ordinary patient belong to relationship 3: an enduring difference of occupational status that does not involve direct subordination. In the PP scripts, Director Reynoso gives FN or the civil status T (e.g. *Misis*) but always receives T (LN).

4.1.3. SOME OBSERVATIONS

(1) While the use of TLN and FN in both reciprocal and non-reciprocal address seems to be fairly clear, the use of T seems quite fuzzy and it will be worthwhile to look at it more closely. Apart from the point made earlier that there is hierarchical ordering among Ts, especially in the Philippine context, it also appears from the data that there are two kinds of T. One T is used when the addressee is a stranger, as in the question *Miss, bakit?* 'Miss, what's the matter?'. Here the T might be, as Brown and Ford characterized it in their study, 'a degree less intimate and a degree more deferential than TLN. It may for

instance be used reciprocally when acquaintance is so slight that the last name is not known' (237).

The other T is an abbreviation of TLN or TFN and in this instance it expresses an increase in intimacy. Two kinds of evidence support the conclusion that T is sometimes more intimate than TLN or TFN. One is the fact that doctors and patients begin with TLN, that is, the address of non-familiarity, and in subsequent turns of speaking and encounters use T alone, and in the case of the T *Doctor*, this may be further reduced to the rather familiar *Doc*. So also, a secretary's first address to her superior might be Mr. Valdez and this becomes *Sir* in succeeding encounters (PP#1). Another piece of evidence is that a T like *Pare* or *Mare* is in alternation with FN, not with TLN; that is *Pare* is exchanged by drinking partners like Fredo and Conrad in UD#7, *Mare* by women who call each other Herminia and Zeny in UD#5.

(2) The asymmetrical power relationship between a superior and a subordinate is marked by very frequent, even extreme, use of T by the subordinate. In *BL*, Dinno is an ex-convict who, when he was down and out, was taken care of by Rocky and has now been recruited by Rocky for a mission. Dinno and Rocky are about the same age and have the same background but, under the circumstances, Rocky is of course the boss and Dinno, in fact, calls him that. Dinno uses *Boss* in practically every utterance to Rocky.

The same series, *BL*, provides numerous instances of interaction between a secretary and her immediate superior. Alona is Noel's secretary and she is trying to ingratiate herself with him so that she can seduce him, as part of the scheme to discredit Noel as manager of the company. In practically every turn of speaking with him, she uses *Sir*.

In contrast, in these interactions, the superior seldom uses the name of the subordinate.

Even in the relationship child-parent, which of course is also an instance of asymmetrical power but at the same time also an instance of deep solidarity, it is noteworthy that the child (no matter the age) calls out the name of the parent much more frequently than the parent uses the name of the child. Again from *BL* (script No. 1), in an exchange where Dolores (the mother) has four turns of speaking and Noel (the son) also has four, Dolores uses Noel once and *hijo* once. On the other hand, Noel uses *Inay* four times.

It can be said that, with power non-equals, in addition to the kind of nominal of address used (usually T (LN or FN)), frequency of use of this T (LN or FN) also signifies who the subordinate is.

(3) In the scripts, the nominals of address used as vocatives in calling the attention of a stranger are *Miss*, *Mamã*, and *Pare*; e.g. *Miss, bakit?* 'Miss, what's the matter?' (the speaker having seen the addressee slump in her seat – UD #4) or *Mamã, Mamã, sandali lang* 'Mister, Mister, just a moment' (the speaker running after the addressee, who has dropped something – UD #8). In these instances, the addressee replies without using a nominal of address, the vocative used by the first speaker having already established the relationship 'strangers' between them. This is not a case of no-naming. The nominal of address is suppressed in the reply, but it can be inferred that the pattern for naming would be a reciprocal one, the dimension of power being irrelevant and the dimension of solidarity (in this case, non-acquaintance) coming to the fore.

(4) The use of *ko* 'my' in *Diyos ko* 'my God' does not signal increased intimacy but is part of a formula. In Pilipino, address to God is never *Diyos* alone, but *Diyos ko*. Thus it has to be *Diyos ko, tulungan mo ako* 'My God, help me (with possessive after noun)', not **Diyos, tulungan mo ako* or **Aking Diyos, tulungan mo ako* (where the possessive is before the noun).

(5) From the data, what appears to be the least solidary and perhaps the most power-loaded form of address is the use of the gender terms *lalaki/babae* 'man/woman'. Such address is typically non-reciprocal; immediately implied is maximum distance between two interlocutors, with one arrogating power to himself or imposing a relation-of non-solidarity between himself and the addressee.

There are six such occurrences in the sample. The most striking occurrence is in *LS#15*. In this story, an escaped convict takes a female doctor as hostage and although she introduces herself to him, giving him her occupational title and full name, he addresses her only as *babae* 'woman'. In one instance (*LS#17*), a mother catches her daughter and the family driver in an embrace and she shouts at him: *Hoy, lalaki, lumayas ka sa pamamahay na ito* 'You, man, get out of this house'. In another instance (*UD#4*), a woman catches her husband in the arms of another woman. She says to her: *Kung ayaw mong guluhin ko nang husto ang buhay mo, babae, ay lalayo ka sa asawa ko* 'If you don't want me to cause real trouble in your life, woman, you will keep away from my husband'.

(6) There is only one clear instance of no-naming and it occurs in *LS#15* – mentioned earlier – between a kidnap victim and her kidnapper. On his part the kidnapper calls her *babae*, using *babae* more frequently at the beginning – as he threatens her with harm and orders her around – and using it less as he grudgingly begins to respect her for her courage and presence of mind. On her part the kidnap victim cannot use a name with him at all, since he has (naturally enough) not given his name. But neither does she use a generic term like *Mister* or *Mama* – *Mister* seems inappropriate for a criminal and *Mama* seems too mild – and so avoidance of naming is the only recourse.

At the end of the story she has succeeded in convincing him of her sincerity in wanting to help him and the shift in the relationship is dramatized in the following way: After some lines of suppressed naming (i.e. no use of *babae*), he finally says *Salamat, kaibigan* 'Thanks, friend'. The story is an excellent example of the meaningfulness of the choice of certain nominals of address.

But the full picture of how the social relationships of power and solidarity are reflected in Filipino ways of speaking can be discerned only if the second person pronouns and the respect enclitics are considered. It is to these that we now turn.

4.2. SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS AND RESPECT ENCLITICS

As in the Indo-European languages that Brown and Gilman studied, Tagalog also signals power and solidarity relationships in its pronouns for the second person. Unlike Spanish, however, which has two pronouns for the second person singular, one familiar (*tu*) and the other respectful (*usted*), Tagalog has only one second person singular pronoun (nominative case *ikaw*; as an enclitic *ka* 'you, singular'), which functions as the familiar pronoun, and the respect function is served by the second person plural pronoun (nominative case *kayo* 'you, plural').

This leads to an ambiguity in Tagalog that is not present in Spanish. The *kayo* addressed to an interlocutor may be respectful address to him alone or may in fact be familiar or respectful address to a collectivity, which includes the addressee. For instance, in *LS#17*, *Moring*, a poor boy who has just arrived in Manila from the province, is side-swiped by a car driven by the driver of the Gomezes. *Myleen*, the daughter of the family, is in the car at the time of the accident. When she visits *Moring* in the hospital, she says:

Kinabahan ako eh. Akala ko nasagasaan ka na ng driver namin. 'I got scared. I was afraid our driver had run over you.'

And Moring replies:

Wala kayong dapat alalahanin. Hindi naman ako magdedemanda eh. 'You have nothing to worry about. I won't file a case in court.'

The *kayo* in his sentence is ambiguous: It can be a respectful pronoun for Myleen alone or a pronoun to refer to her whole family.

Extreme respect or formality is shown by the use of the third person plural pronoun (nominative case *sila* 'they'). However the use of *sila* seems to become more and more limited to certain formulas. In the scripts the few occurrences of *sila* appear in the following formulas: *Sino po sila?* literally, 'Who are they?', but meaning 'Who is this please?' and *Ano po ang kailangan nila?* literally, 'What is it they need?', but meaning 'What is it you need?'. Subsequent exchanges exhibit a shift to the second person plural pronoun.

In addition to the second person plural pronoun, the enclitics *po* and *ho* are also used in Tagalog to indicate respect or formality.³ These particles are called enclitics because they obligatorily occur in a position after some word or group of words; they belong to a class of words that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 183, 411).

The feeling of native speakers is that *po* and *ho* can be used interchangeably in almost all contexts; however, *po* seems slightly more formal or respectful than *ho* (Schachter and Otnes make the same observation, page 423).

What alternation and co-occurrence rules for the use of the second person pronoun and the respect enclitics can be derived from the data? Before answering this question, it is necessary to point out one fact: There is a difference in the distribution of *kayo* and *po/ho* data. Whereas a respect enclitic can be inserted into any utterance, the second person pronoun will be used only if the speaker refers to the addressee. However, if the second person pronoun is in fact used for a singular addressee, it will be realized as *kayo* or *ikaw*, obligatorily encoding either +respect/formality (*kayo*) or neutral respect/formality (*ikaw*).

For purposes of the presentation in this section, KAYO-HO will indicate the encoding of +respect/formality. For present purposes, therefore, KAYO and HO will be taken as if always co-occurring. KAYO (in capital letters) will serve as shorthand for the various forms of the second person plural pronoun in the different cases, HO will represent both *po* and *ho*, and IKAW will stand for the various forms of the second person singular pronoun in the different cases.

Only in a later section will I show how combinations of KAYO with frequent HO and KAYO with infrequent or no HO convey meaning. In that later section, I will also indicate the different distributions of *po* and *ho* (here lumped together as HO).

4.2.1. RECIPROCAL ADDRESS

Consider first equal and intimate dyads such as husband and wife, sweethearts, friends; members of these dyads exchange IKAW and this indicates absence of distance on either the power or the solidarity axes.

³*Po* and *ho* do not have translation equivalents; Bowen (1965:5) gives 'sir, ma'am' as a rough approximation of the meaning conveyed by these particles. Clearly *po* and *ho* are not nominals of address as *Sir/Ma'am* are. Still, the virtue of Bowen's gloss is that it does convey the respect/formality that are the hallmark of *po* and *ho* and it is true that in many instances *opo* and *oho* (from *oo* 'yes' +*po/ho*) would be equivalent to 'Yes, sir/ma'am'. But it will suffice here to just gloss them – following the example of most grammars of Tagalog – as respect markers.

As for equal and non-familiar dyads, that is, people with no obvious power differences between them who are meeting for the first time or are still at the point of making each other's acquaintance, the corpus provides 11 instances. In eight of them, Mutual IKAW is used and these eight cover male-female dyads and female-female dyads whose members are approximately the same age, within the range of 22 to 35. Of the remaining three instances, one shows clear Mutual KAYO-HO, between males aged around 40. In the second remaining instance, the female interlocutor uses HO with the male interlocutor and the male uses KAYO, but this may have been addressed to both the female interlocutor and her companion; it is not clear what form he would have used if she were alone. In the third remaining instance, male Speaker A uses KAYO-HO, but male Speaker B addresses him as *Pare*, indicating he wants to begin a friendly relationship, and proceeds to use IKAW.

It appears, then, that Reciprocal IKAW is a fairly common pattern for adults of approximately the same age who are virtual strangers to each other. If the two are meeting for the first time, non-acquaintance is coded in the nominals of address used, for example, *Miss* or *Mamá*. The Mutual IKAW comes at that point in the interaction beyond the formulaic *Sino ho sila?* 'Who are you (third person plural)?' and the brief introductions. Perhaps as one grows older – as evidenced in the case of the two 40 year-old males exchanging KAYO-HO – one tends to use more of the formal KAYO-HO with non-acquaintances, although on the basis of this one case it is not possible to make any generalizations.

Telephone calls provide more instances of Reciprocal KAYO-HO. In the three instances when major characters answer the phone and talk to strangers, their answers contain KAYO-HO. It is safe to assume – based on personal observation and experience – that the other person also uses KAYO-HO in his utterances. But in this case perhaps it is actually the power semantic that is already operating. Given the fact that both caller and answerer do not know the identity of the other at the start of the call, it is better to play it safe and assume that inequalities in power are in the other person's favor.

Reciprocal KAYO-HO is the norm between taxi drivers and passengers, and in this instance it is clear that their mutual use of respect forms stems from different reasons. The passenger uses KAYO-HO because of the operation of the solidarity semantic, that is, non-familiar relationship; on the other hand, the taxi driver uses KAYO-HO because of the operation of the power semantic, that is, inferior-superior relationship. Note that here, Brown and Gilman's generalization regarding the rise of the solidarity semantic in the case of conflicted address applies – considering the passenger as the speaker and the taxi driver as his inferior (therefore IKAW) and non-familiar (therefore KAYO) addressee, we have an instance of Box 6, and with the passenger's use of KAYO, this conflicted address is indeed resolved in favor of the solidarity semantic.

In the same way, the doctor in the scripts of *PP* at the initial stages of encounter with a particular patient uses TLN and KAYO-HO as an expression of non-familiarity – formality towards a stranger. The patient uses T(LN) and KAYO-HO in acknowledgment of the power difference. The non-familiar relationship may change to a more familiar one with the doctor subsequently using FN and IKAW; however, the patient typically persists in the use of T(LN) and KAYO-HO because the power difference remains the same.

This does not mean that all the doctor-patient dyads begin with Reciprocal KAYO-HO. In several of the dramas, the doctor and patient are former neighbors or old friends. In such instances, the doctor uses FN and the patient typically uses the T *Doctor* (or, in some cases, FN) but KAYO-HO is dispensed with. And here we have an example of the

resolution of the conflicted address in Box 1. To the patient, the doctor is in a superior (therefore KAYO) but solidary (IKAW) relationship to him and the resolution, as Brown and Gilman predicted, is in favor of the solidarity semantic.

But not all instances of conflicted address end up with the two parties using reciprocal address based on the solidarity semantic.

4.2.2. NON-RECIPROCAL ADDRESS

Consider a son/daughter as the speaker in relation to a power superior who is solidary, his/her parent (another instance of the conflicted address represented by Box 1). The power semantic would dictate KAYO-HO, the solidarity semantic IKAW. On the whole, whether the setting be rural or urban, or upper, middle, or lower class, whatever the respective ages of the child and the parent, the child in the radio dramas uses KAYO-HO with his/her parent.⁴

However, the conflicting demands of power and solidarity occasionally surface in inconsistent second person pronoun use by some of the characters with their parents. For instance, in UD #12, Zeny almost consistently uses KAYO with her mother, but note the following:

Inay, maawa *ka* sa akin. Gagawin ko ang lahat, Inay, para mabalik ang pagmamahal *n'yo* sa akin. 'Mother, (you, sg.) take pity on me. I will do everything, Mother, so that your (pl.) love for me will return.'

And, in UD #19, Delson oscillates between IKAW and KAYO with his father. For instance, in one utterance:

Pa, nagagalit ako sa babaeng iyon. Siya ang dahilan ng pagbago *mo* sa amin ng Mama. Inagaw *ka* niya sa amin. 'Pa, I'm angry with that woman. She is the reason you (sg.) have changed towards Mother and me. She has stolen you (sg.) from us.'

In another utterance:

Bakit natitiis *n'yo* kami, Pa? Bakit dahil lang sa babaeng iyo'y kinalimutan *n'yo* na kami ng Mama? 'How can you (pl.) bear seeing us suffer, Pa? Why have you (pl.) forgotten Mother and me just because of that woman?'

⁴ That this pattern appeared so dominant struck me as surprising. In this case, there is a real gap between real-life interactions and their depiction in radio dramas. From personal experience, I know that among many families belonging to the middle/upper class in urban areas, children already exchange Mutual IKAW with their parents. I found the explanation for this non-congruence in my interview with the program manager of DZRH, Mr. Froilan Villegas. According to him, among the guidelines that the *Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster ng Pilipinas*-Broadcast Media Council have prepared for radio drama productions is that scripts should inculcate traditional Filipino values, one of them being respect for elders, especially as manifested in the use of *po/ho*. This is one instance when a guideline may vitiate the validity of the data for this study.

However, as one script (HP #7) shows, a guideline may sometimes be overridden by the writer's sense of what rings true.

In HP #7, Joan, a character described in the thumbnail sketch as 'modern, kind, loves and idolizes her father very much, 16 years old' uses IKAW with her father and with her Tito Ramon (her father's best friend), and only with her grandmother does she use KAYO (but without HO). It seems to be the case that the KAYO to her grandmother is not an indication of less solidarity (Joan is almost as deeply attached to her grandmother as to her father) but a concession to the greater power differential due to difference in age between the grandmother and the grandchild.

A difference in the usage of the two generations is also reflected in this drama. As was pointed out, Joan uses IKAW with her father; for his part, the father uses KAYO with his mother.

The conflict between the demands of power and solidarity is not so great in the case of uncles and aunts, godparents, and grandparents and therefore the use of KAYO-HO with these addressees is highly consistent.

In general it can be said that a difference in generation, whether involving kinsmen or non-kinsmen, compels the younger to use KAYO-HO with the elder.

Now, consider the matter of a difference in age, but not in generation. What is the usage of a younger sibling to an elder sibling? Here, again, there is a conflict between the demands of power and solidarity: The elder sibling is in a solidary relationship to the speaker but, being older, he is also a superior, although the power difference is not that great since the age difference is usually small. In all the scripts, the elder sibling, whatever the age difference between him/her and the younger sibling, receives IKAW, acknowledgment of the status of elder sibling seeming to reside solely in the kinship term *Kuya/Ate*.

What about occupational status? First, consider the case of direct and enduring subordinate relationship. Helpers use KAYO-HO with the master/mistress/daughter of the house, whether they use the nominal of address *Senyora/Senyorita* or *Sir/Misis* or *Kuya/Ate*. All the secretaries in the scripts address their employers and their employers' spouses and close friends with KAYO-HO. Four dyads involving a subordinate and his superior in an office setting appear in the scripts: In three dyads, the subordinate addresses the superior with TLN or *Sir* or *Boss* and KAYO-HO; in the last dyad, the subordinate uses TLN but does not use KAYO-HO. In all instances of the interaction between doctor and nurse in a work setting, the latter uses KAYO-HO with the former.

As was pointed out earlier, direct but temporary subordination – involving for example, a taxi driver and passenger – usually induces reciprocal KAYO-HO between interlocutors but for different reasons: non-solidarity on the part of the superior and lack of status on the part of the inferior.

An enduring difference of occupational status that does not involve direct subordination is difficult to exemplify: Perhaps the relationship between the director of the hospital in the series *PP* and the ordinary patient is such a relationship. As was pointed earlier, the director receives T(LN) and corollary to this, KAYO-HO. Another example may be the relationship between *Donya Clotilde* and *Doctor Roman* in *PP#2*. With *Donya Clotilde*, *Doctor Roman* gives, but does not receive, KAYO-HO. In this case, however, it seems to be the confluence of the occupational status of *Donya* plus age which induces the KAYO-HO from *Doctor Roman*.

4.2.3. SOME OBSERVATIONS

In the above discussion, KAYO and HO have been lumped together into KAYO-HO. Likewise, HO has been used as a cover term for both *po* and *ho*. It is now necessary to discuss these three elements in their different aspects.

(1) Are there co-occurrence rules between *po* and *ho*? In other words, once *po* is used, is the speaker committed to using *po* all throughout? From the data it appears that the speaker commits himself to an expression of respect/formality and this surfaces as all *po*, or all *ho*, or sometimes *po* and sometimes *ho*. *Po* seems to be associated with greater deference, as compared to *ho*. In support of this, it is obvious that *po* is used more frequently than *ho* in introductions, when the interlocutors are just getting to know each other. Furthermore, *po* is the more frequent respect enclitic

used by young children who, of course, are at the bottom of the power hierarchy. In general, however, there are no restrictions to using both in the same utterance or turn of speaking. In relative frequency, considering all dyads and turns of speaking, *ho* has a clear numerical edge. In fact there are some characters in the dramas who are so consistent in their use of *ho* that they never use *po*, except in the formulaic or marked uses of *po*.

(2) *Po* appears in several formulas: *Tao po*, literally 'a person (+ respect)', accompanying a knock on the door or substituting for the knock itself; *Sino po sila?* 'Who is it?'; *Mano po*, Literally 'hand please' meaning 'let me kiss your hand in respect'. And in greetings, *po* is sometimes preferred: *Magandang hapon po* 'Good afternoon'.

It also has marked or out-of-the-ordinary uses. One is teasing the other party when that party sounds too bossy. In UD#17, between the good friends Cheryl and Annabelle, same age – early twenties:

Annabelle: Tulungan mo ako. Sige ka pag nainis ako . . . 'Help me. You'll see, if I get fed up . . .'

Cheryl: Andyan na *po*. 'Coming, Ma'am.'

In UD#19, between lovers:

Romano: O halika. Maupo ka na dito sa tabi ko. 'Well, come here. Now sit down here beside me.'

Carina: Opo! 'Yes, sir!'

This use is of course a deliberate take-off on the use of *po* as a formal, deferential address form.

The other use is difficult to define; perhaps it can be characterized as the use of *po* as an endearment, what the Tagalogs refer to as *lambing*. Here, pretended deference seems to be used as an expression of endearment. For instance, in UD#16, as the husband is about to leave for the office, the wife asks for money. As he gives it to her –

Eric: O hayan, baka naman may reklamo ka pa? 'Well, there, don't tell me you'll still complain with that?'

Rose: Wala na *po*. (Then lovingly) Bayaan mo, babayaran ko ito mamaya. 'No more, Sir. (Then lovingly) Just wait, I'll pay this back later.'

In UD#3, between illicit lovers: Augusto has told Celia that she is getting prettier. She replies that if so, it is because someone is making her pretty.

Augusto: Hep, hep. Hold that. I'm sure ako iyon. 'Hep, hep. Hold that. I'm sure I'm the one.'

Celia: Right. Ikaw nga *po*, Mr. Accountant. Wala na pong iba. 'Right. It's indeed you, Mr. Accountant, Sir. No one else.'

(3) In the scripts, address to God shows the ambiguity of the relationship of man to his God. On the one hand, He is a friend (therefore IKAW); on the other, He is Father, Creator, Judge (therefore KAYO). Thus, about half of the instances of address to God use IKAW and about half KAYO. And address to God is the only instance when

the ungrammatical co-occurrence of second person singular and respect enclitic is allowed. Note how the co-occurrence rule of KAYO-HO becomes inoperative in the following:

LS#12 Loretta: O Diyos ko, tulungan *mo po* ako, Diyos ko. Please God, huwag *ninyong* hayaang ako'y makagawa ng kasalanan. 'My God, please help me, my God. Please, God, don't let me be led into committing a sin.'

In the above instance, note the co-occurrence of *mo* and *po*, and of *mo* and *ninyo*.

UD#20 Virgie: Buti pa namatay na lang ako nung maliit pa ako. Diyos ko, patawarin *mo po* ako . . . kung ano . . . anong nasasabi ko dahil sa lalaking iyon. 'It would have been better if I had died when I was a child. My God, please forgive me . . . for what . . . whatever I'm led to say because of that man.'

(4) In fact, fluctuations in usage are indicative of the shifting grounds on which a relationship rests. Consider two examples (out of four in the corpus):

In *UK#4*, Mrs. Urcia answers the phone and is told by a strange voice that her children will be kidnapped and killed unless she pays protection money.

Voice: Hindi ako nagbibiro, at lalong hindi *kita* tinatakot lang, Mrs. Urcia. At huwag *mo* kaming subukan at *kayo* rin ang mapipinsala . . . Inuulit ko, makipagsundo *kayo* sa akin ngayon kung ayaw *ninyong* may masamang mangyari sa miyembro ng *iyong* pamilya. 'This is not a joke, and I'm not only trying to scare you (pl.), Mrs. Urcia. And don't (you, sg.) try to match wits with us or you'll (pl.) just get hurt . . . I repeat (you, pl), come to an agreement with me now if you (pl.) don't want any harm to come to members of your (sg.) family.'

As the aggressor, the man on the phone of course has power (therefore, *IKAW*) but at the same time he unconsciously acknowledges the gap between him and Mrs. Urcia in age and status (*KAYO*).

In *IK#5*, Mimi is a hostess and her client is a wealthy-60 year old businessman, Mr. Tsung. The ambiguous nature of the relationship (she has him in her power but he can withhold his patronage; it is a young girl-old patron relationship but also an intimate one) comes through in fluctuations in her second person pronouns, respect and intimacy alternating:

Hindi ba noong bago *ka* umalis patungong Borneo, nagpunta *ka* dito? 'Isn't it that before you (sg.) left for Borneo, you (sg.) came here?'

Ayaw ko na nga sa *inyo* . . . makakalimutin na pala *kayo* . . . huwag *ninyong* sabihin na matanda na *kayo*. 'I don't like you (pl.) anymore . . . you've (pl.) become forgetful . . . (you, pl.) don't tell me that you (pl.) are already old.'

Magdamag tayong magkasama at inihatid pa *kita* sa airport. 'We were together the whole night and I even took you (sg.) to the airport.'

(5) The clearcut co-occurrence rule is that if the speaker uses *po/ho*, when the time comes for him to refer to the second person, he will be obliged to use the plural form, not the singular. Thus, Rose to Tiyang Mindang, *UD#6: Maupo ho kayo* 'Please sit down', but not *Maupo ka ho*.

On the other hand, if the speaker uses KAYO, then he may or may not add *po/ho* to his other utterances. He can say *Maupo kayo* or *Maupo ho kayo*.

(6) The fact that *po/ho* requires KAYO but KAYO does not require *po/ho* is a resource of the language and can be used to communicate subtle shades of meaning. A close reading of the corpus gives the impression that the greater the distance between the members of the dyad on both the power and solidarity dimensions, the greater the occurrence of *po/ho* → KAYO.

The closer the members of the dyad on solidarity, whatever the differences between them in power, the greater the likelihood of KAYO occurring alone, without *po/ho*. That is, for non-equals in power, the fewer *po/ho*, the more familiar and solidary. Thus in many of the closest relationships between mother and daughter in the dramas, the use of *po/ho* is quite infrequent and respect is coded only through KAYO.

To take another example, consider the encounters between ordinary civilian and military men in the radio dramas. The civilian uses KAYO and *po/ho* out of respect, in line with his inferior status vis-à-vis the military man on the power dimension; it also seems to be the case that the military man uses the formal KAYO (without *ho*) as a reflection of the non-familiar relationship on the solidarity dimension.

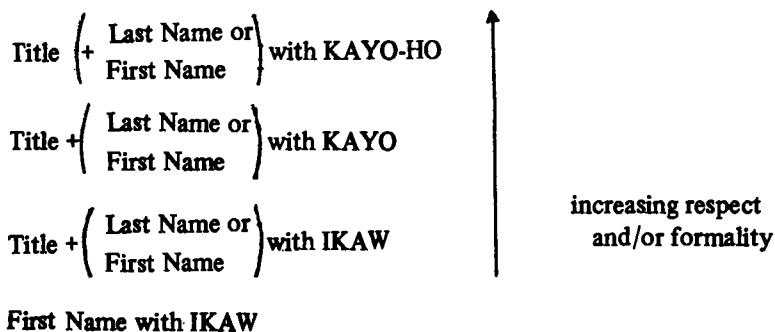
The conclusion then seems to be that differences in *both* power and solidarity are coded by *po/ho* → KAYO while differences in *either* power alone or solidarity alone are coded by KAYO with infrequent or no *po/ho*. This is simply another way of saying that maximum deference is indicated by the frequency with which *po/ho* is used.

5. SUMMARY

Using the framework first proposed by Brown and his associates for the study of address forms as made up of the vertical dimension of power and the horizontal dimension of solidarity, this study has presented the minutiae of the analysis of address forms in Filipino radio dramas.

The highlights of the analysis, together with the insights obtained from doing the analysis using the available framework, can be summed up as follows:

(1) The various shades of respect and formality are the result of the interplay between the nominals of address, second person pronouns, and respect enclitics. In graphic form, this can be presented as:



The parentheses mean that the enclosed element is optional. KAYO represents the second person plural pronoun in the different cases and IKAW the second person singular pronoun. HO stands for both *po* and *ho*.

(2) Because the use of Title and HO is not obligatory in the sense that they may be inserted at some point in the utterance provided rules of grammatical placement are observed, the relative frequency of their occurrence is highly indicative of the social relationship between the interlocutors. The more frequently Title and HO are used, the greater the power difference communicated or the less the solidarity manifested.

Since the use of the second person pronoun is predetermined by the situation (i.e. whether there is a need for the speaker to refer to the addressee), the frequency of occurrence of the second person pronoun is of little significance. Significance lies in the choice of IKAW or KAYO.

(3) A co-occurrence rule applies between First Name and IKAW; the data lead to the conclusion that the use of FN demands the use of IKAW. On the other hand, T (+ LN or FN) can occur with either KAYO or IKAW, although in general T with KAYO is the more frequently occurring combination. T with IKAW typically occurs at the very initial stage of acquaintance between two interlocutors of approximately the same age and social background, and the formality stemming from non-familiarity is indicated through the use of T but not in the use of the second person plural pronoun. This combination quickly gives way to that of FN and IKAW. From the data it also appears that beyond a certain age (probably 35), the interlocutors code distance on the solidarity scale by both T and KAYO.

(4) The foregoing statements make it appear that the power dimension (with distance expressed as respect) and the solidarity dimension (with distance expressed as formality) are clearly separate and easily separated out. This is true in some cases.

However, such clarity does not appear all the time, understandably so, since social relationships are complex in themselves, even without being acted upon by moment-to-moment changes in the situation. Thus, there is slippage between power and solidarity.

When a taxicab driver addresses his passenger with KAYO-HO, this probably is the respect accorded by a person in a service occupation to a person in a client position. But of course it could also be the formality accorded a stranger interacting with another stranger, especially if they are both elderly. For his part the passenger uses KAYO because, as it is analyzed here according to the framework, there is non-solidarity between him and the driver. But it can also be interpreted as courtesy resulting from *noblesse oblige* on the part of the passenger (a form of the power dimension showing itself): He does not want to underscore the status difference between him and the driver by using IKAW of superordination.

The ambivalence in interpretation is everywhere. When the daughter of a rich family addresses their elderly family driver with KAYO-HO, is this KAYO-HO the respect paid to an old person regardless of his lowly status or is this KAYO-HO the formality accorded a non-solidary member of the family household? Is it even desirable to separate out the true determinant of her address use?

(5) The present analysis has substantially validated the general observations of Lynch and Hollnsteiner in *Understanding the Philippines* (1967). Consider the following statements (pages 9-10, Part Two):

The social distance attendant on non-acquaintance or status difference is expressed more or less rigidly by certain cultural indicators, notably the use of *po* or *ho*, and *kayo* or *sila* . . .

1. *Po* and *ho*. The markers *po* and *ho* indicate that *there is social distance between the speaker and the person spoken to* [underscoring in the original]. If only one person uses the marker, the meaning conveyed is that the person using it sees himself in a status subordinate to that of the person addressed, OR that the person using it recognizes and wishes to maintain (or create) social distance between himself and the person addressed, regardless of the relative status positions . . . The persistent use of *po* and *ho* by one party after the other drops it is an indication that the first party does not want to close the gap on the initial social distance . . .

2. *Kayo* and *sila*. To address a person using the *kayo* ('2nd plural') or *sila* ('3rd plural') form is to indicate, once more, the existence of social distance. *Kayo*, like *po*, signifies a distance stemming from formality, respect, fear, aversion, or simple non-acquaintance. The form *sila* is an indicator of great social distance based on respect, ordinarily because of the high position of the person addressed. It is considered the more formal term . . . When *po* or *ho* is used with *kayo* or *sila*, it indicates that the person so addressed is regarded with very great respect and for a number of reasons, such as position and age.

The convergence between the conclusions arrived at through the Institute of Philippine Culture staff's participant-observation and experience of Tagalog life and the conclusions arrived at here through the analysis of radio drama scripts in Pilipino is remarkable. As I see it, the contribution of this study lies in the precision achieved. Here the different permutations of nominals of address, second person pronouns, and respect enclitics have been sorted out and the possible meanings conveyed by the various combinations have been investigated.

To focus now on the nominals of address. The system as it has been derived from the corpus of radio drama scripts can be represented as a flow chart (Figure 2) following the example of Ervin-Tripp (1972:218-222) and borrowing heavily from the manner in which she has presented her analysis.

The starting point is the arrow on the left, and a path is traced by going through the diamonds until a rectangle is reached. The diamonds serve as yes/no decision points while the rectangles represent alternative forms of address.

The diagram is only a way of representing a logical model; as Ervin-Tripp says (1972:219):

The diagram is not intended as a model of a process, of the actual decision sequence by which a speaker chooses a form of address or a listener interprets one. The two structures may or may not correspond . . . Just as two individuals who share the same grammar might not share the same performance strategies, so two individuals might have different decision or interpretation procedures for sociolinguistic alternatives but have the identical logical structure to their reports of behavior.

The person whose address system is represented by the diagram can be taken to be the adult hero or heroine of any of the radio dramas in the corpus. The frame in which the address form can be fitted into can be something like: _____, *ano (ho) ang nangyari dito?* ' _____, what has happened here?'

The diamonds have been labelled selectors by Ervin-Tripp, that is, they are points which the social categories allow different paths. The first selector 'Name Known'

ADDRESS IN FILIPINO RADIO DRAMAS

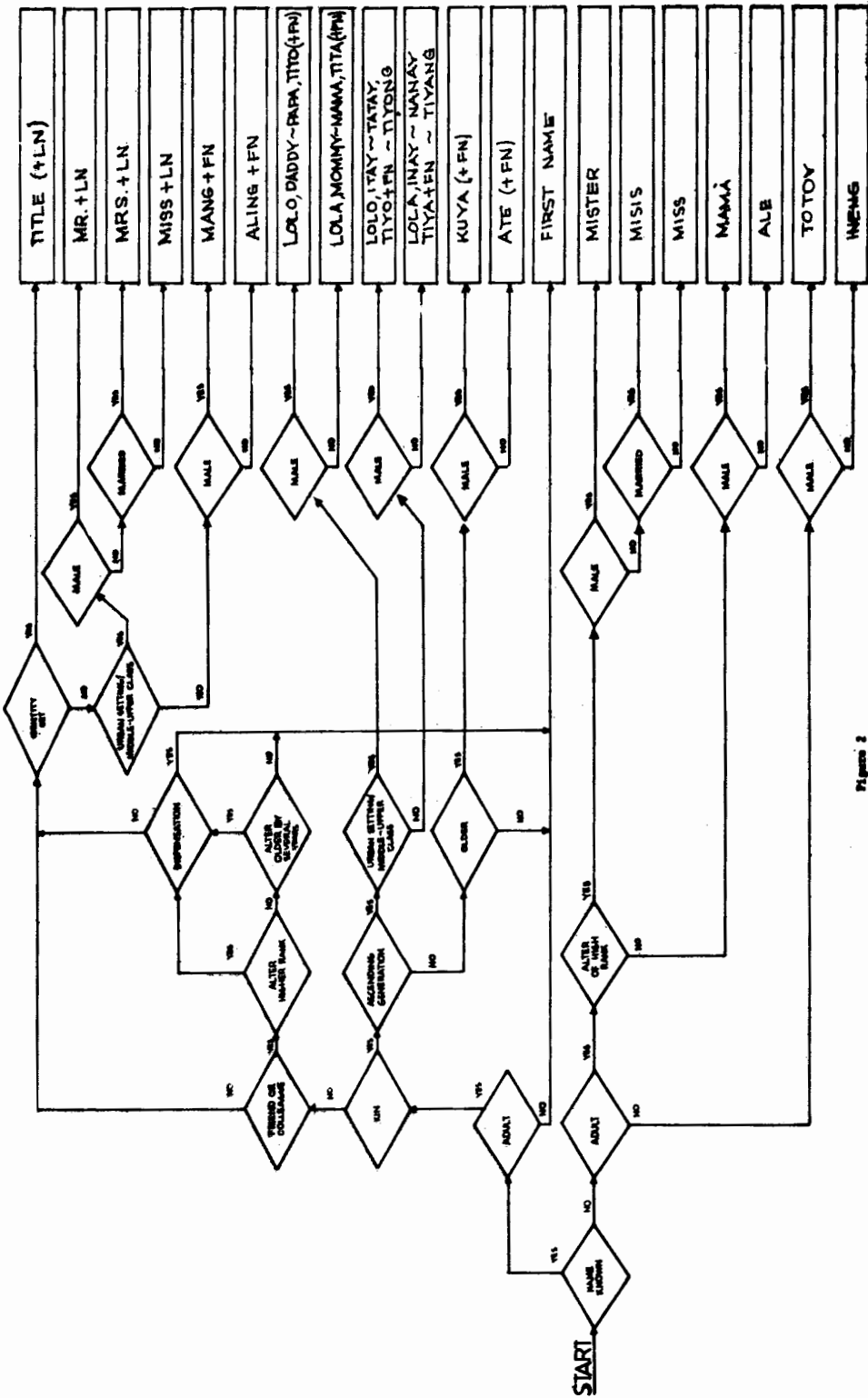


Figure 2
Filipino Address System

separates address using some form of civil status title alone from address incorporating first name or last name. If the addressee is an adult whose name is not known, the selector 'Alter of High Rank' is necessary to explain the use of *Mister/Misis/Miss* as against *Mamá/Ale*. The criterion for high rank seems to be whether the person is a white-collar worker or not.

Among kinsmen, the selectors 'Ascending Generation' and 'Older' distinguish address which uses a kin title from that which does not. 'Older' is necessary because elder siblings and elder cousins typically receive the kin title *Kuya/Ate* before their first name. 'Urban Setting/Middle-Upper Class' takes care of the difference between, for instance, *Daddy* and *Tatay*.

For non-kinsmen, the selectors for first-naming are whether Alter is a friend, is not of higher rank, and is not older by several years (unfortunately the data give no indication as to what the age difference is, but certainly the age difference of one generation already predisposes towards the use of Title). An act of dispensation by Alter of high rank or older age will pave the way for first-naming.

If no dispensation is given, then address will have to include some form of occupational title (e.g. *Doctor, Judge, Major*) or courtesy title (*Father, Brother*), the list of which Ervin-Tripp subsumes under the selector 'Identity Set'. If no such occupational or courtesy title attaches to Alter, then he will be addressed as *Mr. + LN* or *Mang + FN*, depending on whether the setting is urban or rural or his socio-economic status middle/upper or lower.

(7) In all of this discussion, the system being characterized represents the normal, unmarked, expected occurrences of pronouns, respect enclitics, and titles. Thus, the important thing to note is that the system represented by Figure 2 defines the 'normal, unmarked, expected' nominals of address. The use of the expected nominal does not call attention to itself precisely because it is expected. However, if the nominal that is expected is not used, then some social meaning is highlighted; since there is a norm (which the above model has sought to depict), deviation from the norm is a form of marking and is highly communicative.

The point has been made very clearly and forcefully by Ervin-Tripp (1976:63-64) in the passage quoted below. In her study of directives in American English, she has outlined the procedure that addressees follow in interpreting directives. This interpretation procedure can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the interpretation of address forms:

In normal circumstances, when an expected form occurs, *listeners need make no affective interpretation at all* . . . If the social features are ambiguous, the form the speaker uses may give the hearer information on how he views their relative age, rank, [and degree of familiarity]. If social features are clear, but the form is unexpected by his own coding rule, the hearer assumes that the speaker is imputing different social features than he thinks he has, and reacts to the imputation as deference, sarcasm, arrogance, coldness, undifferentiated annoyance, or a joke [emphasis in the original].

The patterns which this article has presented, therefore, can be viewed as the context or background against which deviations stand out and can be interpreted. The patterns are interesting in themselves but they also point to the rich meanings that contrast with the patterns can convey.

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