

MARANAO ADDRESS FORMS IN EVERYDAY CONVERSATION

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Among all God's creation, man is the only one endowed with the speech mechanisms for communication. Man, therefore, is the only talking animal and since he is a social being, he uses language in order to communicate his thoughts to others. One form of communication is the interaction between speakers which is facilitated by what are known as communicative functions (uses) of language, which change with the situation and language forms (grammar and vocabulary) which vary for different interactions. Knowing a language, therefore, does not only mean knowing its rules but also its rules of use. Canale and Swain (1980) aptly describe communicative competence as having the following components: grammatical competence which is a knowledge of lexical items and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence, semantics and phonology; socio-linguistic competence or knowledge of sociocultural rules of use or appropriateness of language in terms of topic, role relationship, setting and purpose; knowledge of rules of discourse and strategic competence or strategies to make up for breakdowns in communication.

Crisper and Widdowson (1975) further believe that a learner has not learned a language until he learns the social rules of the formal linguistic system. This means that he must know what variety to use, in what situation, how to vary the style according to whom he is addressing, when to speak or remain silent, what kind of gestures are required to go with what speech. In other words, in a communicative situation the components are: setting,

participants/interlocutors/role relationship, medium or channel, topics and function of interaction. These components correspond to the sociolinguistic formula: who speaks what, to whom, where and when, for what purpose and with what results.

It is the component participant/interlocutor/role relationship that this study is addressing itself, particularly the different types of address forms used between and among Maranao interlocutors in their daily conversation. For it is in the everyday conversation of the members of a society that one learns the close relationship between language and culture which will ultimately lead him to understand human interaction everywhere.

Since there is a dearth of data on the ethnography of speaking in the Philippine setting, the writer is encouraged to write about the address forms of the Maranaos. She aims to come up with a preliminary description and analysis of the address forms of the Maranaos in order to give invaluable insight into their culture. Furthermore, knowledge of the Maranao language and the different forms of address will be an invaluable asset in avoiding unnecessary conflict, embarrassment and in achieving harmonious relationship with them.

Several studies on address forms have been made by famous linguists as well as sociolinguists abroad. Among these are the studies of Brown and Ford (in Hymes, 1964b) who have done pioneering and ingenious research on forms of address in American English using as corpora American plays, observed usage in a Boston business firm and reported usage of business executives. Brown and Gilman (1960) did a study on "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity." Ervin-Tripp (1972) also did a research on "Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence."

In the Philippines, some studies have been done analyzing the patterns of communication and conversation in some native languages. These studies are those of Casambre (1976) which analyzed the functions of language in social context with special reference to the communication in Pangasinan; Lazaro's study on the Tingguians (1976) which presented a specific genre of

Philippine folklore by showing how speech acts, speech events and speech situations are used in the folktales of the Tingguians; Bautista (1979) analyzed the address forms in Pilipino radio dramas. Fortez (1981) analyzed the communicative patterns in Maranao based on everyday talk in some selected situations. Her study described some address forms used by the Maranao but only in some selected situations. To supplement her study, the writer will attempt to describe and analyze these address forms comprehensively.

Analysis of Data

The data for this study are gathered from the everyday conversation of the Maranaos. The address forms are described and analyzed following a modified version of the models of Brown and his associates and Ervin-Tripp.

The Maranao system of address is somehow similar to other Philippine languages. It has two forms of relationship namely: symmetrical relationship (vertical or unequal relation). Status, rank, familiarity and age play important roles in the address forms of the Maranaos.

For symmetrical (horizontal or equal relationship)

For interlocutors who are of the same age, same or different sex, status, rank and familiar with each other First Name (FN) is usually used as in: Hasan, Gamal, Zorayda. If the relationship is close like that of friends, the Diminutive or Nickname is used as in: Dick, Ted, Cas, Al. Between a husband and a wife having an intimate relationship, it is common to use nicknames, petnames or words of endearment. Moreover, many Maranao husbands use the word "Oli" in addressing their wives instead of using FN. This

word is an endearment which is also used to address a little girl or a favorite daughter. In the rural areas and even among educated families, most husbands and wives do not use the FN. Instead, a husband uses the address form *Ina-i - + name of eldest son or daughter* (Mother of) or *Ina-iran* which literally means their mother, or the wife addresses her husband as *Ama-i + name of eldest son or daughter* (Father of) or *Ama-iran* (Their father). This address from Ama/Ina + i + name of eldest son or daughter carries with it a feeling of intimacy, respect and formality. It is also used to show deference or respect between friends who do not belong to the same age bracket. But if the relationship is not close like that of an acquaintance, this address form is used to show respect. Other address forms used by husbands and wives are: *Ari* or *Gari* (short forms of the word *pagari* which means brother, sister or friend. In Maranao society, everyone is an extended member of the family. This is because it recognizes bilateral kinship which traces its descent and kinship through both the male and female lines. Hence, every Maranao is treated like a brother and is addressed as *Gari* or *Ari*. Now, with the exposure of the Maranaos to the different mass media and the influence of Western education, husbands and wives especially in the urban areas use words of endearment such as: sweetheart, *mahal*, darling, love, honey . . .)

Aki, *Ari* and *Gari* are reciprocal forms used by the males of the same age bracket. They are used by persons who know each other well or by just mere acquaintances. Other reciprocal address forms showing intimacy among females of the same age bracket are: *Daani* and *Gari*.

In the past, traditional Maranao girls and boys who have reached adolescent age use *Sinaluda* or a reciprocal address in the form of one word or phrases which carry hidden meanings understood by the interlocutors using the form. Example is "*Paganay bo*" (which literally means "only at the start" but could be a remark alluding to a suitor who is persistent at the beginning but loses interest later). Other examples are: *Naino Mada* (literally means even if it is lost, *Bolawan* (gold) and others. Nowadays, this *Sinaluda* or reciprocal address form is still used but only

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among the females and it takes the form of single English or Pilipino word of endearment such as : darling, pretty, love, *mahal* . . .

If a husband carries a title like that of a *Sultan* or a *Datu* or an occupational title like *Doctor*, *Attorney*, *Engineer* . . . or if he has gone to Mecca and the wife is talking about him to other people who are not close to the family, she uses the address forms: *Si Sultan*, *Si Radiamoda*, *Si Doctor*, *Si Director*, *Si Kadi* (for Hadji, a title for someone who has gone to Mecca).

The Maranao family is very close-knit and this is manifested in the kinship terms which are prevalently used in everyday conversation. Examples of these reciprocal kinship terms are: *Tenged* (literally means cousin) which is used by males or females, close or distantly related and of the same age or different age bracket; *Bati* (brother-in-law), *Pangowiya* (sister-in-law); *Ipag* is used by a female to address her brother-in-law or a male to address his sister-in-law; *Idas* is used by a female and a male who are married to a brother and a sister. At present though, the word *Bati* is commonly used as a reciprocal form of address by a sister to address her brother-in-law and vice versa.

For asymmetrical relationship

The asymmetrical relationship reflects the non-reciprocal address which is the vertical axis of social relationships. This is an interaction between people occupying unequal relationships such as a mother and a child, teacher-student, waiter-customer or an employer-employee.

The following address forms are prominent among Philippine languages and they are more emphasized in the Maranao language. *Title + Last Name (TLN)*, *Title + First Name (TFN)* or *Title (T)* only. The title before the First Name (FN) may be a kinship term. Example: *Kaka* (Literally means elder sister or brother)+ *Racma*, *Kaka Yusoph*, *Bapa Casan* (Uncle Casan, *Babo-a-Imo* or *Babo Imo* (Auntie Imo). Now, Maranaos also use *Ate* (address for elder sister or any female elder), *Kuya* (older brother), Auntie (*Tita*), Uncle (*Tito*).

This super-ordination or subordination relationship stems

from four sources:

1. A difference in generation

In kinship, whether lineal, affinal or ritual, members of the ascending generation give FN but receive TFN or only T. If the setting is rural and traditional, the parents are addressed as *Ina* (Mother), *Ama* (Father). Relatives are addressed as *Babo* (Auntie), *Bapa* (Uncle), *Datu* (Grandfather), *Ba'i* (Grandmother). If the setting is urban and parents are exposed to western culture, they are addressed as *Papa/Daddy* (Father) or *Baba* (Arabic word meaning Father), *Mama/Mommy* (Mother) or *Omi* (Arabic word meaning Mother), *Auntie/Tita* (Aunt, Uncle), *Tito* (Uncle). Surprisingly though, whether in urban or rural areas, the address forms for grandfather and grandmother remain the same. Usually, if children address their mothers as *Mommy/Mama/Omi* or their fathers as *Papa/Daddy/Baba*, they invariably call their grandparents *ina* or *ama*.

Anyone older, whether a relative or not, is addressed as *Babo* (if she is as old as an aunt), *Bapa* (if he is as old as an uncle), *Datu* (if he is as old as a grandfather) and *Ba'i* (if she is as old as grandmother).

The members of the descending generation receive FN. Parents of whatever class and in whatever locale address their children with words of endearment such as *Oli* (for little girls), *Orak* (for little boys) or *Wataaaken* or *Wata kolay* (my child).

The word *Miyðkamong* is another address form used by a father-in-law or a mother-in-law or any older member of the family to address a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law or to anyone married to the family. In return, a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law or any male or female married to a family addresses his/her father/mother-in-law or any old member of the family including the grandparents as *Panogangan*.

2. A difference in age

Elder siblings and their spouses receive TFN as in: (*Kaka/*

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Ate/Kuya + FN) for respect or deference. *Ina-i- + Name of eldest daughter or son* (Mother of FN) or *Ama-i-+ Name of eldest daughter or son* (Father of FN).

Adults with an age difference of several or more years use non-reciprocal address, the elder using FN and the younger using TLN or TFN or T only. Children give TLN or TFN to adults and receive FN. In many instances, they receive words of endearment such as: *Oli* or *Orak* if their names are unknown to the addressor.

3. A difference in social rank/class

The Maranaos carry titles which they have inherited from their forebears. These titles show markedly less Islamic influence. This is due to their long centuries of geographical and political isolation which have preserved to a greater degree the character and institution of the pre-Islamic barangay. Some of the titles they carry are: Sultan + sa + the Name of the barrio/place they come from: *Radiamuda, Datu - a - Cabugatan, Ampuan, Ayonan, Cali - sa - + Name of Barrio/place*. For women, the titles are: *Bai - a - Labi + sa + name of place, Bai - a - gaus sa + name of place, Potre Maamor, Bai - a - Adil* and so many other minor titles. These titles are unique and for the purpose of this paper, they are given as they are without any equivalent English meanings, as it is difficult to have a one to one translation.

Adults with titles are always addressed with their titles and they use FN with an addressee who is younger.

4. A difference in occupational status

Brown and Ford have pointed out that occupational status may be of three kinds:

a. A relation of direct and enduring subordination (e.g. master-servant, employer-employee) Examples: For superiors, they are addressed with T like Sir or Ma'am, occupational T + LN (e.g., Engr. Abdullah, Dr. Alonto, Director Ali . . .) and they

address their subordinates with FN (e.g., Acmad). Domestic helpers may address their employers or masters with the kinship terms *Kaka/Kuya/Ate* + FN or without FN).

b. A relation of direct but temporary subordination-involving someone in service occupation (e.g. waiter-customer, vendor-buyer/customer). The address forms used depend on the age bracket of the interlocutors. If the addresser is older and the addressee is younger, he uses the address form (*aki, ari, gari*) to indicate a closer relationship or camaraderie, but if he knows the addressee he uses the FN. However, if the addresser is younger and the addressee is older, he uses the title *Bapa* (if the person is as old as an uncle), *Babo* (if she is as old as a grandmother) or *Datu* (if he is as old as a grandfather). These address forms are very much reflective of the closer kinship ties among the Maranaos.

c. An enduring difference of occupational status that does not involve direct subordination (e.g. commissioners, directors have higher status than laborers or janitors). Heads of different agencies in the government belong to this kind of relationship. Examples: doctors, engineers, directors are always addressed with their TLN or T only while they address the addressee using FN or to show closer relationship they use *Ari, Aki* or *Gari* for males and a female addressor uses *Aki* or *Gari* for a female addressee.

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