

PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN INFORMAL CONTEXTS:
A COMPARISON OF TWO DIALECTS OF COLOMBIAN SPANISH

BY

MONICA MILLAN

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Anna Maria Escobar, Chair
Professor Jose Ignacio Hualde
Associate Professor Andrea Golato
Associate Professor Zsuzsanna Fagyal

ABSTRACT

The paradigm of forms of address in Modern Spanish is subject to dialectal variation. Many Latin American varieties of Spanish, i.e. Costa Rican, Argentinean, Chilean, among others, display a tripartite system of second person pronouns comprised of *tú*, *usted* and *vos*. The case of Colombian Spanish is particularly interesting because there is greater variation in the patterns of use of pronominal address. The use of more than one pronoun to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse is what I will call *mixed-use*. The purpose of this study is to examine the sociolinguistic variables that determine the use of *vos*, *tú*, *usted*, and the *mixed-use* in two varieties of Colombian Spanish (Medellin and Cali). Data for the analysis were collected by means of three instruments consisting of a sociodemographic and a written questionnaires and oral interviews. Participants in the study were 293 college students from private and state universities, who were born or lived most of their lives in Medellin or Cali and surrounding areas. Results indicate that although the main extralinguistic factors conditioning pronoun choice are the same in both varieties, the outcome presents some differences. Furthermore, there are some indications of a possible linguistic change in progress in the pronominal address system of these varieties of Colombian Spanish as indicated by the variability in the use of the pronouns and the higher use of *tú* by women, younger individuals, and lower classes.

To Gabriel Jacobo, whose arrival changed my world

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1. INTRODUCTION

When choosing a linguistic form to address another person, the speaker's intention is not only to establish communication but also to initiate and maintain some type of relation with his/her interlocutor. Most languages have different ways to indicate who is talking (the speaker) and whom s/he is talking to (the listener). In Spanish, as in many other languages, referential address of the interlocutor can be done with nominal (proper name, title, kinship terms, etc.), verbal (verb endings), or pronominal (*you, tú, vous, etc.*) expressions. The latter (pronominal forms) is the most common mechanism used and the object of study of my investigation.

Pronominal address has been of special interest for linguists concerned with languages that exhibit systems of more than one of such pronouns, Spanish being one of those languages. Most varieties of modern Spanish have two-second person singular pronouns (*tú / usted*) that distinguish *formality* in the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Additionally, some varieties of Latin American Spanish (i.e. Costa Rica, El Salvador) present three forms: *tú, usted, and vos* for informal contexts. The case of Colombian Spanish is particularly interesting because it comprises 5 pronouns in informal contexts: *tú, usted, vos, vustedé, and sumercé*, whose combinations of up to three forms may differ from region to region. Furthermore, the same pronoun in one variety might have different uses and/or connotations in another, for instance, in the Caribbean region *usted* expresses formality and respect, whereas in the Pacific area it can be used between close friends as a sign of familiarity; likewise, *vos* is stigmatized in some varieties like in Cali (Simpson 2002), but widespread as in Medellín (Jang 2005). These situations led Lipski (1994: 213) to consider the choice of second person

pronouns in informal contexts and the corresponding verb morphology, as the most outstanding morphosyntactic variable in Colombian Spanish.

Studies on Colombian Spanish address forms, however, have been mainly descriptive, focusing only on a particular region (in most cases Bogota)¹ or a specific form (usually *vos*). They have not been comparative, nor have provided a detailed sociolinguistic explanation for the co-variation of these forms. That is, they have not explained the social meaning that these pronouns have in modern Colombian society. With this in mind, the general goal of this investigation is to examine the criteria governing the choice and use of address forms in a particular type of social interaction: informal contexts, and in two varieties of Colombian Spanish: Vallecaucan and Antioquian, which use *vos*, *usted*, and *tú*, but with different social meanings. More detailed information about these two dialects is presented in chapter 3.

Furthermore, preliminary observations of natural speech suggest that there might be a linguistic change in progress where the pronoun *tú*, which competes with *vos* in informal contexts, might be replacing *vos*. Brown and Gilman (1960) propose a semantic change in address forms in which “[o]nce solidarity has been established ... the province of T proceeds to expand.” (261) Similarly, Fontanella de Weinberg (1970) and Weinerman (1976) found, in their respective studies of Argentinean Spanish, a significant increase in the use of reciprocal T. In the history of Spanish, the tendency has been to go from *vos* to *tú*, as it occurred during the Golden Age and the eighteenth century throughout the Peninsula and in those parts of America (Peru, Bolivia, Mexico) in closest contact with cultural developments in Spain (Penny 1991:124).

¹ Presently there are several projects organized through PRESEEA involved in studying address forms in specific regions. For more information see <http://www.linguas.net/Proyectos/PRESEEA/tabid/74/language/en-US/Default.aspx>

1.1. HISTORICAL CHANGES AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT THAT MIGHT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE VARIATION IN ADDRESS FORMS

1.1.1. Historical Changes

The Latin second person pronoun system made distinctions only of number: *tū* was the form to address a single individual, whatever the social status, and *vōs* for addressing two or more people. Brown and Gilman state that the use of *vos* as a singular pronoun was first directed to the emperor in the fourth century. At that time there were in fact two emperors: one in Rome and one in Constantinople, although, the imperial office was administratively unified. ‘Words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both. The choice of *vos* as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality’ (1960: 255). Later on, the formal meaning of the Latin *vos* was extended to other power figures or people from superior status; it eventually became a fixture for respectful address in the popular language. This system, in which *vos* had two meanings (one as singular for respect and another as plural for all addressees), was retained in early Spanish and is still in used in modern French (Penny, 2001). Table 1.1 illustrates the second person singular pronominal system used in Latin at the time:

	Non- deferential	Deferential
Singular	<i>tū</i>	<i>vōs</i>
Plural	<i>vōs</i>	<i>vōs</i>

Table 1.1 Pronominal System in Latin

Bartens (2003) notes that *vos* as a plural form survived in Spanish until the early sixteenth century, when the ending *-otros* [others] was added to *vos* to mark plural, giving origin to the pronoun *vosotros*. In the late Old Spanish period, this pronoun was restricted to non-deferential value and it became the unmarked plural form in opposition to singular *vos* (Penny 1991).

Norms for the proper use of the singular *vos* and *tú* emerged from the 12th to the 14th century and were based on non-reciprocal usage emphasizing the different power relation between the speakers (Micheau 1991). Additionally, *vos* dominated as the form for the nobility and other members of upper class and for social inferiors to show respect to superiors; whereas *tú* was commonly used among lower-class equals. By the end of the Middle Ages, the use of *vos* reached the lower class losing its connotation of respect and begun to imply familiarity among equals or disrespect when used by a noble towards a person of lower status. This created a need for a new form to fulfill the empty space for deferential address left by *vos*. This form was *vuestra merced*, which literally means 'your mercy, together with *vuestras mercedes* which extended the distinction between familiar and respect to the plural.

At the beginning of the Golden Age, *tú* was only used between intimate equals and *vos* served elsewhere to express familiarity but non-intimacy (Micheau 1991). But at the end of the 16th and early 17th centuries, *vos* began to be interchangeable with *tú*. By the eighteen-century *vos* became stigmatized in Spain falling in disuse because it was associated with the lower class (Resnick 1981).

In the 15th and 16th century, this tripartite system (*vos*, *tú*, *usted*) was brought to America where *vos* and *tú* came to have the same informal connotation. This

phenomenon, which had been present in the popular speech of the Peninsula since the Middle Ages but had been socially stigmatized, became widespread in the New World. As mentioned above, by the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, *vos* fell in disuse in Spain because ‘*vosear* a una persona implicaba, cuando no un insulto, una íntima familiaridad o superior categoría social por parte del que hablaba’ [‘to address a person with *vos* implied, whenever it was not an insult, an intimate familiarity or superior social status on the part of the speaker’] (Pla Cárcelos 1923: 245). As a consequence, *tú* and corresponding verb forms were adopted in most parts of Peninsular Spanish as the familiar pronoun, with *usted* as the deferential form in the singular. However, even though *vos* is nowadays absent in Peninsular Spanish from everyday language, it is still present in special literary registers and situations. ‘Se le encontrará en recreaciones literarias de tiempo pasados [...], como un recurso con el cual se quiere crear una atmósfera de autenticidad cronológica alrededor de la historia’ [‘It will be found in literary creations from old times [...], as a resource to create an atmosphere of chronological authenticity around the history’] (Páez Urdaneta 1981:59).

In Latin America, on the other hand, either *tú* or *vos* or a combination of both was adopted as second person singular familiar form. Páez Urdaneta (1981) points out the following dialectal regions based on pronominal address forms during the 16th and 17th century:

1. A region partially or totally colonized by mid 16th century that was an area of general *voseo*² but because of its socio-economic status and its contact with the

² *Voseo* refers to the use of the pronoun *vos* and/or the verb forms associated with it.

Peninsula, it soon adopted the pronominal system used there (*tuteo*³): Mexico, Peru, Panama, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

2. A region partially or totally colonized by mid 16th century that was an area of general *voseo* but because of its socio-economic status and NO contact with the Peninsula, it did not adopt the pronominal system with *tú* used there, maintaining the pronoun *vos*: Central America and Río de la Plata. Chile belonged to this group for a while but some events made it a special case (Benavides 2003).

3. A region colonized by the end of the 16th century that was not an area of general *voseo* because its settlers had assimilated to the peninsular system at that time: Eastern Venezuela.

4. A region colonized by the end of the 16th century by individuals from areas where *voseo* was generalized and nowadays it continues to be: Western Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia.

Regions (1) and (3), followed the Peninsular norm, expanding the functions of *tú* and adopting *Vuestra Merced* (> *usted*) at the expense of *vos*, while regions (2) and (4) took a different path: adopting *vos* and *Vuestra Merced* (> *usted*) at the expense of *tú*, maintaining the old norm.⁴

Furthermore, De Granda (1994, 2001) proposes three stages in the formation of American Spanish, which also explains the wide linguistic variation in Latin American Spanish, including the pattern of use of pronominal address. 1) The initial stage, which took place at different times of the 16th century depending on the geographical area, is

³ *Tuteo* is the use of the pronoun *tú* and/or the verb forms associated with it.

⁴ Areas where the two possibilities coexisted (*tuteo* and *voseo*) were the result of: a) the adoption of *tú* to express some of the functions assigned to *vos*, or b) the adoption of *vos* to express some of the functions assigned to *tú*.

characterized by a process of speech accommodation between diatopic and diastratic peninsular varieties resulting in a *koiné*⁵ Spanish (use of *vos* as a general form of address). 2) The next stage, which occurred early in the 17th century, is linguistically conditioned by socioeconomic and regional differences. In intermediate or marginal moderated areas, the *koiné* variety settles (use of *vos*) while in marginal areas, elimination of ‘*connatural*’ tendencies in language together with retention of archaic features occurred (adoption of *tú* and retention of *vos*). Finally, in central areas, standardization and elimination of archaic forms take place, giving origin to a prestigious variety (adoption of *tú*). 3) The last stage, which takes place during the second half of the 18th century, is characterized by a process of late standardization in intermediate or marginal areas (later adoption of *tú*) (De Granda 2001: 96).

1.1.2. *Socio-Historical Context*

Factors such as the social background or ways of speaking of the colonizers of the New World or the amount of contact between the colonies and the metropolis might have also influenced the adoption of one pronoun over another.

The political-administrative organization that Spain had in the New World, based on viceroyalty governments and audiences might have had a direct influence on the distribution of the forms of address in American Spanish. According to Lapesa (1970), the areas in closer contact with the viceroyalty governments of Mexico and Peru, which, at the same time, remained economically dependent on the metropolis and in longer constant literary contact with Spain, adopted the pronoun *tú*; in contrast, rural and more

⁵ Linguistic variety that arises as a result of contact between two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language.

isolated settlements and other regions under less direct influence from the Peninsular norm generally adopted *vos* with a variety of verb endings.

In addition to the degree of contact with the Spanish norm, Rosenblat (1964) cites the social and linguistic background of the colonizers as additional factors for the diversity of the forms of address in the New World. According to him, the heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds of Aragonese, Andalusians, Catalonians, and Basques, who spoke varieties or languages mutually unintelligible, led to a need to simplify the language in order to ease communication. Redundant or superfluous linguistic distinctions that reflected a social structure, which was not in accordance to the reality, could have been eliminated in this simplification process.

Moreover, the social and cultural status of the first colonists and settlers may have also be a determiner in pronoun choice. In the New World, redefinition of the upper class was necessary to encompass a wider variety of members of the new society. The population of colonizers included fortune hunters, military officers, soldiers, seamen, and a large proportion of clergy, high functionaries of the Crown, students, and intellectuals. Furthermore, the population of *hidalgos*, well educated but from an aristocracy stricken by poverty, was clearly high in the society of the New World. As a consequence, an upward social leveling took place, what Rosenblat called '*hidalguización*': "El hecho de la conquista hizo que todos se sintiesen señores, con derecho a títulos, y adoptasen como modelo superior los usos, y entre ellos los usos lingüísticos, de las capas superiores" [the colony made everybody feel as lords, with the right to have a title, and they adopted the uses of the upper classes as superior model, and among them the linguistics uses] (1964: 230). This social 'leveling' was reflected in

language usage patterns, especially in the forms of address with the adoption of *vos*, which at the moment of colonization had not yet become stigmatized among the Peninsular upper class.

Since these first settlers considered themselves nobles, they continued using the form *vos* to address each other, as status equals, and to show social distance in interaction with Amerindians whom they saw as subordinates. According to Páez Urdaneta (1981), this '*hidalguización*' explains the vitality that the use of *vos* has had in America at the same time that it supports Montes Giraldo's hypothesis of a general American *voseo* during the 16th century:

Puesto que los conquistadores y colonizadores traían el voseo, y aún lo generalizaron y extendieron en América más de lo que era usual en España, parece superfluo anotar que durante la Conquista y primeros tiempos de la Colonia se voseó en todo el Nuevo Mundo español y que la conservación del *vos* en extensas zonas americanas bien puede considerarse como un fenómeno de arcaísmo de Hispanoamérica respecto de España.

[Due to the fact that the colonizers brought *voseo*, and they generalized it and extended it in America more than it was usual in Spain, it seem superfluous to note that during the conquest and the first years of the Colony, the *voseo* was used in all of the New Spanish World and that the conservation of *vos* in wide areas in America could be considered as a phenomenon of archaism of Hispanic America] (1967:23)

For Páez Urdaneta, the most significant proof in favor of this hypothesis is “the existence of areas of *voseo* and *tuteo-voseo* in the current dialectal scene of America, which can be explained as the no diachronic participation of some regions in a continental linguistic change (*voseo* → *tuteo*)”⁶ (1981:63).

Fontanella de Weinberg (1977) suggests that there are other sociolinguistic factors for the selection of one form of address over another. For her, the preferred usage of the social group with status and power in a certain region may have determined the trend for the entire region. Similarly, Kiddle (1953) notes that the pronominal usage of a speech community played a role in the adoption of one form over another. Therefore, for instance “former criminals or foot soldiers who became the ruling class in a certain region may have adopted or continued to use *vos* as the familiar form; *tú* users under their control might then have followed their example and switched to *vos*” (Micheau 1991:84).

In sum, social, historical and linguistic factors may have contributed to the diversity in the forms of address that are found today in Latin American Spanish. Some of these factors are:

- Contact with or isolation from linguistic innovations and prescriptive norms in the Spain.
- Development of New World linguistic and sociolinguistic norms.
- A process of linguistic simplification to facilitate communication among speakers of different varieties and languages.
- A tendency toward social equalization in the face of shared hardship.

⁶ “la existencia misma de zonas voseantes y tuteante-voseantes en el panorama dialectal americano actual, lo cual puede ser explicado como la no participación diacrónica de algunas regiones en un cambio lingüístico continental (*voseo* → *tuteo*)”

- The creation of a new upper class from members of all classes of Spanish society.
- Redefinition of an upper class by time of arrival in the New World.
- The lower classes' imitation of language used by the powerful and prestigious group in each region.

As can be seen, in spite of the common historic substrate of the Spanish-speaking world, there are many differences among the varieties of Spanish in Latin America based on cultural, economic and social factors. Additionally, the geography of the regions and consequently, the greater or smaller contact between areas contribute to strengthen these differences. The pronominal form of address is just one the differences that exist today among varieties of Spanish.

1.2. THE PRONOMINAL ADDRESS SYSTEM IN MODERN SPANISH

The system of address forms in modern Spanish is nowadays one of the main features that differentiate Peninsular Spanish from American Spanish. On the one hand, there is a plural pronominal form *vosotros*, which is extended in Iberian Spanish but is absent from Western Andalusian, Canarian, and American Spanish. On the other hand, there is the singular pronoun *vos* that is extensively used in many areas of Latin America but is unfamiliar to modern Peninsular and Canarian Spanish.

Based on these differences, Fontanella de Weinberg (1995) points out that nowadays there are in Spanish at least four pronominal systems, with two subsystems in one of them. In the following I provide a brief description of each one of them.

The first system is used in most of contemporary Peninsular Spanish, and it is the only one with two plural forms, all the remaining systems present only one form in the plural paradigm. This system consists of two singular pronouns (*tú* and *usted*) and two plural forms (*vosotros* and *ustedes*). The first of each pair expresses solidarity while the second is used to express distance or respect (Penny, 2000). The distribution of pronouns within this first system is illustrated in table 1.2.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Solidarity	tú	vosotros/as
Formality	usted	ustedes

Table 1.2 System I'

Different from the first system, the second one has only *ustedes* as plural pronoun. Formality distinction is only maintained in the singular between *tú* and *usted*. The system corresponds to the Peninsular areas of Western Andalusian, Córdoba from the Guadalquivir to the South, Alcaudete in Jaén and Algarinejo in Granada (Peny, 2000). It is also found in Canarias; however, in some rural areas such as La Gomera, El Hierro and La Paloma some uses of *vosotros* and *os/vos* remained (Catalán cited in Fontanella de Weinberg, 1995), while in Latin America it is used in much of Mexico, Peru, Colombia (Montes Giraldo, 1967), and Venezuela (Páez Urdaneta, 1981), in the West Indies, and a small area of Uruguay (Rona, 1967). System II is illustrated in table 1.3.

⁷ Tables taken from Fontanella de Weinberg (1999:1401).

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Solidarity	tú	ustedes
Formality	usted	

Table 1.3 System II

The third system presents two subsystems since the use of the singular pronouns differs and includes three forms: *vos*, *tú* and *usted*. In the first subsystem, both *vos* and *tú* express solidarity and *usted* expresses formality; whereas, in the second one, *vos* expresses intimacy, *tú* solidarity, and *usted* formality. In both subsystems, *ustedes* is the pronoun for plural. Table 1.4 and table 1.5 show the inventory of pronouns associated with each subsystem.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Solidarity	<i>vos</i> ~ <i>tú</i>	ustedes
Formality	usted	

Table 1.4 System IIIa

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Intimacy	<i>vos</i>	ustedes
Solidarity	<i>tú</i>	
Formality	usted	

Table 1.5 System IIIb

Subsystem one is widespread in Latin American areas where *voseo* and *tuteo* coexist and alternate without a clear functional delimitation (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1995). Some of these areas are south of Peru, much of Bolivia, Chile, and Colombia,

some parts of Ecuador, West of Venezuela, the area around the border of Panama and Costa Rica, and the Mexican state of Chiapas. In contrast, Subsystem two is used in Uruguay where there is a differentiation in the uses of *vos* and *tú*.

The last system, which is formed by the plural pronoun *ustedes* and two singular pronouns, *vos* for solidarity and *usted* for formality, corresponds to most areas of Argentina and, according to Páez Urdaneta (1981), to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Paraguay. It is also found in El Salvador and Honduras alternating with the second system. In this system, the use of *vos* does not alternate or contrast with *tú*. This system is presented in table 1.5.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Solidarity	<i>vos</i>	<i>ustedes</i>
Formality	<i>usted</i>	

TABLE 1.6 System IV

1.3. PRONOMINAL ADDRESS SYSTEM IN COLOMBIAN SPANISH

As mentioned before, Colombian Spanish is characterized by a greater variation in the patterns of use of pronominal address, which represents different combinations of up to three forms in informal contexts from 5 pronouns: *tú*, *usted*, *vos*, *vusté*, and *sumercé*. All forms can appear in informal contexts, while only *usted*, *vusté* and *sumercé* are found in formal contexts in Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, more than one form can be used to address the same person in the same discourse (Murillo 2003) and there is variation in the pattern of the use of these pronouns from region to region.

According to Ruiz Morales (1987) *Sumercé* (< *vuestra merced*⁸) was one of highly deferential mode of address in the 16th century, together with *vuestra señoría* [your lordship], *vuestra alteza*, [your highness], etc. Nowadays, *sumercé* is only used in a small area of Colombia, some parts of Ecuador (Rosenblat 1960), and the Dominican Republic (Perez 1988). In Colombia, this form of address is considered a linguistic feature of the eastern Andean region, specially the Departments of Boyacá and Cundinamarca.⁹ For Ruiz Morales, *sumercé* is nowadays a lexicalized form in which the possessive *su* has been attached to the noun; this pronoun has the particularity that it can function as subject, object or after a preposition.

- (1) ***Sumercé*** se ve cansada. (Subject)
You look tired.
- (2) Compré flores para ***sumercé***. (Object)
I bought flowers for you.
- (3) Esto es de ***sumercé***. (Object of a preposition)
This is yours.

Little to nothing has been said about the use of the form *vusté*, which is mainly used in rural areas and by less educated individuals. Schreurs (2006), in a study of Antioquean Spanish based on two literary pieces of Tomás Carrasquilla, found that *vusté* was used by speakers from lower and middle classes, who according to her, “suelen tener una pronunciación descuidada” [tend to have a careless pronunciation] (14). Similarly, Betancur (1994) reports the use of this form in Medellín. Additionally,

⁸ Montes Giraldo (2000) states that there is no data that show the change from *vuestra merced* > *su merced*, but he assumes that when plural forms (*vuestros*, *vuestras*) disappeared the pronoun gradually changed its possessive to *su*.

⁹ Colombia is divided into 32 departments and one capital district.

according to Rosenblat, *vusté* is found in the Andean region of Colombia¹⁰ to address spouses, own children, or siblings (1960).

Concerning *vos*, Montes Giraldo (1967) indicates that this pronoun was widespread throughout all the Colombian territory during the first years of the Colony. However, with the economic and administrative development of Cartagena,¹¹ which was in constant contact with linguistic innovations occurring elsewhere in the Caribbean and southern Spain, the Colombian Atlantic Coast soon adopted *tuteo*, and it continues to be the predominant norm in those areas, where it is used to address family members, friends, colleagues as well as strangers or people who just met, as illustrated in the following conversation taken from a chat room.¹²

(4) Memphis: de donde **eres**?
*Where **are** [tuteo-verb form] you from?*

Latina 23: Barranquilla y tu?
*Barranquilla and **you** [solidarity]*

Memphis: también y cuantos años **tienes**?
*Me too and how old **are** [tuteo verb form] you?*

Latina 23: 23 y **tu**?
*23 and **you** (solidarity)?*

Memphis: 28 años
28 years old

Memphis: en que parte de Barranquilla **vives**?
*Where in Barranquilla do you **live** [tuteo verb form]?*

Latina 23: por los andes y **tu**?
*around Los Andes neighborhood and **you** [solidarity]?*

¹⁰ Rosenblat (1960) notes the use of *vusté* in the Andean region of Venezuela but to a lesser degree.

¹¹ Cartagena de Indias was the most important port on the Spanish Main (mainland coast of the Spanish Empire around the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico) and one of the few authorized to receive African slaves during the Colony Period.

¹² Examples from chat rooms were taken from <http://habla.chat-co.terra.com.co/co/portada.htm>

Later on, Bogota also reached a noteworthy cultural and administrative importance, factors which brought about an almost complete adoption of peninsular linguistic norms, including the second person singular pronoun *tú*. In the 21st century, this pronoun is more commonly used in Bogota and the Eastern Andean area¹³ among the upper class, and it is characterized as denoting some familiarity and confidence (Rimgaila and Cristina, 1966). The predominant form of address in this area is *usted*, which is used in a wide range of contexts, including between spouses, addressing family members, with pets, intimate friends, a person that one is dating steadily, or even with strangers (Uber, 1985). *Voseo* forms can still be found in this area, but particularly for commands, and without the explicit use of the pronoun: *vení* 'come!', *oí* 'listen!', *mirá* 'look!', *etc.* (Montes Giraldo 1967). Due to the widespread use of *tú* and the extension in functions of *usted* in the Eastern Andean region, the use of *vos* is weak and usually considered vulgar or insulting.

The areas of Colombia that did not experience the cultural influence of Spain or did not follow the norms of Bogota kept *voseo* as a familiar and informal address form. Nonetheless, this situation is not homogeneous across varieties because in some of those areas *vos* is accepted only when there is extreme familiarity or confidence between speakers while in other areas it is accepted with or without such familiarity. For example in the Antioquean region, *voseo* is particularly frequent, even between people who just met or with strangers, as in (5). In this example *voseo* is present in the form of a pronoun and verb forms.

¹³ The Eastern Andean region comprises the departments of Cundinamarca, Boyacá, and the Capital District of Bogota.

- (5) Two people getting to know each other in a chat room.¹⁴

JuanStevan: de donde **sos**
*where **are** [voseo verb form] you from?*

JuanStevan: 19 y **vos**
*19 and **you** [solidarity]?*

JuanStevan: que edad **tenes** y donde **vivis**
*What age do you **have** [voseo verb form] and where do you **live** [voseo verb form]?*

Melissa: 15 vivo en itagui
15 I live in Itagui

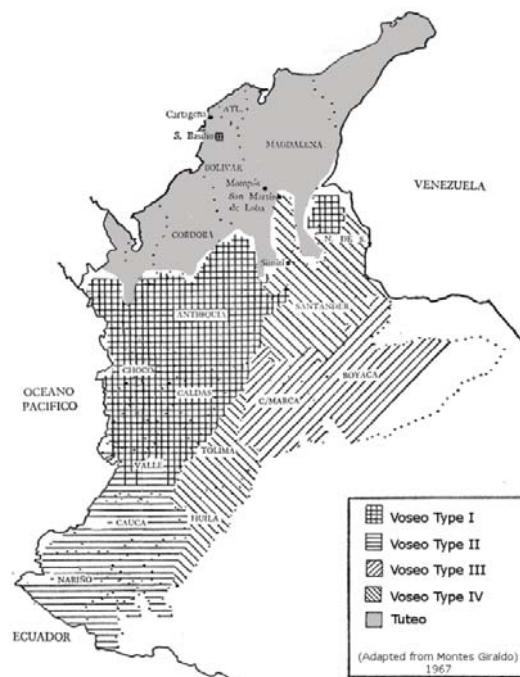
Montes Giraldo (1967) considers the following types of voseo in Colombia, which coexist with the pronouns *tú* and *usted*:

1. General voseo as a familiar address form
2. General voseo, especially from superior→inferior
3. Weak voseo, asystematic, vulgar or familiar but derogatory
4. Weak and occasional voseo

The two general types of voseo are differentiated by their functions: On the one hand, type (1) voseo is used to express solidarity; therefore, the downward relation superior→inferior is expressed with *usted* and probably *tú*. On the other hand, voseo (2) is used to express descending authority, superior→inferior, and *tú* or *usted* express solidarity. The other two types of voseo are defined based on the intensity of use. Voseo (3) seems to be more restricted to familiar contexts or lower social classes than (1) or (2), and its use outside of these contexts is conflictive. The fourth type, according

¹⁴ For most of the conversation, only one party's utterances are included because that is the way it is displayed in the chat room.

to Montes Giraldo (1967), seems to be on its way to disappear in the areas where it is found. Map 1 illustrates the distribution, during the first half of the Twentieth Century, of these four types of *voseo*, together with the area where *sumercé* is found, and the region where *tuteo* is used almost exclusively.



Map 1. Distribution of Address Forms in Colombia

Finally, concerning *usted*, Uber (1985) claims that there are two different types of *usted* as illustrated in figure 1.1.

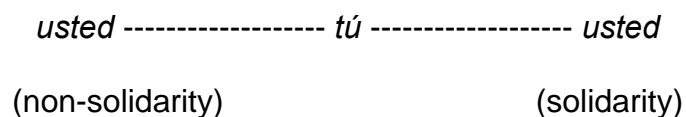


FIGURE 1.1. The continuum of solidarity (Uber, 1985)

The *usted* of non-solidarity is generally used in formal situations, with strangers or with people of a higher hierarchical rank, while the *usted* of solidarity can be used

between family members, spouses, close friends, or in romantic relationships. As can be evidenced from the previous summary of pronominal use, Colombian Spanish presents great variation in the forms and use of second person singular address.

The following chapter presents a literature review on address forms as well as the research questions and hypotheses that guide the current study, which focuses on two varieties of Colombian Spanish: those spoken in Medellin and Cali. These two varieties were chosen because they have been characterized by general voseo and because they both present a tripartite address system in informal contexts, but the meaning and uses of the pronouns seem to differ from one variety to the other. In order to investigate these differences, data was collected from college students, as they are representative of modern language use (Labov, 2001) and they can give us indications about the future of the second person singular pronominal system in both regions. With this research I hope to contribute to the sociolinguistic study of politeness through the examination of bipartite systems (formal/informal) that include more than one form in singular address, particularly in informal contexts.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON ADDRESS FORMS

2.1.1. *Brown and Gilman*

As mentioned before, in many languages, referential address of the hearer can be pronominal (e.g. *tú, usted, vos*), nominal (e.g. using names, titles, kin terms), or verbal (verb endings). The former has been of special interest for linguists who have concerned themselves with second person singular pronouns of address and with languages that exhibit systems of more than one of such pronouns. Among those linguists are Roger Brown and Albert Gilman, whose theoretical implications are such that no treatment of the topic can be carried out without mentioning them.

The study of Brown and Gilman examines the correlation between the address form selected and the relationship existing between speaker and addressee primarily in terms of social status and solidarity. According to Brown and Gilman, pronoun usage is governed by two parameters: power and solidarity (1960: 253). For them, these semantics are two fundamental dimensions to the analysis of all social life. They define *power* as a relation between at least two people, in which one person can control the behavior of the other. This relationship is non-reciprocal because both people cannot have equal power in the same domain or area of behavior. Since it is only used between a person in inferior position with respect to the other person, it applies only to a social structure in which there are distinct power ranks for every individual. The bases of power are several: older people are assumed to have power over younger people, parents over children, employers over employees, nobles over peasants, military officers over enlisted men. These types of relations are called asymmetrical or non-

reciprocal relations, where each person uses a different pronoun to address the other, for example a mother might use *tú* to address her son, while he will respond to her by using *usted*.

Concerning solidarity, Brown and Gilman attribute this parameter to symmetrical or reciprocal relations where the relation “more powerful than” (257) does not apply. Solidarity takes place among equals whose relationships are created by situations such as “have attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession” (258). Personal attributes like having the same eye color do not count in determining solidarity between two people. “The similarities that matter seem to be those that make for like-mindedness or similar behavior dispositions” (258). These include birthplace, sex, profession, religion, political affiliation, and family. Like-mindedness, in particular, seems to be the core of the solidarity semantic, which implies a sharing between people, a degree of closeness and intimacy. Wherever the solidarity semantic applies, both people use the same pronoun, i.e. two classmates may use *vos* to address each other.

2.1.2. Other Studies

In addition to Brown and Gilman’s discussion of power and solidarity, Benavides’ distinction between the terms familiar and familial also contribute to the discussion of the factors that might determine the use of reciprocal and non-reciprocal norms of address:

Familiar relations are those characterized by ease and informality, which exist among acquaintances of long standing, friends, or members of the family. The

higher the degree of acquaintance and contact between two persons, the higher the degree of familiarity between them. Familial relations are those that occur within the family unit. That is, for example, relations between parents and their children, between siblings and between cousins. (2003:8)

Ervin-Tripp (1996) integrated Brown and Gilman's 1960 study within a sociolinguistic framework. She was interested in providing a survey of the kinds of rules governing speech in an interactional situation, and she attempted to make explicit the processes underlying the choice of one linguistic alternative over another. She presented address as a case of alternation and mentions the occurrence of variation in address rules and behavior, which gave theoretical depth to Brown and Gilman's proposal by making individual variation fundamental to the use of sociolinguistic rules.

Scholarly reaction to Brown and Gilman's classic work has generated a number of sociolinguistic investigations, using either survey data or secondary sources, that attempt to provide evidence either for or against the postulated ascendancy of the binary address system with the increasing use of the reciprocal T.

Considering the three dyadic address patterns (non-reciprocal T-V, reciprocal T, and reciprocal V) as the basis for analysis, these studies offer diverse, and often contradictory observations. On the one hand, Fontanella de Weinberg's (1970) and Weinerman's (1976) investigations in Argentina, which were specifically designed to test the validity of Brown and Gilman's hypothesis, corroborated that the symmetrical address system is taking over the asymmetrical one and that there is a significant

increase in the reciprocal T. Additionally, they found that the pronominal rules of address are associated with the place of residence and social origin of the speakers.

Findings by Keller (1974, 1975) for Latin America and the United States and by Lambert and Tucker (1976) for Colombia, on the other hand, indicate that the non-reciprocal T-V address pattern is still very much in use. The latter questioned Brown and Gilman's triumph of the solidarity dimension since many dyads expected to exhibit symmetrical uses turned out to show asymmetrical ones. They also intended that their investigations explore the socio-psychological significance of forms of address. Their results led them to conclude that address patterns have different meanings for each of the partners to the interaction, and that any address pattern carries multiple, indirect and subtle adjuncts to the more purposeful interaction (Lambert and Tucker 1976: 143).

2.2. SOCIAL DEIXIS AND PAUL FRIEDRICH'S THEORY

Serrano (2001) states that regarding the pronominal paradigm of address, image and social deixis¹⁵ are factors that condition the appearance of one pronoun or another and its function in a specific discourse context. This paradigm is built based on the conception of personal deictic centers. For Serrano, the pronouns *tú-vosotros* anchor the idea of proximity with the interlocutor while *usted-ustedes* signal distance with regard to that personal deictic center. Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]), on their part, hypothesize that "the normal unmarked deictic center is the one where the speaker is the central person, the time of speaking (or 'coding time') is the central time, and the place where the speaker is at coding time is the central place." (118)

¹⁵ Deixis refers to the ways in which sentences are anchored to certain aspects of their contexts of utterance, including the role of participants in the speech event and their spatio-temporal and social location. (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]: 118)

The topic of the current research project falls within the model of social deixis as pronouns are, par excellence, the expressions that signal deixis within the discourse. Anderson and Keenan defined *deictic expressions* as “those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences make essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur” (1985: 259). Given the sentence “I will be back in 10 minutes”, for example, we cannot know who is coming back, nor when, unless we know who is uttering the sentence and the time when it is said. As can be evidenced by the previous example, these expressions, or “substitutes” as Friedrich (1971: 217) calls them, are more abstract and inclusive in meaning than the words to which they refer in some particular context; for instance, *you* is more abstract than *mother*, even though they can be used to address the same person. To put it in Friedrich’s words, “a substitute depends more for its meaning upon the environment or context of the speech event than do other parts of speech: devoid of context, the person or thing referred to by *you* is unknowable” (217). For this reason, Fillmore (1997) points out the importance of deictic anchoring in some social context in order to facilitate communication. For him, social context includes “to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed” (1997: 59). An example of a totally unanchored utterance will be, for instance, finding in the middle of the ocean a bottle with a note saying, “Meet me here at noon tomorrow with a stick about this big” (60). As we can see, the sentence is grammatically correct, but the message is unclear: without the social context, the person who finds the note cannot know who the message is addressed to, who wrote it, when, and where.

Friedrich (1971), based on his study on social deixis, using data from Russian literature from the 19th century, found some evidence in favor of Brown and Gilman's model, which he expanded because he claimed that it was not sufficient to account for the pronominal choice at the dyadic level solely on the basis of the two dimensions of solidarity and power, a problem also noted by Lambert and Tucker (1976). Friedrich proposed ten components, which included the features necessary to explain the usage exhibited by the individual characters of his literary data. These ten components are distributed into four categories: (1) "universal" components implied by all acts of speech (topic of discourse and social context); (2) biological components which differ from culture to culture (age, generation, sex, and genealogical distance); (3) social and group components (relative authority, group membership, and dialect); and (4) the solidarity component which differs greatly from the others as it relates to individual emotions, and not so much to cultural rules or principles.

In the following, I provide a brief description of the variables proposed by Friedrich that are considered in the current study. In addition to explaining why they are relevant to the study, I explain how they are considered (and renamed) in this study.

First, Friedrich's "universal" components. From this group, both topic of discourse and social context, are taken into consideration as they apply to all societies. The former takes into account how the subject of the conversation may predispose the speaker to use a particular form, while the latter deals with formal and informal settings, and how they might determine the selection of one pronoun over another. It does not refer to the spatial setting alone but to the interactional environment in general. However, it is important to point out that since the present study focuses on informal

contexts, this latter variable is associated here only to the spatial setting (in public, at home, at the university) and renamed *place of interaction*. With respect to *topic of discourse*, it is considered as private or non-private exchanges in two different sets of situations: one between family members and the other between friends; for example, two family members talking about the personal life of one of them or discussing a particular social event they have to organize. According to Friedrich, in Russian for instance, culturally defined topics such as kinship or former school experience tended to suggest informality, whereas business and professional affairs themes triggered the use of a formal pronoun: “two officers might exchange *vy* while discussing military tactics, but revert to *ty* when chatting about women back in their quarters”(229).

Secondly, the biological component. Since participant in the study are all young people, the variable age is not taken into consideration; instead the *generation* of the interlocutor with respect to that of the speaker is relevant. In Friedrich’s study, showing asymmetrical relationships between speakers separated by one or more generations was relevant. For sex, Friedrich explains that gender can condition the use of one form or another since two people of the same sex might be more prone to use familiar address forms, whereas speakers from opposite sexes would lean toward more formality or respect. Therefore, the present investigation considers not only the *sex of the speaker* but also the *sex of the interlocutor*. The next biological component, genealogical distance, has been adapted and renamed as *relationship with the interlocutor*. In Friedrich’s study, this component refers to kinship status; in the present investigation, it includes relationships not only with relatives but also with friends, classmates, professors, and strangers.

Thirdly, Friedrich's social and group components are considered here in reference to group membership and dialect. Group membership implies the notion of household, class, or caste membership. In my doctoral study this variable corresponds to *social class*. Friedrich found that this variable determined usage of a form of address; similarly, Martiny's findings (1996) illustrate social-class related differences in Dutch.¹⁶ The criteria used to define social class are explained in the next chapter. Friedrich considers *dialect* as a group component. Since my study is a comparison of two dialects, this variable is especially important.

Finally, Friedrich's solidarity component (which I called *emotional closeness*) refers to positive and negative emotions between the addresser and the addressee. Friedrich states that close friends, lovers, and people who share a common purpose will exchange a familiar pronoun, and as the emotional closeness increases, so does the use of the formal pronoun. Participants in the study will be asked which pronoun s/he generally uses to address a particular person and if that pronoun changes when s/he is angry at that person.

2.3. LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE

2.3.1. *Variation Theory*

The tradition of variation studies emerged from the field of dialectology, taking root in its contemporary form with Labov's groundbreaking studies in New York City and Martha's Vineyard in the 1960s. Key to variation theory is the notion that there must be a set of variants that are tied to an underlying form, a variable (Labov, 1969). The

¹⁶ In the study, middle class on the one hand, and the lower and higher class on the other differ on the distribution of non-reciprocal T and V and reciprocal T in parent-children interaction.

variants must behave alike according to functional and semantic criteria, and they must be differentially distributed across grammatical contexts or social categories; in other words, they must be an indicator of social or grammatical relevance.

Labovian variation has also been referred to as “variability” “inherent variant” and “sociolinguistic variation” (Parrott 2007: 19). This well-documented linguistic phenomenon is described by Labov as “alternate ways of saying ‘the same’ thing” (1972: 118) or when “speakers use different forms to express the same meaning” (Labov 1995: 115). However, Adger points out that Labovian variation is “the non-deterministic choice of form” (2006: 504): variants occur in the same linguistic environment and not in complementary distribution like allomorphs.

But what does qualify as variant? In order to identify linguistic variants, Dines (1980) offers the following criteria: First, the variants are considered to have a common function in discourse. Second, the variants must be predictably distributed according to linguistic and extralinguistic constraints. Finally, in the realization of socially conditioned variants, there must be a degree of saliency associated with it within the speech community.

The distribution of variables has been found to depend crucially on the social system of the speech community from which the data is derived. According to Chambers, “the foundations of variationist sociolinguistics come from the rudimentary observation that the variants that occur in everyday speech are linguistically insignificant but socially significant” (2002: 3). A large majority of variationist research, including the present, attempts to uncover the interacting social factors that correlate with usage of variants. This sociolinguistic approach has identified many kinds of social factors that

influence variation; for instance, research has shown that sex and age influence variable distribution (Chambers 2009; Guy, 1980; Labov 1990, 2001). Other factors, such as social class, have also been found to play a strong role, but it depends very much on the speech community. For example, Labov (1972, 1990, 1995, 2001) and others have found that socioeconomic class is often a strong determiner in North American culture influencing the use of standard or nonstandard variants. Social network is another social factor that can account for variable distribution (Milroy 1980). Other studies have indicated that it is often a combination of social factors, such as sex and social class, which influence the use of variants. Labov (1990, 2001) discusses, for example, how middle class American women are often likely to use innovative variants that can be considered prestigious. Similarly, Trudgill (1972) found that working class men in Norwich were likely to over report their use of nonstandard variants, variants that would typify them as "working men," a phenomenon he explained as *covert prestige*.¹⁷ Milroy and Milroy (1992) offered explanations for class effects through the use of social networks.

2.3.2. *Variation and Change*

Labov pioneered the study of language change in progress and established the field of variationist sociolinguistics. Variation and change are two processes closely related, as the second emerge after a previous state of "conflict" between different alternating forms (Blas Arroyo 2005: 250). In other words, change implies the previous

¹⁷ A term introduced by Labov (1966) to refer to the favorable connotations that nonstandard or apparently low-status or 'incorrect' forms have for many speakers.

existence of variation, though it may or may not end in linguistic change (cfr. Weinreich et al. 1968; Kroch 1989).

According to Labov (2001), there are two types of changes: change from above and change from below. The first refers to linguistic changes which take place in a community above the level of conscious awareness, that is, when speakers have some awareness that they are making these changes. The second type, change from below, takes place below the level of conscious awareness. Very often, changes from above are made as a result of the influence of prestigious dialects with which the community is in contact, and the consequent stigmatization of local dialect features; whereas changes from below usually begin in one particular social class group, and thus lead to class stratification.

Linguists have long understood that language is an ever-changing entity. Until the studies of dialectology and variation took hold in the nineteenth century, the fields of historical linguistics and philology were the arenas for mapping linguistic change and showing relationships across language families, especially Indo-European languages. The findings of historical linguists were based on diachronic evidence, mostly informed by secondary linguistic data such as historical texts (Peterson 2004). The main difference between sociolinguistics and other theoretical approaches to linguistic change is the fundamental hypothesis that the development of the change cannot be understood without the social structure in which it takes place. To say it in Labov's words:

None of these internal constraints can provide an answer to the fundamental question of causality: what are the forces that lead to the continued renewal of linguistic

change? All indications point to factors outside of the tightly knit structure of internal relations, in the embedding of language in the larger matrix of social relations (1982: 76).

Labov (1972) assumes as valid the “uniformitarian principle”, according to which the factors that motivate and control linguistic evolution nowadays are the same that acted in the past. Similarly Klein-Andreu (1979, 1981) points out in his studies on the evolution of clitic pronouns in Spanish, that the changes originated in the remote times have the same fundament as the ones observed in the present, because they all come from the same pragmatic and sociolinguistic exploration of a previous linguistic system on the part of the speaker of a determine period. A significant finding associated with variation theory is the evidence that synchronic variation, often gained from primary linguistic data, serves as an indicator of language change (Peterson 2004: 25). Some indicators of undergoing change are, for example, the systematic use by younger people of a given linguistic feature, as this group of speakers is considered to be users of more innovative forms, while older people use the more archaic form. Such observations offer apparent-time evidence of change that can then be either confirmed or denied through real-time evidence (Labov, 1981).

In order to understand linguistic change, both structural and social factors are relevant. Blas Arroyo indicates that “en la difusión de un cambio importan dos matrices diferentes, una de carácter lingüístico y otra de naturaleza social” [in the diffusion of a change, two matrices are important, one of linguistic characteristics and another one social in nature]. (Blas Arroyo, 2005: 232). Age and sex of the speaker, for instance, have been identified in several studies as key indicators of change (Eckert, 1997).

Women tend to be the most innovative speakers in a given speech community, and initiators of linguistic change, particularly changes that can be considered prestigious. However, when variants exhibit stable variation, female speakers are more likely than men to use a standard variant, which may or may not be the more prestigious variant (cfr. Labov 1990, 2001).

Another social factor believed to be an indicator of linguistic change is social class. Labov considers that changes from below originate in the working class. According to him, the highest status group in a speech community may introduce a feature but, as a rule, it is not an innovating group (1972: 295). Changes introduced by the highest social class tend to be attempts to imitate an even more prestigious dialect outside the local area, “innovation by the highest-status group is normally a form of borrowing from outside sources, more or less conscious; with some exceptions there will be prestige forms” (290).

On the other hand, Kroch (1978) developed a theory of the social components of linguistic change based on the opposition, by some social groups, to innovations in the language. According to him, the fact that the highest stratum shows particular resistance to linguistic change could be due to the threat that innovations mean to the maintenance of their social status quo and to the interests of this privileged group. The main difference between Labov’s and Kroch’s thesis is that from the Labovian point of view, the lowest socio-economic groups do not participate actively in phonetic changes; whereas for Kroch, the fact that this group of speakers is less interested in maintaining the status quo, is what allows them to innovate freely, and even more than the working class.

2.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

As was stated in the introductory section, this dissertation considers the underlying criteria, which have been found to condition the use of second person singular pronominal address forms, and they are used in this study of informal contexts in two dialects of Colombian Spanish. The main focus is the use of the pronouns *vos* and *tú* in Cali and Medellín, where a linguistic change seems to be in progress.

The main research question guiding this study is: how does the use of second person pronominal address forms differ from one Colombian dialect to the other (Antioquian - Medellín and Vallecaucan - Cali)?

This question involves four secondary questions:

- a. What are the main extralinguistic factors that condition the selection of pronominal address forms in each dialect?
- b. What extralinguistic factors determine the mixed-use of pronouns in the same discourse by the same person to the same addressee in each dialect?
- c. How widespread is the use of *tú* and *vos* in each dialect?
- d. Is *usted* used in informal contexts in the Antioquian dialect as frequently as it is in the Vallecaucan dialect?

The initial hypotheses of this study were:

Hypothesis 1: External or extralinguistic factors (dialect, sex of the speaker, social class of the speaker, sex of the interlocutor, generation, relationship with the

interlocutor, place of the interaction, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness; cf. Friedrich 1971) account for the variation of pronominal address in informal contexts.

Hypothesis 2: The use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same discourse (mixed-use) is conditioned by external factors (cf. Murillo 2003).

Hypothesis 3: The use of *vos* is more widespread in Medellín than in Cali and it correlates with different external factors in each dialect (cf. Jang 2005 for Medellín and Simpson 2002 for Cali).

Hypothesis 4: The pronoun *usted* is used in informal contexts both in the Antioquian dialect and in the Caleñan dialect (cf. Lipski 1994).

Hypothesis 5: There is a change in progress in pronominal use in both dialects (cf. Labov 2001).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. DIALECTS UNDER STUDY

According to Lipski (1994) there is no universally accepted classification of Colombian Spanish dialects, but there is a clear broad division. Flórez (1964) proposed seven dialectal zones: (1) coastal (Atlantic and Pacific); (2) Antioquia; (3) Nariño-Cauca; (4) Tolima; (5) Cundinamarca/Boyacá; (6) Santander; and (7) Llanero (Eastern/Amazonian lowlands). These dialectal regions are defined by a combination of major phonetic traits and subtle lexical isoglosses. Montes Giraldo (1982), on the other hand, divided Colombian varieties into two “super-zones” (interior and coastal), with retention/weakening of final /s/ as the major criterion, followed by, among other features, neutralization/lost of /l/ and /r/ after vowel, and the use of *tú* versus *vos*. In an effort to compromise, Lipski classifies Colombian Spanish into four dialects (Caribbean coast, Pacific coast, Central highlands, and Amazonian region), taking into consideration phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics. Despite different classifications, most Colombians intuitively distinguish only two (coastal vs. interior highlands) or three dialects (coastal, *paisa*¹⁸, and highlands), based on pronunciation and choice of *tú*, *vos*, and *usted*.

The present study is a comparison of two different dialects of Colombian Spanish (the Antioquian and the Vallecaucan), according to Flórez classification. Each of these dialects is represented by the norm of the capital city: Medellín for the Antioquian dialect and Cali for the Vallecaucan dialect, which were chosen because they have similar social and linguistic characteristics. They constitute two of the largest cities in the

¹⁸ This is a colloquial term used to refer to the people and language from Antioquia and surrounding areas.

country, departments' capitals, and are economically and politically important for the country. Linguistically, they both have a tripartite system of address (*vos – tú – usted*).

Map 2 illustrates the location of the cities under study.



Map 2. Location of Medellin and Cali

Medellin, is the second largest Colombian city in economy and population (approximately 3.3 million inhabitants¹⁹), and it is the capital of the Department of Antioquia, one of the oldest departments of the country (formed in 1576) and the second department in industrialization, contributing 15% of the national internal revenue, with over 80,000 productive enterprises. As a comparison, the department of Cundinamarca (where Bogota, the capital, is situated) is considered to be the leader, with around 112,000 enterprises. The Valle del Cauca (where Cali is located) is in third

¹⁹ 2005 Colombian Census (Administrative National Department of Statistics - DANE)
<http://www.dane.gov.co>

place, with 38,000. Additionally, in 2005, the products and services which originated in Antioquia represented 25% of the total non-traditional exports of the country, followed by Bogota with 15.3%, Cundinamarca with 15% and Valle del Cauca with 13.9%.²⁰ Medellin competes strongly with Bogota and Cali as an industrial center, having similar economies. The city serves as headquarters for many national and multinational companies, and its centers of higher education constantly contribute to the modernization of the region and its industry.²¹

Medellin, the core of the Metropolitan Area of Medellin formed by 10 cities, stands out as one of the main cultural, academic and research centers of Colombia. The urban area of the city is divided into 6 zones, which are subdivided into 16 communes.²² Communes are divided into 249 official neighborhoods and 20 institutional areas.²³ The rural area is formed by 5 *corregimientos*²⁴ subdivided into *veredas*. According to the mayor's office, the social distribution of Medellin, whose 49.8% of the population is between the ages of 15 and 44,²⁵ is low-low 10.7%, low 35.8%, mid-low 30.4%, middle 10.8%, mid-high 8.1%, and high 4.2%.²⁶ Colombia has very strict criteria for dividing the cities into socio-economic groups.

On the other hand, Cali is the second oldest Colombian city (established in 1536), the third in population (approximately 2.5 million inhabitants), and the most

²⁰ Colombian Imports in 2005.

<http://www.legiscomex.com/BancoMedios/Documentos%20PDF/exportacionescol.pdf>

²¹ http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medell%C3%ADn_%28Antioquia%29

²² Municipalities or townships

²³ Large areas that have some characteristics of a neighborhood, but they do not have a permanent population nor housing, for example university campuses.

²⁴ Urban areas.

²⁵ http://www.medellin.gov.co/alcaldia/jsp/modulos/N_admon/index.jsp?idPagina=763

²⁶ http://www.medellin.gov.co/alcaldia/jsp/modulos/V_medellin/index.jsp?idPagina=351

important urban center in the southwest of the country. It is the capital of the Department of Valle del Cauca whose economy mainly centers on agriculture. The department is known for its sugar industry, which provides sugar to the markets of the rest of the country and nearby countries. The food, beverage, and tobacco industries are other important sources of the department's economy and it contributes 16% of the national aggregated value, equal to Antioquia, and only exceeded by Bogota. In addition, the port of Buenaventura, located on the western part of the department, is Colombia's main port on the Pacific Coast, allowing for the import and export of goods. It is of great importance for the economy of both the department and the country. Cali and the department of Valle del Cauca form one of the principal commercial centers in Colombia. The city is a reference point inside Colombia because, as mentioned before, it is the main urban, cultural, industrial, economic, and agricultural center in the Colombian southwest, and its proximity to the Buenaventura port gives it an added advantage as the most important corridor of national and international trade.

Cali, the core of the Metropolitan Area of Cali formed by 5 cities, is also populated mainly by people 40 years old or younger.²⁷ The urban area is divided into 22 communes and these are subdivided into 248 official neighborhoods and 89 urbanizations. The rural area is formed by 15 *corregimientos* which are subdivided into *veredas*. According to the State Department of Planning, the social distribution of Cali's population is low-low 21.1%, low 31.9%, mid-low 30.7%, middle 6.9%, mid-high 7.2%, and high 2.2%.²⁸

²⁷ www.dane.gov.co

²⁸ <http://planeacion.cali.gov.co/contentmgr/default.asp?id=155>

3.1.1. *Antioquian Dialect: Medellin*

The area of Antioquia is characterized by an intense use of *vos* at all social levels and in different settings. Montes Giraldo (1967) highlights that there is no other area in Colombia where *voseo* is so widespread, and among people from all social classes. He explains:

La extensión a todas las clases sociales del *voseo* como tratamiento general de confianza en la zona etnolingüística antioqueña parece relacionarse con el tipo de sociedad abierta, bastante igualitaria, que se formó en Antioquia y en las zonas de colonización antioqueña. Carentes los primitivos pobladores de Antioquia de una población indígena numerosa para proporcionarse una clase servil, todos hubieron de igualarse en el trabajo, de donde la generalización del *voseo* como trato de confianza en todas las clases.

[The extension of *voseo* to all social classes as a general form of address to express solidarity in the Antioquian ethnolinguistic area seems to be related to the type of open society, very egalitarian, that was formed in Antioquia and in the areas colonized by it. Since there was not a numerous indigenous population to serve as slaves, early settlers of Antioquia became equal at work, and this resulted in the generalization of *vos* as the address form of solidarity at all social levels.] (1967: 254).

Vos is used between educated and uneducated individuals, in urban centers as well as in rural areas (Flórez 1957), and it is the general form of address between siblings and friends, if there is solidarity between them. Among younger people, *vos* and

tú (and sometimes *usted*) are particularly frequent to express informality and solidarity (Jang 2005). In the upper classes, *tú* is commonly found as it is considered to have a “more solidary” sense than *vos*, especially among women from this social status. On the other hand, people from lower classes, use *usted* more frequently. Jang explains this difference by saying that people from upper classes are more open to social changes while in the lower classes, people tend to be more attached to their tradition, and in this case, the use of *usted* has traditionally been associated with respect and authority and, therefore, considered a more appropriate form to address parents or grandparents, and even friends (2005:158). Furthermore, the less frequent use of *usted* by people from the upper class can be associated with their social rank; in other words, among this population, the interlocutor’s authority is not as important as it is in the lower social status (Jang 2005).

The use of more than one pronoun in the same discourse and with the same addressee (what I call “mixed-use”) can be evidenced in the variety spoken in Antioquia. The following example²⁹ taken from a chat room used by young *paisas*³⁰ shows the mixed-use of pronouns. Participant A is in private mode so we do not know exactly what s/he says, but based on participant B’s responses we can have an idea of his utterances (this information is included in brackets):

(6) [A: ¿Dónde vives/vivís?]
 [Where do you live?]

B: la Milagrosa y ¿tú?
 La Milagrosa neighborhood and you (tú)?

²⁹ Example taken from <http://habla.chat-co.terra.com.co/co/portada.htm>

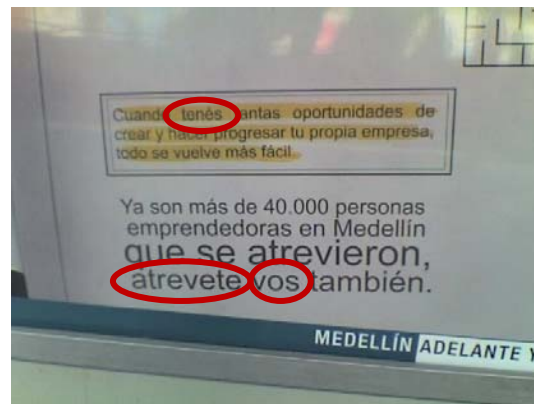
³⁰ *Paisa* refers to people from Medellín and the Antioquian Region.

B: y ¿qué haces?
and what do you do?

[A: ¿Cuántos años tienes/tenés?]
How old are you?]

B: 19 y ¿vos?
19 and you (vos)”

People from the Antioquian region in general are considered to be very regionalists, proud of their roots and sure of what they are (Jang, 2005). This attitude is reflected in the way they address people. For example, while in many areas of the country, voseo does not have much prestige, including those varieties where this is a common form of address (e.g. Cali), Antioquians use it proudly. Furthermore, there seems to be a governmental effort to identify Antioquians with the use of *vos*, to the point that a previous Mayor of Medellín started a campaign encouraging mass media to use this pronoun instead of *tú* (the national standard for advertisement), as shown in the following picture taken at a metro station in Medellín.



Picture 1³¹: Public campaign advertisement in Medellín
 (“*tenés* and *atreve*te = *vos* verbal forms”)

³¹ Translation of text: “when you have (voseo verb form) so many opportunities of creating and making your own company progress, everything is easier. There are already more than 40,000 enterprising people in Medellín who dared you (informal pronoun) too dare (voseo verb form).”

3.1.2. Vallecaucan Dialect: Cali

Similarly to Antioquia, in the Valle del Cauca, people from all social classes use *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* in informal contexts, but their attitude toward each pronoun varies. According to Simpson (2002), speakers from the upper-middle class use *vos* with friends and family to express familiarity and trust. However, “people who are more conscious of social class and social climbing are more likely to say that the *voseo* is a sign of ‘bad Spanish’” (2002: 30). In contrast, speakers from lower classes consider *vos* as the appropriate way to address friends, family and people of the same age. For them, *voseo* does not have any negative connotation. In fact, they consider it inappropriate and unacceptable for other people from their same social group to use the form *tú*, and would use it only “to appear more cultured” (2002: 30). Additionally, Simpson also reports that in a single conversation with one person, a speaker may easily use more than one pronoun. Similarly, Murillo (2003), in a study conducted in Popayan (a city located also in the Southwest of Colombia and very close to Cali) found that the use of *tú*, *usted*, and *vos* could appear all in the same discourse with the same interlocutor.³²

3.2. INFORMANTS

The participants in this study are all native speakers of Colombian Spanish who were born or lived the majority of their lives in Cali or Medellin, respectively. All subjects are undergraduate college students of private and state universities in those cities.

³² “Cabe destacar que el hablante de la encuesta no es consciente de que mezcla las tres formas de tratamiento (*tuteo*, *ustedeo*, *voseo*) en el mismo acto comunicativo y con el mismo interlocutor” [“It can be noted that the speaker in the interview is not conscious that he mixes all three forms (*tuteo*, *ustedeo*, *voseo*) in the same communicative act and with the same interlocutor”] (Murillo 2003: 4)

College students were chosen in order to have a more homogeneous group and because they are representative of modern language use (Labov, 2001). Likewise, as Cisneros (1996) notes, “the new generations are in charge of most of the linguistic changes or, at least, through them we can study the new tendencies (“las nuevas generaciones son las encargadas de la mayoría de los cambios lingüísticos o, por lo menos, mediante ellas podemos estudiar las nuevas tendencias”; 1996: 39). Additionally, having college students from different private and state universities allows us to obtain a more representative sample of the population making it possible to have subjects from different social classes. A total of 293 subjects from both cities participated in the study. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of the participants by city, type of university, sex, and social class.

City	University	Sex	Social Class				Total
			Low	Mid	High	Not specified	
Medellin	Private	F	0	10	21	2	33
		M	1	5	25	0	31
		Total	1	15	46	2	64
	State	F	13	26	1	5	45
		M	12	20	5	1	38
		Total	25	46	6	6	83
Cali	Private	F	3	17	4	2	26
		M	2	25	15	3	45
		Total	5	42	19	5	71
	State	F	9	22	7	1	39
		M	6	23	5	2	36
		Total	15	45	12	3	75

TABLE 3.1. Distribution of the sample population.

3.3. INSTRUMENTS

Three instruments were used for the collection of data: (1) a sociodemographic questionnaire to elicit the social background of the participants (see Appendix A); (2) a written questionnaire (see Appendix B); and (3) an individual oral interview regarding the informants' opinions on pronominal usage and the switching of pronouns (see Appendix C).

The use of a questionnaire was considered appropriate for this study for several reasons. The questionnaire could be distributed to a larger group, a large amount of specific information could be covered, the extralinguistic factors under study could be included, and the standardized format ensured some uniformity of responses. Most importantly, they provide valuable information as to how people perceive their use of language. The original questionnaire in Spanish and its translation into English appear in appendix B.

Since the kind of data collected with a questionnaire is not sufficient to analyze the underlying criteria assigned to a particular dyad, oral data was also collected through oral interviews with a subgroup of students. The questions used in these interviews appear in appendix C.

3.3.1. Sociodemographic Questionnaire

The questionnaires were written in Spanish. The first consisted of sociodemographic questions (See appendix A) intended to collect information regarding social factors which describe the participant and his/her parents. The participants' information includes their age, sex, place of birth, high school attended, and place of

residence. The information regarding the parents includes their place of birth, level of education, occupation, and place of residence. The place of residence was used to determine the social class of the participants. In Colombia all neighborhoods are classified into 6 layers. Layer 1 represents the lowest income neighborhoods, while layer 6 represents the highest income areas. The main criteria used for the classification of the neighborhoods are the external physical characteristics of the houses, their immediate surroundings, and the urban context³³. This classification is determined by The National Administrative of Statistics (DANE), and it is mainly used to establish rates for utilities and property taxes, as to assign financial aid to neighborhoods.

3.3.2. *Written Questionnaire*

The second questionnaire (See appendix B) is concerned with sociolinguistic factors, and it probes the use of the second person pronouns of address in different social contexts (family gathering, reunion with strangers, partying with friend, doing school work, at home talking to friends and family), with different topics of discourse (personal related, non-personal related), and addressing different people (family members, friends and acquaintances, professors, and strangers).

In total there are 176 entries in this questionnaire each representing an interpersonal relationship (son-father, brother-sister, students-professor, etc.) in a particular situation. For each item, participants were asked to mark two forms of address: (1) the form they would use to address a given interlocutor, and (2) the form

³³ The characteristics taken into consideration for the classification of neighborhoods are: (1) regarding the house, the material of the façade of the house, the type of front door, the size of the front yard, the type of garage; (2) regarding the surroundings, the sidewalk, access routes, if the house is next to or in front of sources of contamination (trashcans, farmer's markets, waste water); and (3) regarding the urban context, type of zone (industrial, commercial, residential, zone of poverty, zone in development).

they expect to receive from that person. The starting point for the design of this instrument was a questionnaire designed by P.R.E.S.E.E.A³⁴ to collect data on forms of address in Latin America. Their questionnaire is intended to be administered orally, and it probes not only pronominal address but nominal and ritual (greetings, requests, etc.) expressions as well. Additional to P.R.E.S.E.E.A's questionnaire, I also looked at questionnaires used by other researchers such as Bartens (2003), Sigüenza (1996), Molina (1993), Jaramillo (1986), Páez-Urdaneta (1980), and Lambert and Tucker (1976). While I maintained the format used in most of these questionnaires, I modified the items to include questions related to the variables I was interested in studying.

Questions 1-25 seek data concerning pronominal usage among family in the context of a family gathering. Questions 26-49 involve interactions in a party with people who are not close relatives or close friends. Questions 50-61 inquire about the use of pronouns with close friends, classmates, and professors outside the university context. Questions 62-77 involve the same interlocutors from the previous set of questions but in the university context. Questions 78-97 involve a private topic of discussion with close family and friends in the context of the house while in questions 98-114 the topic of the conversation between the same people is non-private. Questions 115-150 seek data concerning pronominal usage with close family, friends, professors, and strangers when the speaker is angry at the interlocutor. And finally, questions 151-176 were included to obtain data about general pronominal usage with friends, professors, and strangers.

³⁴ Proyecto para el Estudio Sociolingüístico del Español de España y de América [*Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Peninsular and Latin American Spanish*].

Non-linguist native speakers of each dialect of Spanish under study were asked to complete the questionnaire and give feedback before distributing it to the participants in the study.

3.3.3. *Oral interviews*

Oral interviews were conducted using guided questions (See appendix C), which were also adapted from the PRESEEA's questionnaire to incorporate the sociolinguistic factors considered in my research. There are over 2.5 hours of recorded interviews with 45 participants (13 from Medellin and 32 from Cali) concerning usage of pronominal forms of Address, and participants' feelings toward the use of one pronoun over another. For instance, concerning the switching and mixed-use of pronouns, participants were asked directly if there were situations in which they would switch from one pronoun to another, for example when they were angry at somebody or to ask for a favor.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

As mentioned before, data for this project WERE collected at a state and a private university in each city. The state university in Medellin was the Universidad de Antioquia (UdeA), the main academic institution in the department and the oldest state university in Colombia, established in 1803. The UdeA is the second largest university in the country with over 34,000 students, and it is one of Colombian academic institutions several programs accredited by the National Secretary of Education, which contributes to the positioning of the UdeA as a research university.

The private university, on the other hand, was the *Colegiatura Colombiana*, a relatively new and small academic institution, founded in 1989 within the educational field of Informal Education, and in 2000 the National Secretary of Education recognized the *Colegiatura Colombiana Corporation* as a University Institution of higher education.

In Cali, the state university was *Universidad del Valle (Univalle)*, the main academic institution in Colombia's southwest and the third in enrollment in the country with approximately 28,400 students. *Univalle*, established in 1945, offers a very wide variety of academic programs, and it stands out because of developments in the areas of scientific and applied technological research.

Finally, the private institution in Cali was the *Universidad Autónoma de Occidente (UAO)*, founded in 1969. In the first top 100 'High Tech' companies ranking in Colombia, the UAO was ranked as the third one with more technological investment, and it played a leading role in the formation of the High Education Regional Centers Network (the first in the country): CERES, which offers technological, technical, and professional education to people from neighboring towns in the department.

As mentioned above, 293 questionnaires were collected (154 in Medellín and 139 in Cali). At both state universities, several professors allowed me to administer the questionnaire to their students in class. At the UdeA, I contacted Professor Maria Paloma Perez and three of her colleagues from the College of Medicine who helped me recruit students. At the Universidad del Valle, Professors Stella Herrera from the College of Architecture and Maria Paola Croce from the College of Business helped me recruit students.

Different from the state institutions, at the private universities I was not allowed to distribute the questionnaire in class; therefore, I had to approach students outside the classroom. In Medellin, my contact person was the president of the *Colegiatura Colombiana*, Mr. Humberto Palacios, who felt that it would take too much class time to complete the questionnaire in class (20-30 minutes), and suggested that I approach students in the cafeteria. In Cali, I contacted Mr. Luis Fernando Ronderos, director of the Center for University Affairs, who gave me permission to collect data from students at the Student Center.

Concerning the oral interviews, they were conducted with two informants at a time, whenever it was possible, to promote discussions of the use of pronouns. Participant's responses were recorded using a MZ-1 Sony mini-disc recorder and a uni-directional microphone, and afterwards they were transcribed using the computer software Transcriber 1.5.1 .

The interviews were conducted in the same place where the questionnaire was administered and under the same circumstances. At both of the public universities, a group of participants were interviewed after they finished completing the questionnaire, while at the private universities, most of the students interviewed were different from those who completed the questionnaire.

3.5. LINGUISTIC VARIABLES AND EXTRALINGUISTIC FACTORS

3.5.1. *Linguistic Variables*

The linguistic and dependent variable of the study is the use of the second person pronominal address forms. The study distinguishes the use of *vos*, *tú*, *usted*, and mixed pronouns.

3.5.2. *Extralinguistic Variables*

Variables such as sex of the speaker, age, addresser-addressee relationship, and social class are generally considered in studies on address forms (Páez-Urdaneta 1980; Jaramillo 1986; Simpson 2002). In addition to these commonly used variables, my research contributes to the study of second-person pronominal address by including other variables, such as dialect, place of interaction, generation, sex of the interlocutor, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness, which have rarely being taken into consideration, especially for Spanish. For the analysis of the data, the extralinguistic factors were divided into two groups: those related to the participant's characteristics, and those related to the addressee's characteristics, as well as the context of interaction.

3.5.2.1. Participant's Characteristics

Dialect (Cali / Medellín): This variable intends to uncover the sociolinguistic patterns particular to each variety under study, with respect to the use of second person pronouns. Since my investigation compares two varieties of Colombian Spanish, this is the most important variable. J. L. Robinson's (qtd in Páez-Urdaneta 1980) study in the

“Paisos Catalans” shows differences based on the variety of the speaker: residents of Catalonia establish more non-reciprocal relationships with older family members than inhabitants of other regions (21).

Sex of speaker (Feminine / Masculine): Studies such as Jaramillo (1996), for the Spanish spoken in Tucson, Arizona, have shown that there is a difference in the selection of one pronoun over another based on the sex of the speaker. In her study, men used *tú* more frequently than women in a work context. Similarly, Bartens (2003), in her study on address forms in Colombia, observed important differences in the use of the pronouns based on gender, notably, the use by men of the pronoun *usted* to express solidarity (12)

Social class (Low / Middle / High): This variable was included because in the origin of second person address forms in Spanish it is a vital factor in the selection of one pronoun over another. Furthermore, previous studies, such as Simpson (2002), have shown that social class plays a role in the selection of a pronoun of address. As mentioned before, socio-economic class was defined taking into consideration the place of residence of the parents.

3.5.2.2. Addressee' Characteristics and Context of Interaction

Place of interaction (Home / University / Public): It relates to the context or setting of the interaction and how it might determine pronominal selection. Address is viewed here as resulting from the formality/informality implicit in the interactional environment (Friedrich, 1972). A daughter might use a form of respect with her mother during a masked ball, but revert to a form of solidarity when whispering about the same

boy later in her mother's bedroom (229). In the questionnaire, participants were asked to select the form they would exchange with specific interlocutors (classmates, friends, professors) at home, in public, and at the university context.

Relation with interlocutor (Family / Friends / Classmates / Professors / Strangers): The categories for this variables are based on Benavides' (2003) distinction between *familiar* (friends, acquaintances of the same age, older acquaintances, strangers) and *familial* (family members), with the exception that in my study the category of *familiar* is broken up into four: friends, classmates, professors, and strangers. In their data from Bogota, Lambert and Tucker (1976) note that, in general, middle class children exchanged reciprocal *tú* within family relations and reciprocal *tú* or *usted* with friends, classmates, visitors at home and strangers (141).

Generation (Younger / Same / Older): Given that my study focuses on the speech of young people, the variable age was not taken into consideration. However, generational distance with the addressee is relevant (for example, son/father, and student/professor) as it looks at symmetrical and asymmetrical generational relationships between speakers. In Friedrich's study (1971), this variable was decisive in showing asymmetrical relationships between speakers separated by one or more generations. Additionally, in a study on the use of *tú* and *usted* in El Valle del Río Grande, Charles de Cerda (1997) found that participants use *usted* to address interlocutors older than the respondent, but *tú* if talking to a colleague (158). This variable was included in the questionnaire by asking participants how they address people who were older, younger or of the same age as they are (i.e. their father, a

cousin of their same age, a younger sibling, etc.), and how these people would address them back.

Sex of interlocutor (Same / Different from speaker): In addition to the sex of the speaker, the sex of the interlocutor is also relevant for this investigation since researchers such as Friedrich (1971) pointed out that the sex of the interlocutor can condition the use of one form or another, since two people of the same sex might be more prone to use familiar address forms, whereas speakers from opposite sexes would lean toward more formality or respect. This variable was taken into account in the questionnaire by including addresses of both sexes: mother/father, brother/sister, female friend/male friend, etc.

Topic of discourse (private / non private): It takes into account how the subject of the conversation may predispose the speaker to use a particular form. According to Friedrich (1971), in Russian for instance, culturally defined topics such as kinship or former school experience tended to suggest informality, whereas business and professional affair themes triggered the use of a formal pronoun. In order to include this variable in the questionnaire, there are two situations involving the same people in the same social context (at home with close friends and family). While in the first situation the topic of their discourse is related to private issues, in the second it refers to the organization of a social event.

Emotional closeness (negative / positive): This variable refers to feelings between the speaker and the interlocutor and how they might influence the selection of one pronoun or another. Friedrich (1971) states that close friends, lovers, and people who share a common purpose will exchange a familiar pronoun, and as the emotional

closeness decreases, so does the use of the informal pronoun. Participants in the study were asked which pronoun s/he generally uses to address a particular person and if that pronoun changes when s/he is angry with them.

3.6. ANALYSIS

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed in the statistical analysis of the data. Percentages of frequencies were calculated for each address form, *vos*, *tú*, *usted* and mixed-use (use of two or more pronouns in the same discourse and with the same interlocutor), and crosstabulations were generated for each of the extralinguistic factors per dialect. There are two-way tables which associate pronoun usage with each of the variables of the addressee's characteristics or context of interaction in each dialect, and multi-way tables which include the two-way tables associated by sex and by social class of the speaker. Additionally, chi-square tests were conducted to test for significance. Tables with total frequencies and chi-square values are included in appendixes D and E.

4. RESULTS FROM MEDELLIN

This chapter comprises the analysis of the data collected in Medellin among 147 students from two universities: 83 participants from Universidad de Antioquia, a state institution, and 64 from Colegiatura de Colombia, a private university. Given that address forms are used in dyadic exchanges between individuals, results include the frequencies of the pronouns speakers reported using to address their interlocutor, and the frequencies of the pronouns they expect to receive in return.

The data from both universities consist of 51,744 tokens (half for the form participants reported given and half for the form they expect to receive) out of which 13,904 (6,618 given and 7,286 expected) were treated as missing values. A response was considered as missing for any of the following two reasons: (1) the participant did not select a response, or (2) s/he indicated that a certain relationship did not apply to her/him; for example, s/he did not have an older sister or a younger cousin. The total amount of tokens considered in this analysis is 37,840 (19,254 given and 18,586 expected). Chi –Square tests were conducted to test for independence.

First, I present a summary of the general pronoun distribution in Medellin, followed by an analysis of the findings by each of the addressee's characteristics (relationship with the interlocutor, generation, and sex of the interlocutor) and context of interaction (place of interaction, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness). Each section contains a summary of the pronoun distribution within the corresponding variable and associations between the variable and sex of the speaker, on the one hand, and social class of the speaker on the other. Tables with total counts and percentages for Medellin are included in appendix D.

4.1. OVERALL RESULTS

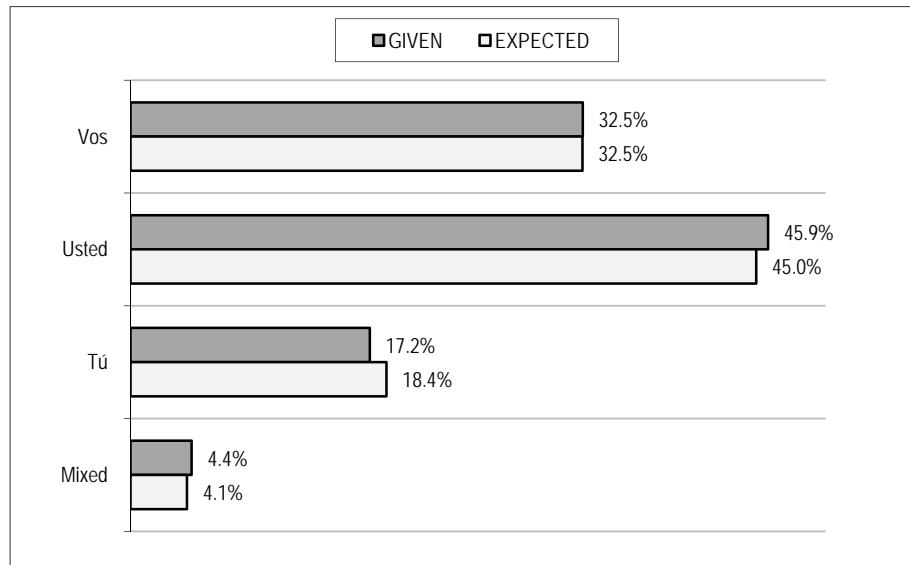


Figure 4.1. Overall Address Form Distribution in Medellin for informal contexts³⁵

As illustrated in figure 4.1, overall results on pronominal use show that participants reported *usted* as the most frequent pronoun of address in informal contexts in Medellin (around 45% both given and expected); whereas the *mixed-use*³⁶ seems to be the least common of all (4% given and expected). *Vos* also predominates in both directions; in fact it appeared to be the second most frequent pronoun of address in Medellin (32.5% given and received). With regard to *tú*, participants reported expecting this form from their interlocutor somewhat more frequently than giving it (18.4% vs. 17.2%). These general results agree with Ades's observations of the speech of people from Medellin in the 1950s. He states that "VOS is used instead of the familiar *tú* [...] Close friends, and even brothers and sisters, often use the polite *usted* when

³⁵ See table D.1 in Appendix D.

³⁶ For the purpose of this research, the term "*mixed-use*" refers to the use of two or more pronouns to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse. It could be the use of *tú* and *usted*, or *tú* and *vos*, or *usted* and *vos*, or the three pronouns together (*tú*, *usted*, and *vos*).

talking to each other” (Ades 1953: 326). It is important to stress here that the present research focuses on informal contexts; therefore, this is an informal *usted*. I believe Ades calls it “polite” because by default, *usted* is considered the formal form, particularly in varieties of Spanish whose pronominal system has only two forms (*tú – usted*). However, as Uber has pointed out, this pronoun has a dual function in some varieties of Colombian Spanish, the *usted* of solidarity and the one of non-solidarity (1985: 385). In this case in particular, we are dealing with the solidarity *usted*.

Going back to the overall results, even though they seem to be in accordance with Ades’s findings, they do not agree with more recent studies (Jang, 2005; Florez, 1957). Jang³⁷, for instance, affirms that *vos* is the most frequently used form of address in the Antioquian dialect. In his study on pronominal use in Medellin, he found that *tú* and *vos* were the most commonly used pronouns in informal situations (2005: 158), which differs from the result of the present study. Similarly, Florez stated that *vos* is the general form of address among younger people in the Antioquian region, even between people who have just met (1957). However, since his study was done in the 1950s, there could have been a change.

Following is the overall pronoun distribution by sex of the speaker, which is presented and illustrated in figure 4.2.

³⁷ Data for this study was collected from approximately 300 college students from Medellin by means of a written questionnaire.

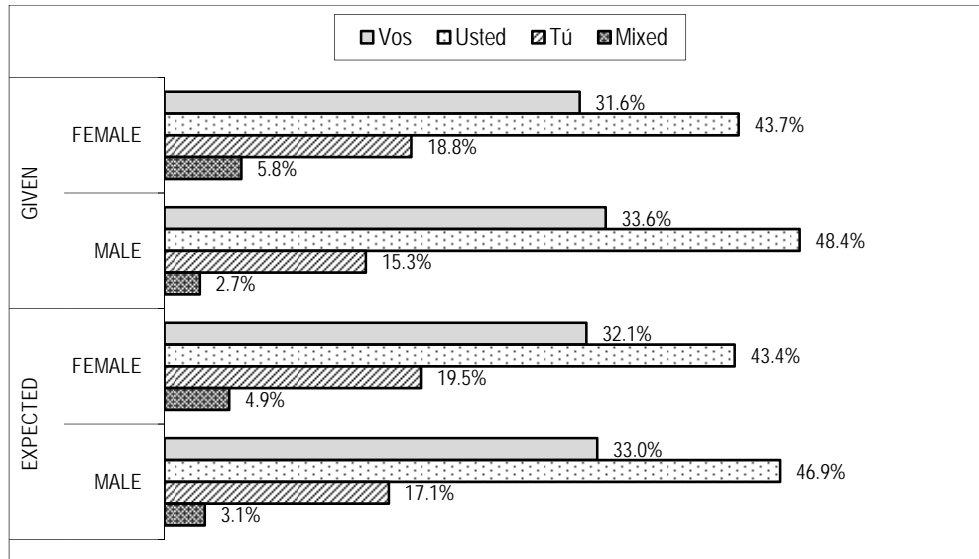


Figure 4.2. Pronoun distribution by Sex of the Speaker³⁸

A closer inspection of the data show a strong association between the sex of the speaker and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(3) = 171.32, p < .001$. Results indicate that men tend to give and to expect *usted* more recurrently than women (48.4% given and 46.9% expected vs. 43% given and expected by women). This result concurs with what Bartens (2003) found in her study on address forms in Bogota. According to her, there are differences in the use of address form based on the sex of the speaker, particularly, the higher frequency of *usted* by males (12). On the contrary, female participants reported giving and expecting *tú* approximately 19% of the time, which is somewhat higher than what males indicated (15.3% given and 17.1% expected). Previous studies on other varieties of Spanish have also reported a higher use of *tú* by women (Bartens, 2003; Jaramillo 1986; Pinkerton 1986).

³⁸ See table D.2 in Appendix D.

Similarly, women reported using more than one form with the same addressee in the same context twice as frequently as men, and they also expect it more often than their male counterparts. Finally, concerning the pronoun *vos*, it is given and expected by men and women with almost the same frequency (32% by women and 33% by men).

Next, results are presented and illustrated in figure 4.3a (See table D.3 in Appendix D). Chi-square tests suggest that there is a significant association between the social class of the speaker and pronominal choice, $\chi^2(6) = 385.72, p < .001$.

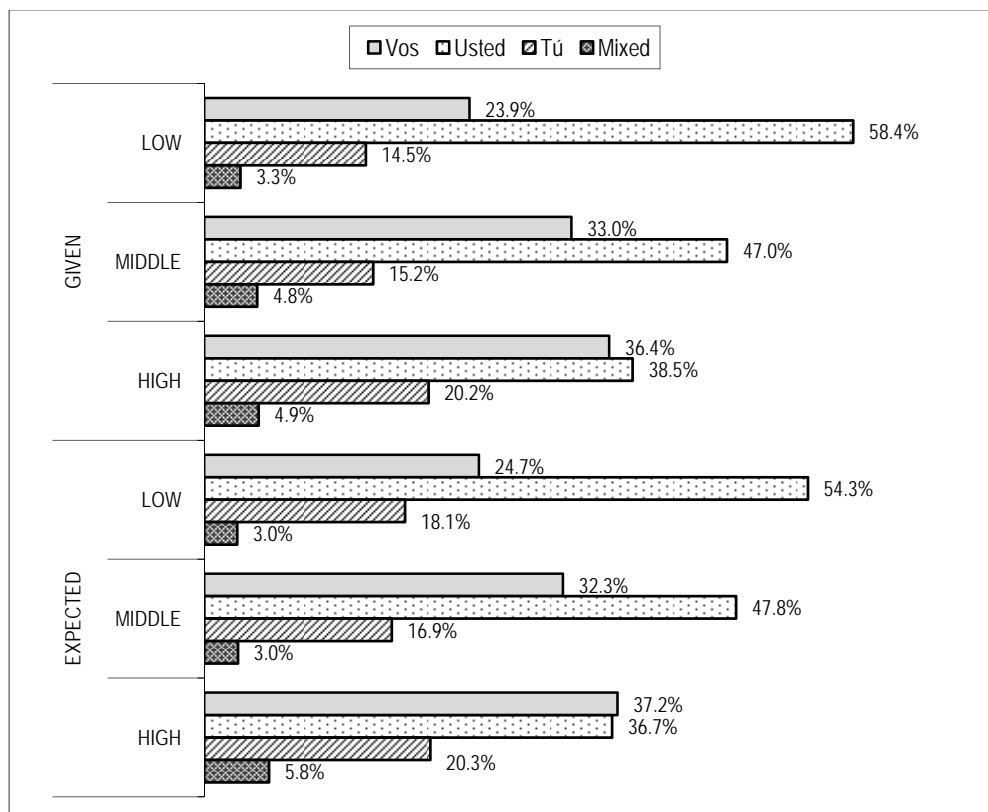


Figure 4.3a. Pronoun Distribution by Social Class of Speaker³⁹

Figure 4.3a shows that *usted* is particularly prominent among speakers from lower classes. Results indicate that the percentage of reported use of this form by

³⁹ See table D.3 in Appendix D.

participants from the lower class is 58.4% given and 54.3% expected. As the social status increases, the frequency of reported use of this pronoun decreases, both given and expected; in fact, it is given and expected by upper classes almost as frequently as the pronoun *vos*, which presents the opposite trend: as the social class increases, so does the use of this form. The higher use of *vos* by upper classes contradicts a previous study conducted by Jang (2005), who notes that people from lower classes use *vos* more frequently since it is a sign of identity to their own socio-economic and regional group. However, my results within the pronoun *vos* show that speakers from upper classes reported using this form almost twice as frequently as the lower class (40.9% vs. 23.9% respectively).

Concerning the percentage of *tú*, it is also socially marked as its percentage of reported use increases with social class: the higher the social class, the higher the use of *tú*. This is particularly evident when looking at the distribution of the frequencies of each social class by pronoun. In other words, out of the total times that *tú* was selected, what percentage of reported use corresponds to each social strata (see figure 4.3b).

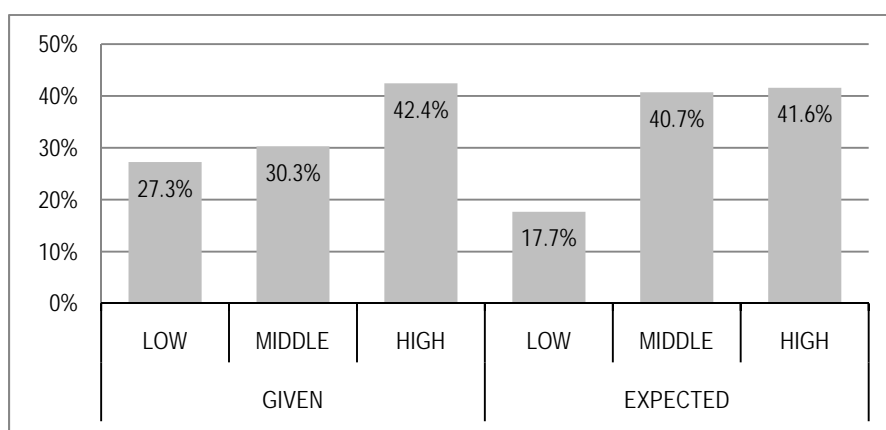


Figure 4.3b. Distribution of Social Class of Speaker by the pronoun *tú*

As illustrated in figure 4.3b, *tú* is mostly used by upper classes, who give this form more than 40% of the time, compared to 30.3% by middle class and 27.3% by lower classes. However, this pronoun is expected by the middle class almost as frequently as by the upper class (approximately 41%), and more than double than the lowest socioeconomic level that expects it 17.7% of the time.

The fact that *tú* is more common among the upper classes is congruent with Jang's results. According to him, *usted* is more often used by people from the low class; whereas, *tú* is more popular among the high class (2005:158). The explanation he gives for the frequent use of *tú* by the upper classes is that their use of this pronoun is a way to differentiate themselves or to feel superior to other groups because of their social status (129). My results seem to confirm that the use of *tú* is a sign of belonging to their socio-economic group by members of the upper class. During the interviews, for instance, a female respondent stated that “los del Poblado⁴⁰ van a hablar más de *tú* que nosotros los del Centro” [those from the Poblado neighborhood are going to use *tú* more often than us from the Centro neighborhood]. Her partner in the interview, a male participant, agreed with her adding, “en los del Poblado es normal que se traten así” [it is normal among those from Poblado to address each other that way].⁴¹

Similarly to *vos* and *tú*, the use of more than one form to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse is higher in the upper class. Participants from upper and middle classes reported *mixed-use* about 5% of the time; whereas lower classes give it 3.3% of the time. Concerning their expectations, informants from lower and

⁴⁰ El Poblado is a high class neighborhood, while el Centro is middle to middle-low class as determined by DANE (See classification of neighborhoods in Colombia, included in section 3.3.1).

⁴¹ Respondents from UdeA, track 1.

middle classes expect to be addressed with more than one form 3% of the time versus the upper classes, who expect it almost twice as frequently.

Finally, it is important to note that within the upper class, the distribution of the frequencies of use of all four forms is not as widespread as it is within the lower class. For instance, within the lower class, there is a huge gap between *usted* and *vos*, the frequency of the former more than double the frequency of the latter (58.4% *usted* vs. 23.9% *vos*), while within the upper class, the percentages of these two pronouns are very close (38.5% *usted* vs. 36.4% *vos*).

From these results we can conclude that pronominal use in Medellín is conditioned by the sex and the social class of the speaker. In the following sections, findings are presented by place of interaction, relationship with interlocutor, generation, sex of interlocutor, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness. First, general frequencies within each variable are given and then the variables of sex and social class of the speaker are considered.

4.2. PLACE OF INTERACTION

In order to examine the relationship between the place of the interaction and pronoun choice, three settings were identified to be of potential relevance for the current study: (1) university, (2) public spaces, and (3) home. Chi-square tests were conducted to test for independence. Results indicate that there is a significant association between the place of the interaction and the choice of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(6) = 1061.20, p < .001$. Data on overall pronoun distribution by place of interaction are included in table D.4 (see appendix D) and illustrated in figure 4.4.

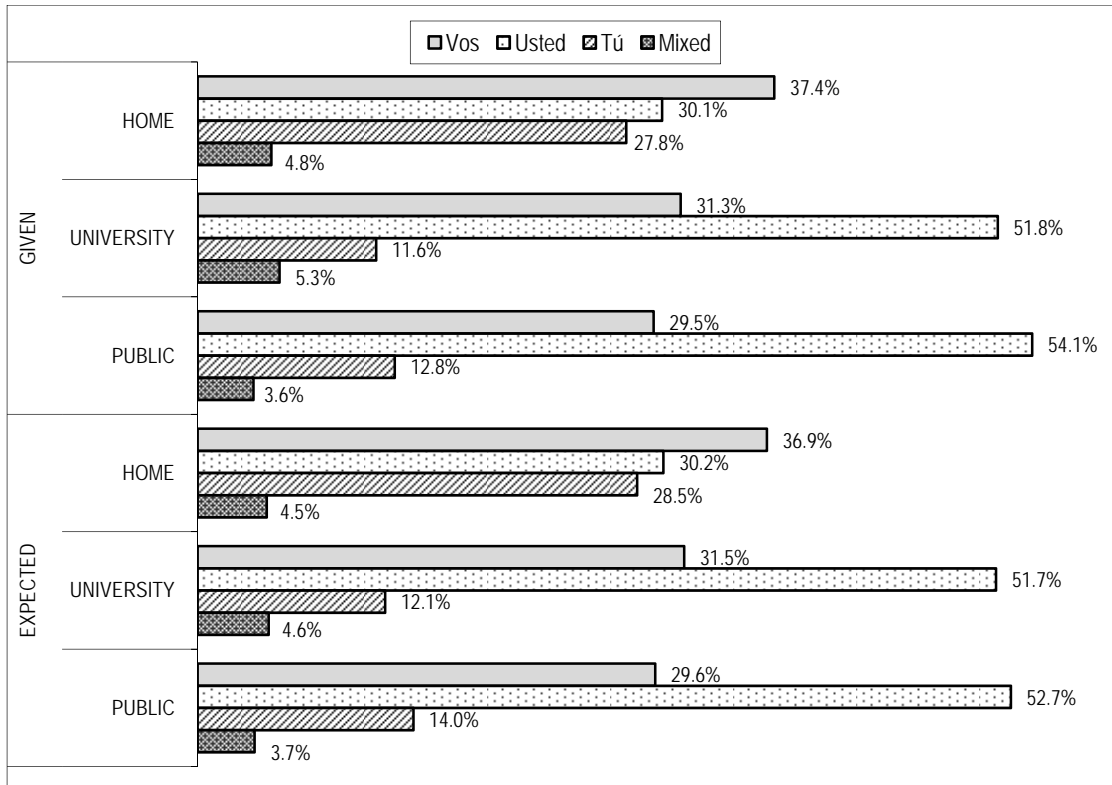


Figure 4.4. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction⁴²

At home, the frequencies of reported use of the different forms are relatively similar, with *vos* being the most frequent pronoun (37.4% given and 36.9% expected), followed by *usted* (around 30% both given and expected). *Tú* is also fairly common at home as compared to its use in public or at the university. At home, participants reported giving and expecting this pronoun 28% of the time; whereas its use in the other two settings of interaction is almost half as frequent, both given and expected.

In public and at the university, speakers reported a clear preference for *usted* as the form to address their interlocutor (more than half of the time in each setting). These differences might be due to the fact that home could be regarded as a more informal

⁴² See table D.4 in Appendix D.

and familiar setting than public places or the university. In fact, it seems that the less familiar the place is, the higher the use of a more “formal” pronoun, such as *usted*, is.

Going back to *vos*, results show that it is the second most frequent pronoun in public and at the university, and that, contrary to what we observed with *usted*, as the setting of interaction becomes more public, the frequency of *vos* decreases. Participants reported using this pronoun at the university around 31.3% of the time versus 29.5% in public.

Concerning the *mixed-use*, and contrary to expectations, it seems to be more popular in the university setting. Percentages show that its frequency in this setting of interaction is 5.3% vs. 4.8% at home and 3.6% in public. I had expected the *mixed-use* to be more frequent at home because of the informality this place conveys, and because this setting of interaction seems to contribute to more variation in address. But at the same time, if we take into consideration the nature of the relationships and interactions that take place in a university setting, we could consider it as a “mix” place, where other extralinguistic factors, such as the relationship between interactants and the topic of the discourse, could also play a role. For instance, interactions between classmates generally involve private issues as well as academic matters, and this change in topics could trigger the use of more than one pronoun in the same conversation, explaining the higher frequency of *mixed-use* in this place of interaction.

In sum, my findings indicate that place of interaction plays a role in pronoun selection. *Tú* is mainly used at home, as well as *vos*; however, this latter pronoun is common, to a certain extent, in all places. *Usted*, on the contrary, is mainly used when interacting in public. These results are in accordance with the general classification of

pronouns, where *tú* is the form for more informal/familiar interactions and *usted* is more common to express some formality and distance, even in informal contexts. *Vos*, for its part, seems to be appropriate in all three situational contexts under study, but it is particularly common at home, and therefore could be considered a *familial* pronoun, in Benavides's (2003) terminology.

Considering the sex and social class of the speaker, results show differences in pronominal usage as explained next. First the findings of place of interaction by sex of the speaker are presented.

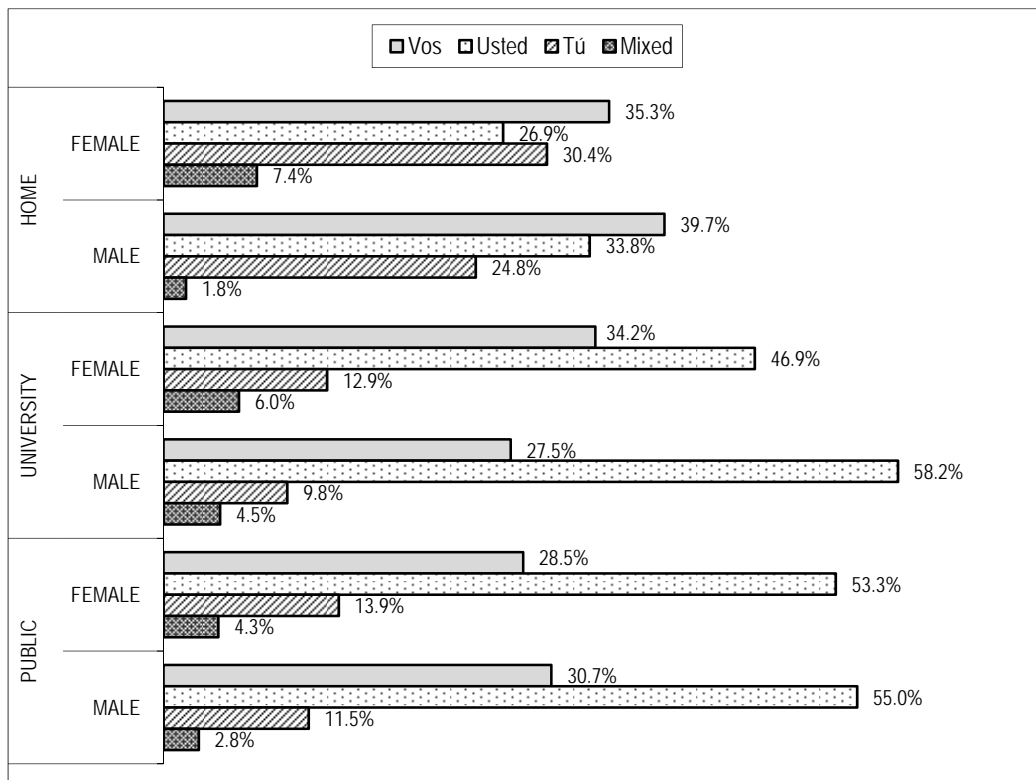


Figure 4.5. Distribution of Pronouns given by Place of Interaction and by Sex of Speaker⁴³

As shown in figure 4.5, there are differences in the reported use of pronouns by men and women at home, $\chi^2(3) = 165.07, p < .001$. Even though the prominent pronoun

⁴³ See table D.5 in Appendix D.

of address reported by participants from both sexes is *vos*, the frequency in its use is different; for instance, results indicate that male participants tend to use this pronoun more often than females (39.7% vs. 35.3%). *Usted* shows a similar pattern and a bigger disparity; 33.8% by men and 26.9% by women. Another difference in the use of these pronouns is that *usted* is the second most frequent form of address reported by men while it is the third most commonly given by women.

Concerning *tú* and the use of more than one form with the same addressee, we find that women indicated using these pronouns more often than men, particularly the *mixed-use*, which is used by females about four times more often than by males. It is important to point out that the distribution of the frequencies of reported use of the different forms of address at home is not as widespread as in the other two settings of interaction, as has been noted above. These findings serve as support to what was previously said, that at home there seems to be a relative balance in the distribution of reported frequencies of the address form under study, which consequently means more variation in pronoun use, as we have three competing forms.

At the university and in public, on the contrary, the most reported pronoun is *usted* which is used, in most cases, almost twice as frequently as the other forms. For example, in interactions at the university, we observe that males address their interlocutor with *usted* 58.2% of the time, while the frequency of the second most common pronoun, *vos*, is less than half that percentage, 27.5% (I should note that the difference in the use of these forms by women is not as great as by men: 46.9% *usted* and 34.2% *vos*, but the disparity is still larger than at home). Something important to highlight here is that, while at home and in public, males reported using *vos* more often

than women, the trend at the university is the opposite, and female participants indicated addressing their interlocutors with this pronoun more often (34.2% versus 27.5% by males).

In public, we find that the pattern of addressing a person is alike between men and women: all participants favor the use of *usted* (above 50%) followed by *vos* (30.7% men and 28.5% women). However, Chi-square tests indicate that there is a significant association in this place of interaction between pronoun choice and the sex of the speaker, $\chi^2(3) = 19.33, p < .001$. For instance, the pronoun *tú* is used in public and at the university more often by women than by men; in public, females give *tú* 13.9% of the time vs. 11.5% by males, and at the university, the former group gives it at a rate of 12.9% vs. 9.8% by the second group. Finally, regarding *mixed-use*, men reported addressing the same interlocutor with more than one pronoun more often at the university (4.5%), or even in public (2.8%), than at home (1.8%); whereas the use of several forms in the same discourse is more popular among women at home (7.4%) and at the university (6%) than in public (4.3%).

Pertaining to the forms speakers expect to receive, the distribution of pronouns is very similar to that of the forms they give with some exceptions; at home, women reported expecting *usted* almost as frequently as *tú* (29.2% and 29.7% correspondingly), even though they give *tú* (30.4%) much more often than *usted* (26.9%). In public, females expect *vos* more often than males (30.1% vs. 29.1% correspondingly), but females give it less frequently than men (28.5% by females vs. 30.7% by males). We found a similar situation with the *mixed-use*, which is given more often by women (4.3%) than by men (2.8%), but male participants reported expecting it

more than women (4% vs. 3.5% respectively). At the university, the distribution of the forms expected followed the same trend as those given and with very similar percentages.

In the following figure, results are presented by place of interaction and by social class of the speaker.

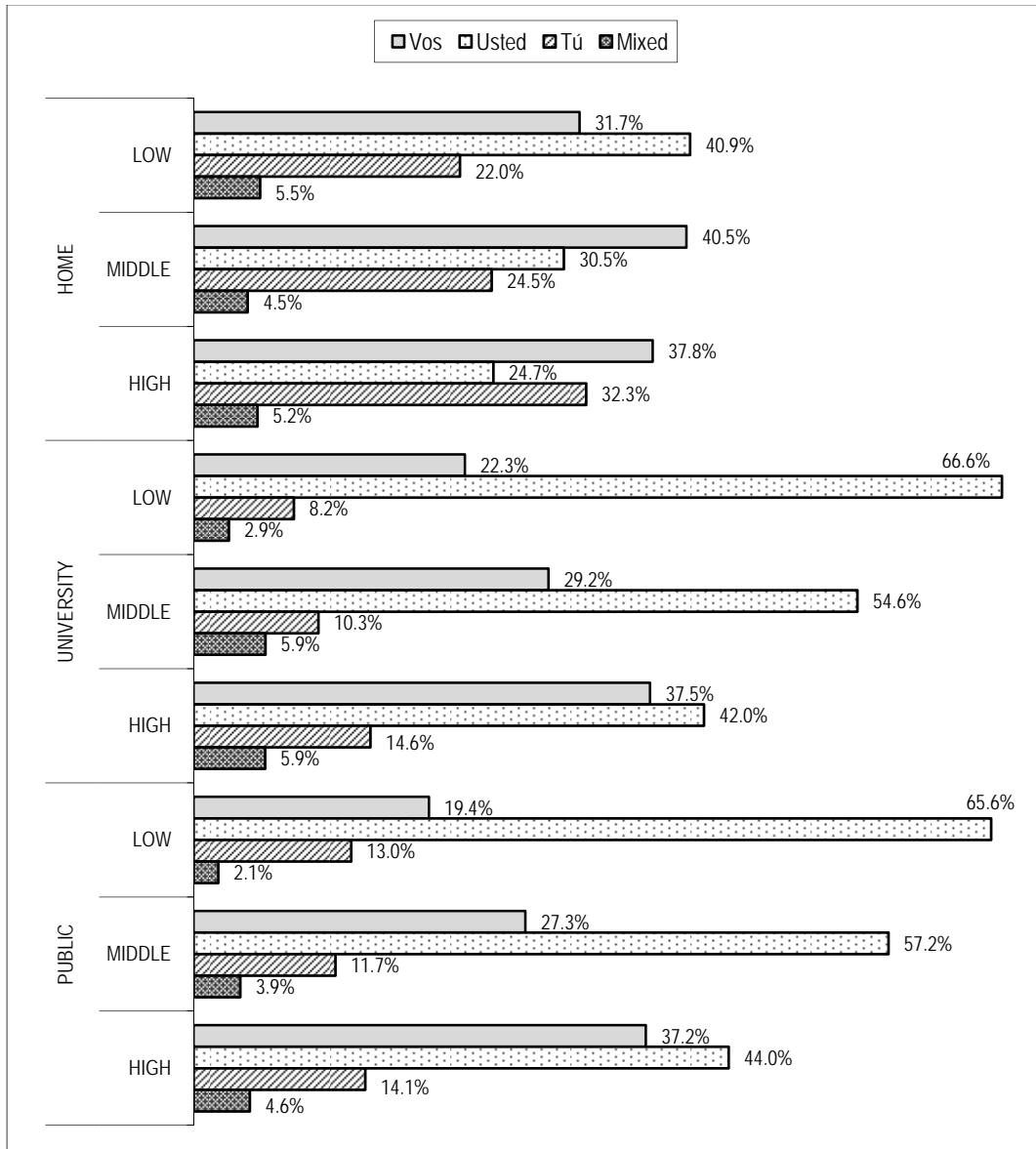


Figure 4.6. Distribution of Pronouns given by Place of Interaction and by Social Class of Speaker⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See table D.6 in Appendix D.

As is evident from figure 4.6, there are significant differences in pronominal use based on place of interaction by social class of the speaker⁴⁵. First of all, at home is where we find the most variation based on the social class of the speaker. Participants from lower classes indicated a higher use of *usted* (40.9%); whereas those from middle and upper classes tend to prefer *vos* (40.5% and 37.8% respectively). The pronoun *tú*, on the other hand, is the second most frequent pronoun reported (32.3%) among upper classes, but the third most commonly used by middle and lower strata. Concerning the *mixed-use*, its frequency is relatively similar among the three social levels, particularly the lower and upper classes, who give more than one pronoun more than 5% of the time.

Moving to interactions in public and at the university, we found that *usted* is definitely the predominating form reported, particularly among lower class. This social group reported giving this pronoun more than three times more frequently (approximately 66% in both setting) than *vos*, which is the second most common pronoun given by the lower level (19.4% in public and 22.3% at the university). As the social class increases, the gap between these two forms decreases to the point that *usted* is given by upper classes 44% of the time in public and 42% at the university, and *vos* around 37% in both places. Similarly, the use of *tú* at the university increases with the social status of the speaker; participants from lower classes reported addressing their interlocutor with *tú* 8.2% of the time, whereas those in the upper socio-economic status indicated using it 14.6%. The distribution of this form in public is slightly different. Even though it seems to predominate among the highest social status group (14.1%), it

⁴⁵ At home, $\chi^2(6) = 130.60, p < .001$ / In public, $\chi^2(6) = 166.49, p < .001$ / At the university, $\chi^2(6) = 108.50, p < .001$

is more frequently given by lower classes (13%) than by middle class (11.7%). Finally, the use of more than one pronoun to address the same person in the same discourse is more common at the university than in the other two places of interaction, and it is more often given by speakers from middle and higher strata (almost 6%).

Concerning how speakers expect to be addressed, the distribution of forms is very similar to what is given, with some exceptions. At home, *vos* is most commonly given by the middle class (40.5%), but those from the upper class expect it the most (38.9%). Also at home, the *mixed-use* is given by lower and upper classes almost with the same frequency (around 5%) but it is expected more by the highest social group (6.5%) than by the lower class (4.7%). The main difference in public is with the use of *tú*, which is given by the highest class the most (14.1%), closely followed by the lowest class (13%), but it is expected more often by the latter (17.6%). Middle and upper classes expect it with almost the same frequency (around 13%). Also at the university, even though *tú* is mostly given and expected by upper classes (14.6% both), speakers from the lower class expect it also quite frequently (12.9%). One explanation for this could be that this pronoun is perceived as the form used by educated people, and therefore, it makes sense for individuals from all social strata to address their interlocutor with this pronoun at the university.

In sum, place of interaction by sex of the speaker and by social class play an important role in the selection of one form of address over another. Female participants reported higher uses of *tú* at all places of interaction, whereas *usted* is more frequent in males. *Vos*, on the other hand, was reported by men more often at home and in public, and by women at the university. Concerning social class, speakers from the highest

social group tend to address their interlocutors at home with *vos* and *tú*, while for those from middle class it is *vos* and *usted*, and for lower classes with *usted*. In public and at the university, the preferred forms given by upper classes are *vos* and *usted*; whereas the other two social strata give mainly *usted*. Interactions at home show more variation in pronoun choice than in public or at the university. Pronoun distribution at these two last settings of interaction displays a very similar pattern.

4.3. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR

The effects that the relationship between the interactants might have in pronominal choice is examined considering five types of relationships: (1) family, which encompasses close and distant relatives and sentimental partner, (2) friends, which includes personal friends as well as family friends, (3) professors, (4) classmates, and (5) strangers. Chi-square tests were conducted to test for independence; results indicate that there is a significant association between the relationship with the interlocutor and the choice of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(12) = 1594.37, p < .001$. Overall results are included in table D.7 (see appendix D) and illustrated in figure 4.7.

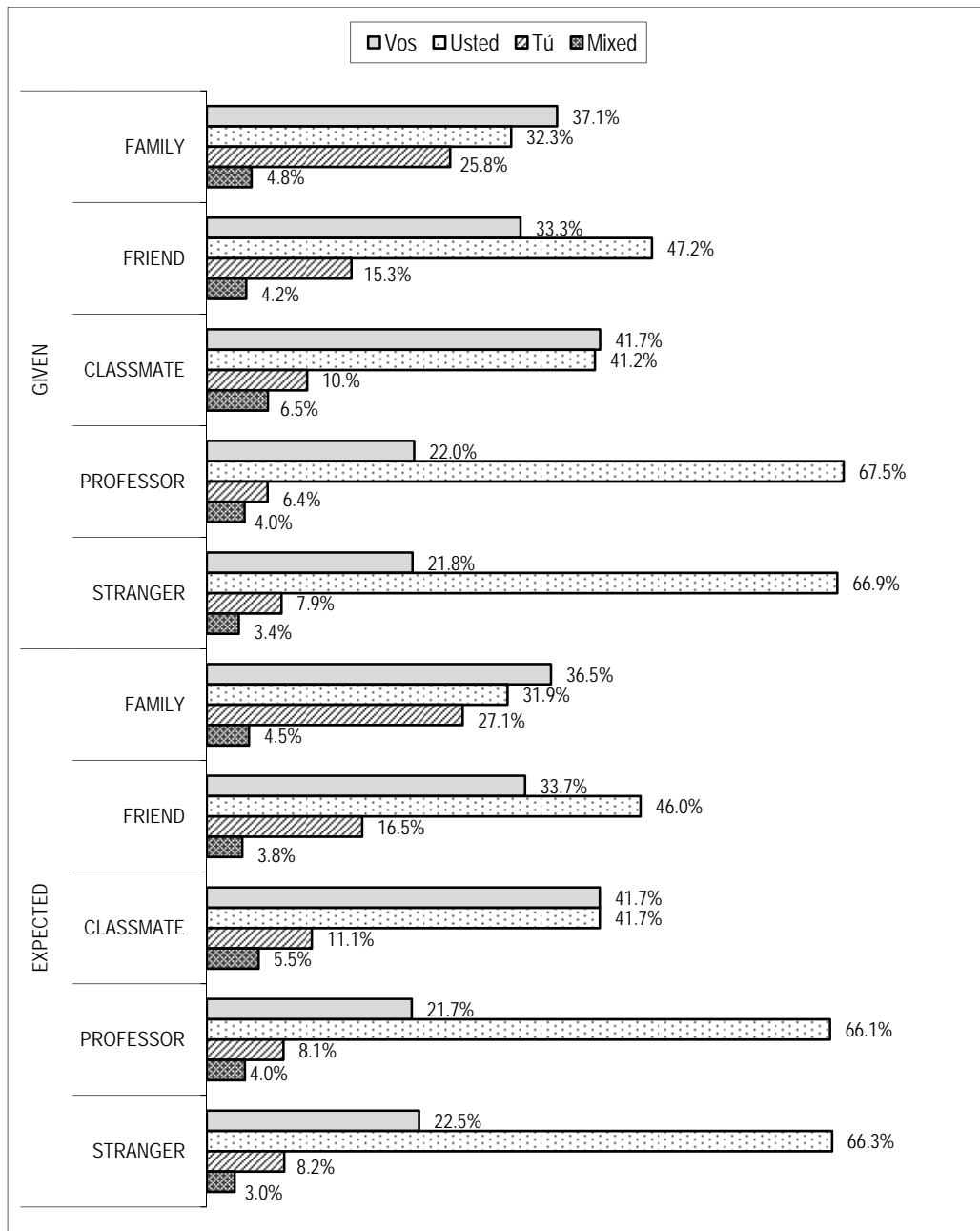


Figure 4.7. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor⁴⁶

As illustrated in figure 4.7, the relationship with the interlocutor influences the selection of one form of address over another. Moving from the most intimate of all the relationships considered in this study to the most distant one, we find that in the family

⁴⁶ See table D.7 in Appendix D.

domain, the most frequent pronoun reported by participants is *vos* (37.1%), followed by *usted* (32.3%). Friends are commonly addressed with *usted* (47.2%), and classmates with both *vos* and *usted* (around 41% each). The fact that *usted* predominates when addressing friends is not in accordance with Jang's findings; according to him "debido [...] a que no existe distancia entre interlocutores por ser amigos, se usa muy poco el pronombre de distanciamiento *usted*" [since there is no distance between interlocutors because they are friends, the distant pronoun *usted* is not used much] (2005: 67). It is important to note here, that Jang makes reference to the non-solidarity function of this pronoun; however, as it has already been stated, *usted* is a dual pronoun, therefore, when used with friends, it is more likely that we are dealing with the familiar *usted* and not with the distant one. Finally, interactions with professors and strangers are governed by a high use of *usted* (approximately 67% each).

Two things are important to highlight from these results; (1) the use of *vos* and *usted* with classmates serves as evidence of intimacy and solidarity together in a non-familiar context, and (2) the use of *usted* to address friends, on the one hand, and professors and strangers, on the other, brings us back to the duality of this pronoun. The *usted* used with friends is one that implies solidarity and closeness; whereas the one for professors and strangers is the non-solidary, distant *usted*.

Going back to the family domain, we find that participants also reported a relative high frequency of *tú* (25.8%). As the solidarity between the speaker and the interlocutor decreases, so does the use of this pronoun, except when we get to interactions with strangers in which the use of *tú* is higher than with professors.

Another particularity of the overall results by relationship with the interlocutor is the higher frequency of *mixed-use* reported with classmates (6.5%), which serves as support to the idea of the university setting as a 'mixed' environment. As mentioned in the previous section on pronoun distribution by place of interaction, in interactions with classmates, the topic of the discussion can switch from academic to personal, leading to the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same discourse.

Concerning the forms expected from the interlocutor, results follow the same pattern as for the form that the participants reported giving: speakers expect from family members mostly *usted* (36.5%) followed by *vos* (31.9%); from friends, *usted* (46%); from classmates, *vos* as much as *usted* (41.7%); and from professors and strangers, mainly *usted* (66% from each).

As a summary we can say that interactions with family members show the most variation in pronoun choice, which is parallel to what we found at home. Similarly, the use of more than one form to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse is more frequent in interactions with classmates as it is the case at the university setting. Regarding interactions with professors and strangers, chi-square tests show that there is not a significant association between these two groups and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(3) = 4.69$, $p > .001$; and therefore, interactions with professors and strangers could be regrouped into one category.

Finally, the use of *usted* in interactions with friends, on the one hand, and with professors and strangers, on the other, serve to reiterate the dual function of this pronoun.

In the following, there is a closer examination of the variable relationship with the interlocutor, taking into consideration the sex of the speaker and his/her social class.

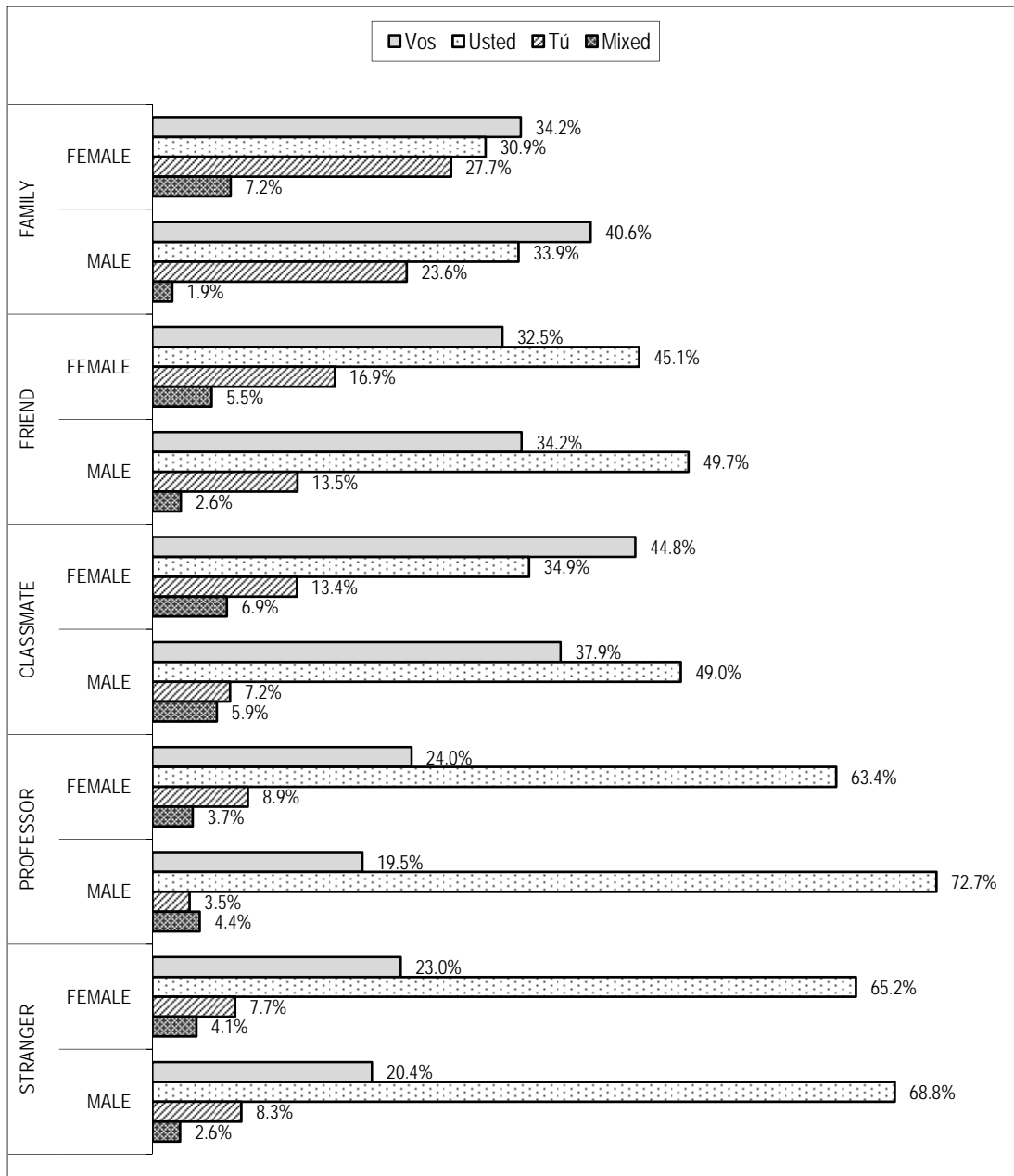


Figure 4.8. Distribution of Pronouns given by Relationship with the Interlocutor and by Sex of Speaker⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See table D.8 in Appendix D.

As illustrated in figure 4.8, there are significant differences in pronominal choice based on the relationship with the interlocutor and the sex of the speaker, especially when interacting with classmates.

In interactions with family members, there is a significant association between the sex of the speaker and the use of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(3) = 147.8$, $p < .001$. Female speakers reported more variation in pronominal address as the percentages of use of the pronouns are closer. The most common pronoun given is *vos* (34.2%), followed by *usted* (30.9%) and *tú* (27.7%). The use of more than one form to address the same interlocutor is also quite frequent among women (7.2%). A similar distribution is evident among male speakers; however, the frequencies of the pronouns are somewhat more spread out compared to those indicated by women. Another difference between females and males, when speaking to family members, is that men tend to use *vos* and *usted* much more frequently than women; whereas the latter give *tú* and the *mixed-use* more often than the former.

Interactions with friends also show a significant association, $\chi^2(3) = 54.30$, $p < .001$, even though the distribution of pronouns is very similar. Both males and females prefer *usted* when addressing friends; however, the frequency reported by men is higher than that indicated by women (49.7% and 45.1% respectively). The main difference between men and women, when addressing friends, was reported in the use of more than one form in the same discourse. Females tend to *mixed-use* twice as frequently as males (5.5% vs. 2.6%); these results are not surprising since overall results by sex of the speaker show that the *mixed-use* is more common among women (see figure 4.2).

Interaction with classmates is the category that reveals the most differences based on the sex of the speaker, $\chi^2(3) = 21.95, p < .001$. On the one hand, female participants indicated a preference for *vos* when addressing friends (44.8%), with *usted* in second place (34.9%); men, on the other hand, show the opposite trend, a higher use of *usted* (49%), followed by *vos* (37.9%). Another particularity of these interactions is that women give *tú* almost twice as frequently as men (13.4% and 7.2% correspondingly).

Moving to interactions with professors and strangers, both men and women show a strong tendency to give *usted* to them (72.7% to professors and 68.8% to strangers by men; 63.4% to professors and 65.2% to strangers by women). *Vos* is also sometimes used with these interlocutors, but it is almost one third as frequently as *usted*. Two particularities worth noticing when addressing professors are, first, the relatively high reported use of *tú* by females (8.9%) compared to males (3.5%), and the lower frequency of *mixed-use* by females; 3.7% compared to 4.4% by males. Concerning the use of *tú* by women, as I just mentioned, it is expected for females to use this form more frequently than males, what is unexpected is its high frequency when addressing professors, particularly considering the elevated use of *usted*. Finally, the use of *tú* with strangers is more commonly given by males (8.3%) than females (7.7%). It is important to highlight that results indicate that, in interactions with professors, there is a significant association between the sex of the speaker and the pronoun used, $\chi^2(3) = 36.96, p < .001$; whereas this is not the case when addressing strangers, $\chi^2(3) = 6.96, p > .001$.

Regarding how speakers expect to be addressed, results do not show main differences in the distribution of the forms expected compared to those given, with two

exceptions: 1) The use of more than one pronoun with professors, as I have already mentioned, men reporting *mixed-use* more often than women when addressing their teachers; however, the situation is the opposite when it concerns the form expected: female speakers expect *mixed-use* more frequently than males (4.4% vs. 3.6%). 2) The use of *tú* with strangers. Similarly to the situation with the *mixed-use* I just described, women address people they do not know with *tú* less often than men, but expect it more (8.8% vs. 7.6%).

The following results are presented by relationship with the interlocutor and by social class of the speaker.

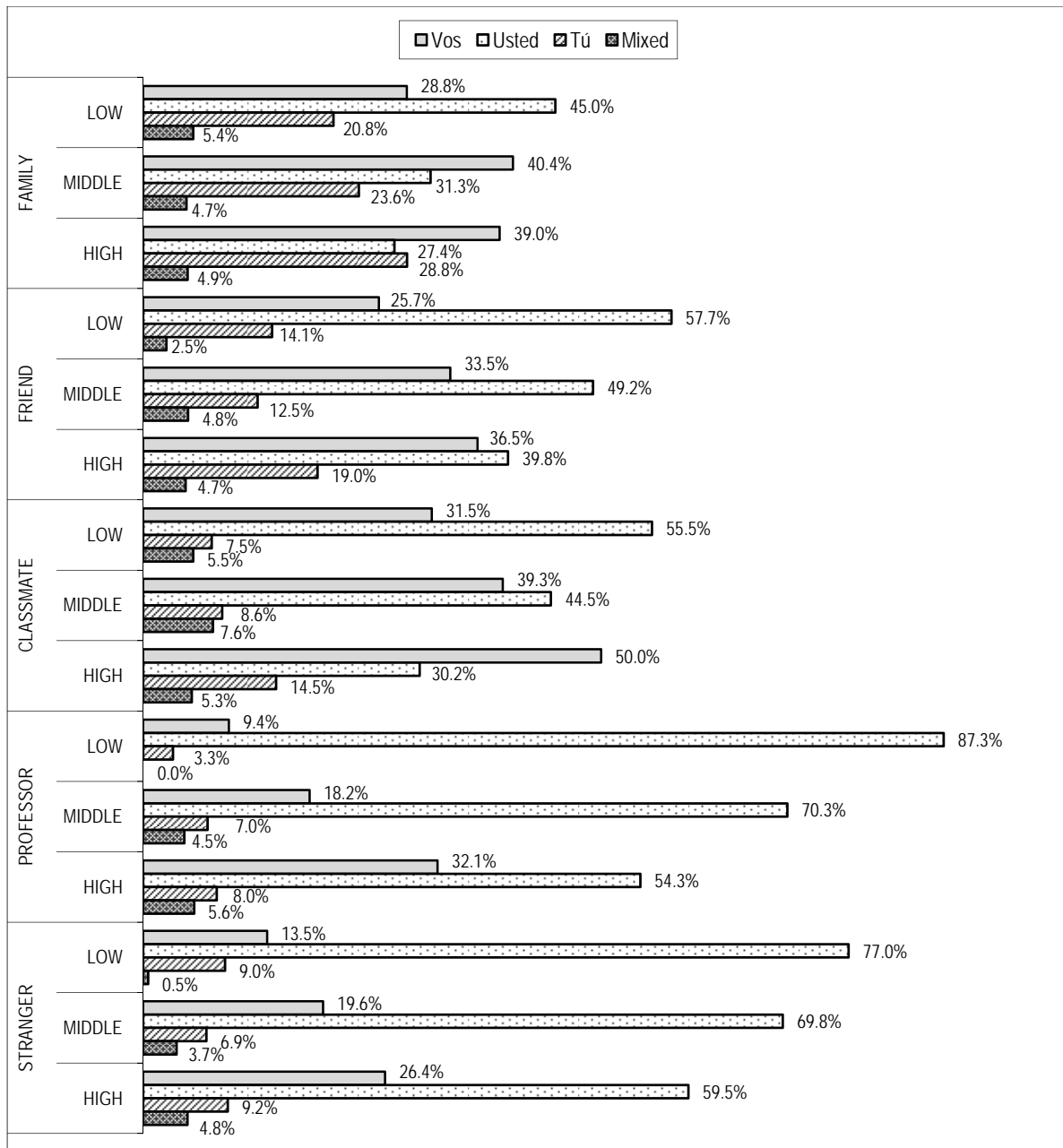


Figure 4.9. Distribution of Pronouns given by Relationship with the Interlocutor and by Social Class of Speaker⁴⁸

Findings within the variable of relationship with the interlocutor suggest that social class plays a role⁴⁹ in the selection of one pronoun over another as shown in

⁴⁸ See table D.9 in Appendix D.

figure 4.9. One general pattern found is in the reported use of *usted*. In interactions with family members, people from the low class indicated giving *usted* (45%) more often than *vos* (28.8%). Middle classes display the opposite trend: they give *vos* at a rate of 40.4% and *usted* at 31.3%. Likewise, the preferred form given by the upper class is *vos* (39%), but among this group, the second most common form of address is *tú* and not *usted* as it is among middle class (28.8% for *tú* and 27.4% for *vos*). This higher reported use of *tú* by upper classes agrees with what was previously said that this is a pronoun associated with the highest social levels. Another characteristic of the distributions of pronouns by social class within the family domain is that the *mixed-use* appears with almost the same frequency across the different social strata (around 5% for each).

Interactions with friends present two opposing groups. First, we have *vos* and *usted* with contrary patterns; in the case of the pronoun *vos*, as the social class of the speakers goes up, so does its use; whereas with the pronoun *usted* the trend is the opposite. It is also important to note here that in the lower class, *usted* is used more than twice as frequently as *vos* (57.7% vs. 25.7%), but in the upper class, even though *vos* predominates, the difference in percentages between these two pronouns is very small; *vos* is used 39.8% of the time and *usted* 36.5%. The second opposing group found when addressing friends is formed by *tú* and the *mixed-use*. Even though *tú* is much more frequent than the *mixed-use* in all social strata, results indicate that it is used the least by the middle class (12.5%) and the most by the upper and lower classes (19% and 14.1% respectively). The use of more than one pronoun to address the same interlocutor, on the other hand, follows the opposite trend; it is more commonly given by

⁴⁹ Family: $\chi^2(6) = 141.79, p < .001$ / Friends: $\chi^2(6) = 103.16, p < .001$ / Classmates: $\chi^2(6) = 37.045, p < .001$ / Professors: $\chi^2(6) = 141.04, p < .001$ / Strangers: $\chi^2(6) = 55.71, p < .001$

speakers from the middle class (4.8%) and less commonly by participants from higher and lower classes (4.7% and 2.6% respectively).

It is in interactions with classmates that we find the most difference among social strata. Similarly to what happens in conversations with friends, as the social class of the speaker goes up so does the frequency of use of *vos* (31.5% low, 39.3% middle, and 50% high class), while the percentages of *usted* decreases (55.5% low, 44.5% middle, and 30.2% upper class). One difference between interactions with friends and those with classmates is that in the former, *usted* is the predominating form of address across all social levels, whereas in the latter, *vos* is given by upper classes much more often than *usted*. Additionally, in the same way that the use of *vos* increases with social class, *tú* does it too. Participants from lower classes reported giving this pronoun 7.5% of the time, those from middle class, 8.6%, and upper classes, 14.5%. Regarding the *mixed-use*, it is more common among the middle class (7.6%). Lower and upper classes tend to give more than one pronoun with almost the same frequency (around 5% each).

Finally, the distribution of pronouns when addressing professors and strangers is very similar with some particularities. Both types of interactions are governed by the use of *usted*, especially among the lower classes, who give it to professors 87.3% of the time and to strangers 77%. Higher classes, on the other hand, give it to these interlocutors above 50% of the time. In interactions with professors, the uses of *vos*, *tú*, and the *mixed-use* increase with social class; whereas in interactions with strangers, *tú* behaves differently. In these situations, lower and upper classes give this pronoun to strangers almost with the same frequency (9%), and it is less commonly given by middle class (7%).

Concerning the forms expected from the interlocutor, results are very similar to those the participants indicated giving, with few differences, mainly in the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee. When addressing family members, informants from the lower class reported giving *mixed-use* the most; however, those from upper classes seem to expect it more often (6.1% vs. 4.7% and 3.1% by lower and middle classes respectively). If the interlocutor is a friend, the *mixed-use* is most commonly given by middle classes, but, once again, upper classes expect it in return more frequently (5.6% vs. 2.4% and 3.3% by lower and middle classes respectively). We found a very different situation in conversations with classmates. Middle class speakers give more than one pronoun to the same interlocutor the most but expect it the least (4.5% vs. 6.3% and 5.8% by lower and middle classes in that order). Another difference in interactions with classmates is that lower classes do not seem to use *tú* quite often compared to the other social levels, however, they expect it the most (13.9% vs. 9.1% and 12.7% by middle and upper classes respectively). Finally, the use of *tú* by lower class is also very low when the interlocutor is a professor (3.3%), but they expect teachers to address them with this pronoun quite often (8.1%). This could be related to the idea of *tú* as the pronoun used by “cultured” people.

To conclude, the relationship with the interlocutor as well as the sex of the speaker and his/her social class play a role in pronoun choice particularly when addressing family members and classmates; it is in those two types of interactions that we find the most variation in pronoun use reported. Finally, the pronouns *vos* and *usted* follow a different trend; the former increases with social class, while the latter decreases.

Nuclear Family

As it has been described above, the variable relationship with the interlocutor was examined considering five types of relationships. Following there is a further analysis of this variable focusing on the family domain, and more specifically on the nuclear family: grandparents, parents, and siblings. Results on the use of address forms by family member are illustrated in figure D.10 (see appendix D).

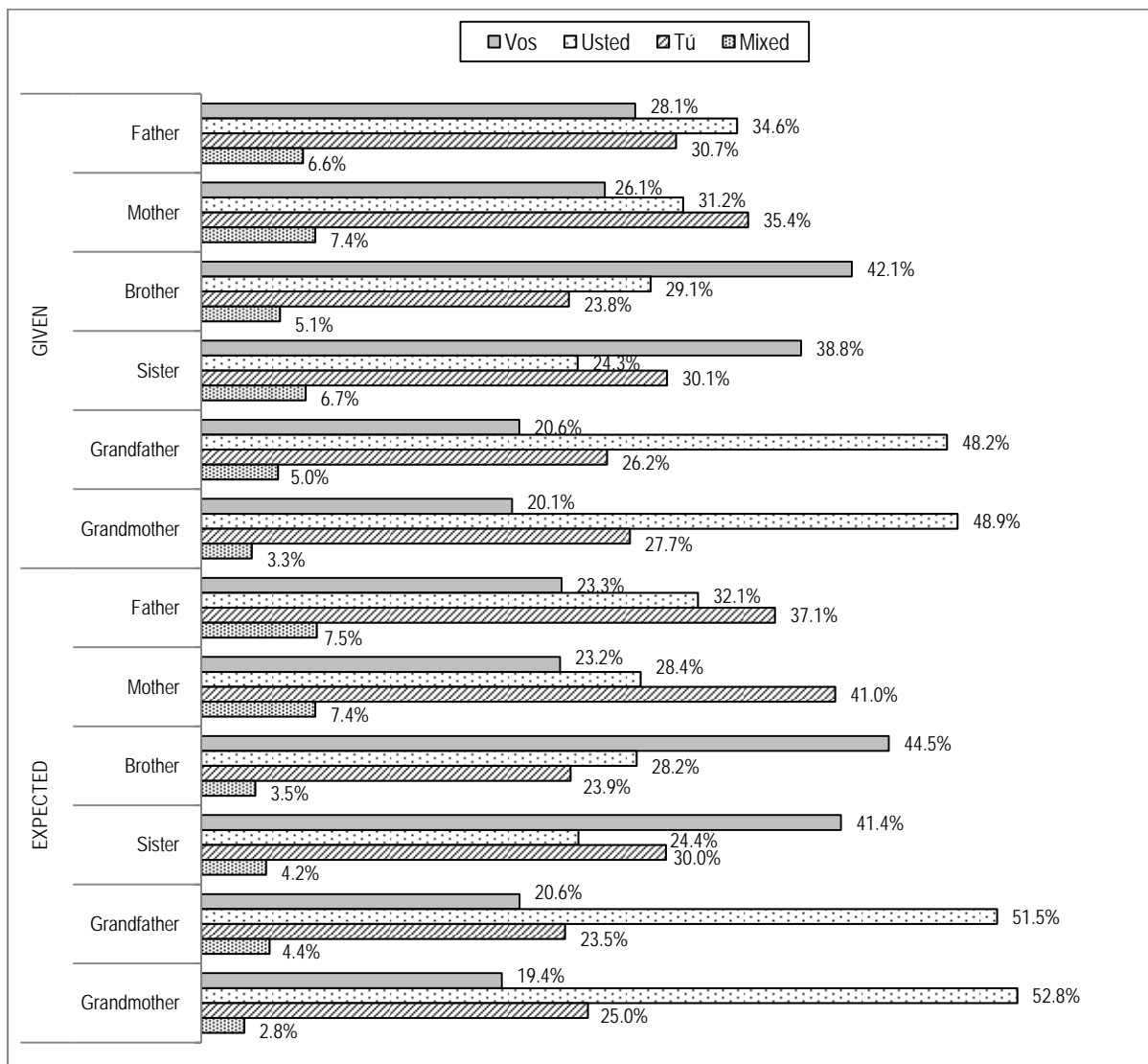


Figure 4.10. Pronoun Distribution by Nuclear Family⁵⁰

⁵⁰ See table D.10 in Appendix D.

Results indicate that there is a strong association between pronoun choice and the member of the nuclear family being addressed, $\chi^2(15) = 99.125, p < .001$. When interacting with their fathers, participants in the study indicated a preference for *usted* (34.6%), whereas in the case of their mothers, they reported a higher use of *tú*. A similar situation is observed in interactions with siblings. Even though the preferred form seems to be *vos* (42.1% for brothers and 38.8% for sisters), with sisters, there is a higher use of *tú* (30.1% vs. 23.8% with male siblings) and with brothers, *usted* is more frequent (29.1% vs. 24.3% with female siblings). Something worth noticing is the higher use of *tú* to address mothers and sisters. So far, findings from this study have shown that this pronoun is more frequently given by women; here we observed that it is used the most to address women as well.

Finally, conversations with grandparents display a similar pattern of pronominal distribution regardless of the sex of the interlocutor. When talking to grandfathers or grandmothers, participants indicated using *usted* the most, which is expected. What comes as a surprise is that *tú* comes in second place.

Regarding how participants expect to be addressed, the pronoun distribution is very similar to what they reported given, except when the interlocutor is a parent. Speakers expect both their father and mother to address them mostly with *tú* (37.1% fathers and 41% mothers). In the case of the father, *usted* comes close in second place (32.1%); whereas in the case of the mother, the gap between these two pronouns is bigger. This difference can be related to what I mentioned above about a higher use of *tú* by women.

Next data within the nuclear family is examined taking into consideration the sex and the social class of the speaker. Chi-square tests indicated that, for the most part, the sex of the speaker does not play a role in pronoun choice; therefore, data was regrouped into three categories: grandparents, parents, and siblings. First, results are reported based on the sex of the speaker.

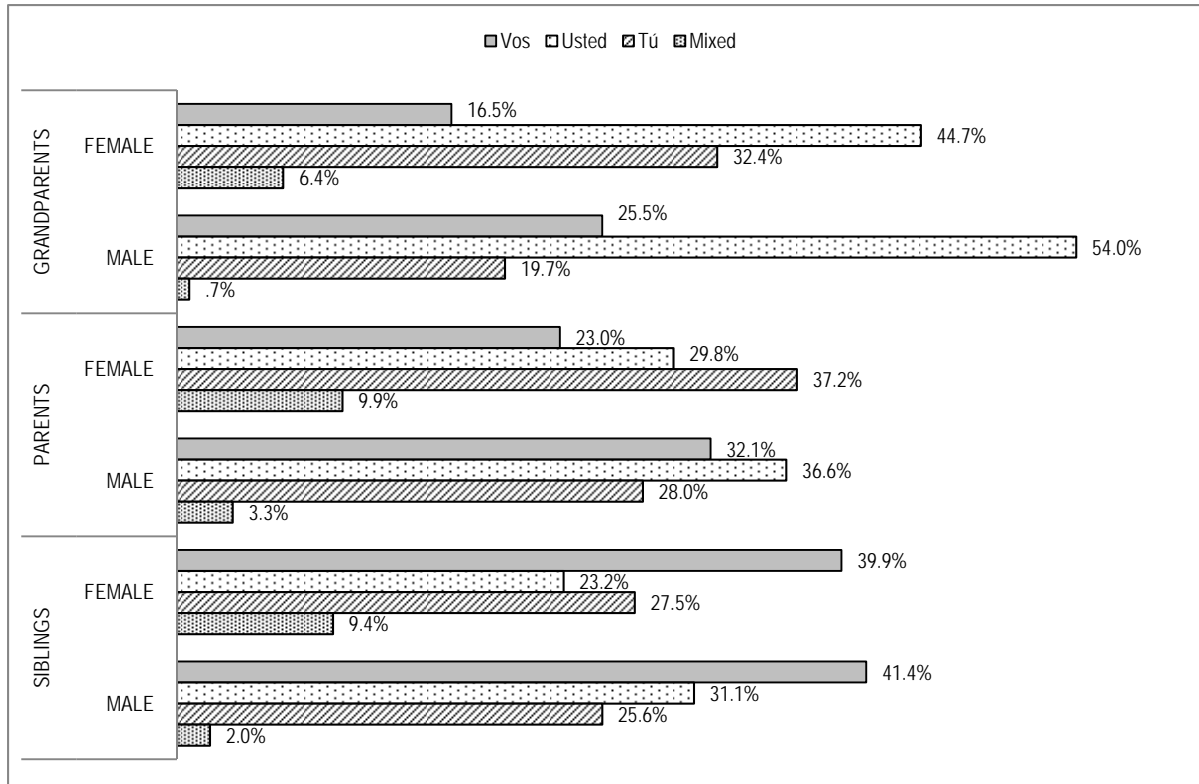


Figure 4.11. Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Sex of Speaker⁵¹

The analysis of the data reveals that there are not significant differences in pronominal choice based on the sex of the speaker when the interlocutor is a grandparent, $\chi^2(3) = 15.703, p=.001$. However, there are some dissimilarities worth noticing; particularly, the use of the pronouns *tú* and *vos*. Among females, *tú* is the second most frequently reported pronoun when addressing grandparents, while males

⁵¹ See table D.11 in Appendix D.

indicated a preference for *vos* in second place. Another form of address that predominates in women is the *mixed-use*. Concerning *usted*, even though, this is the most frequent form regardless of the sex of the speaker, it is given by men much more often than by women.

Moving to interactions with parents, there is a strong association between pronoun selection and the sex of the speaker, $\chi^2(3) = 30.480, p < .001$. Female participants in the study reported addressing their parents with *tú* most of the time (37.2%); while males showed a preference for *usted* (36.6%). Similarly, women are three times more prone to use more than one pronoun in the same discourse when interacting with parents than men, who, on the other hand, indicated a higher use of *vos* (32.1% vs. 23% by women). In addition, when the interlocutor is a sibling, both men and women prefer the use of *vos* above all other forms. Similarly as with parents, male speakers would address siblings with *usted* more often than with *tú* (31.1% and 25.6% correspondingly). The opposite trend is true for females, who chose *tú* over *usted* (27.5% and 23.2% in that order). Concerning the *mixed-use*, once again it is reported by females more frequently than by males, over four times more often.

Pertaining to the forms speakers expect to receive, findings show reciprocal relationships for the most part. The main discrepancies were observed in interactions with parents and siblings. In the first kind of interactions, male participants indicated addressing their parents with *usted* the most, but they expect to receive mainly *tú*. With siblings, female informants reported giving *tú* in second place, but they expect their siblings to address them with *usted* more often than with *tú*; whereas, when the speaker

is a man, the pattern is the opposite: the second most frequent pronoun given is *usted*, but the second most expected is *tú*.

In the following section, results within the nuclear family by social class of the speaker are discussed.

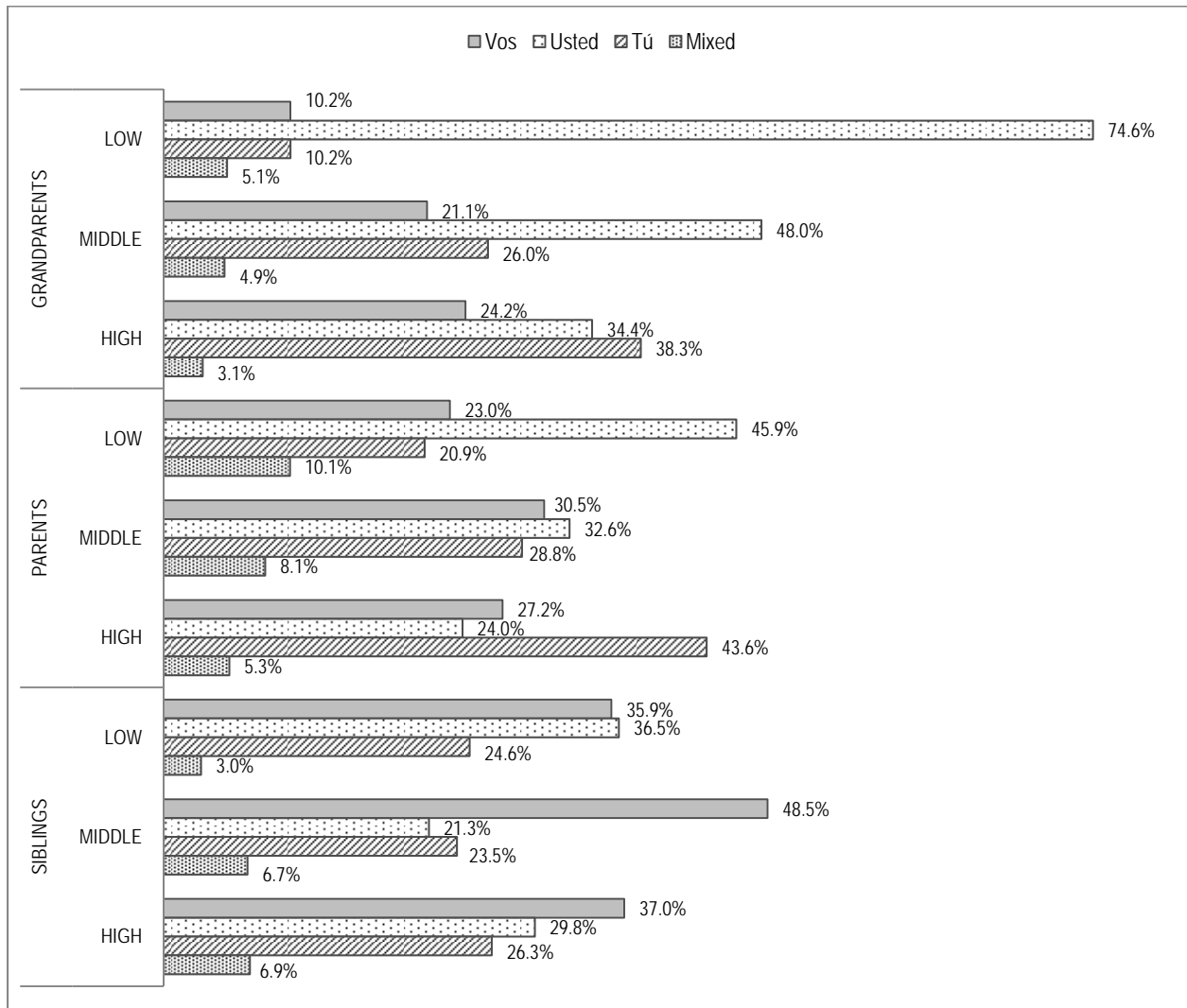


Figure 4.12. Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Social Class of Speaker⁵²

As shown in figure 4.12, social class plays a significant role when addressing grandparents, $\chi^2(6) = 30.041, p < .001$. Participants from lower class indicated a strong

⁵² See table D.12 in Appendix D.

preference for the use of *usted*; whereas, upper class speakers reported a higher use of *tú*, closely followed by *usted*. This same trend is evident in interactions with parents, whose value of the chi-square statistic is also significant ($p < .001$). However, as expected, the frequency in the use of *usted* is much higher when the interlocutor is a grandparent, particularly by the lower social level. 75% of the time a speaker from this social group address his/her grandparents, s/he would use *usted*; while the frequency of this pronoun goes down to 45% if the addressee is a parent. On the other hand, the use of *tú* is higher with parents than with grandparents. This result does not come as a surprise because, as we will see later in this investigation, *usted* is the preferred form to address older people.

In addition, it is important to note that in interactions with grandparents, all pronouns studied are socially marked; that is, the frequency of address forms increases or decreases with social class. For example, as the social level of the speaker increases so does the use of *tú* and *vos*. A similar pattern is observed in interactions with parents, except for the pronoun *vos*, whose use by middle class speakers is higher than that by those in the lower or upper classes. Another particularity notice when addressing parents is that speakers reported giving *vos* more often than *usted* (27.2% and 24% correspondingly).

Lastly, results seems to suggest that social class does not condition pronoun choice when the interlocutor is a sibling, $\chi^2(6) = 21.757, p = .001$; nevertheless, there are some differences worth mentioning. First of all, there appear to be two competing forms in the lower class: participants reported using *usted* and *vos* with almost the same frequency (around 36% of the time). In the middle class, on the contrary, *vos* is the

predominating form of address. In fact, siblings are addressed with this pronoun more than twice as frequently as the other forms. In the upper social level, participant also indicated a preference for *vos*, but its frequency of use is not as far from the other pronouns as it is in the middle class. Finally, I would like to mention that the *mixed-use* displays an opposite pattern when compared to its use in interactions with parents and grandparents. When the interlocutor is a sibling, the use of more than one form with the same addressee tends to increase as the social class of the speaker goes up, instead of decreasing.

Concerning how participants expect to be addressed. In general, the distribution of the pronouns is very similar with some exceptions. In interactions with grandparents, participants from the upper class indicated a preference for *tú*; however, they expect to receive *usted* slightly more often than *tú* (36.7% vs. 35.8% correspondingly). Also, in the same type of interaction, the use of more than one pronoun in the same discourse decreases as the social class of the speaker increases, yet, they expect *mixed-use* from the lower class as often as from the upper social level.

To conclude, in interactions within the nuclear family, the relationship with the interlocutor comes first than his or her sex when selecting an address form. Grandparents are mainly addressed with *usted* and siblings with *vos*. Parents on the other hand, are addressed by their daughters mostly with *tú* and by their sons with *usted*. But males as well as female expect their parents to address them with *tú*. In addition, the social class of the speaker also plays a role as the use of one pronoun over another is socially marked.

4.4. GENERATION

For the analysis of this variable, the data was classified into three groups depending whether the interlocutor was (1) younger than the speaker, (2) of the same age of the speaker, or (3) older than the speaker. Overall results are included in table D.13 (see appendix D) and illustrated in figure 4.13.

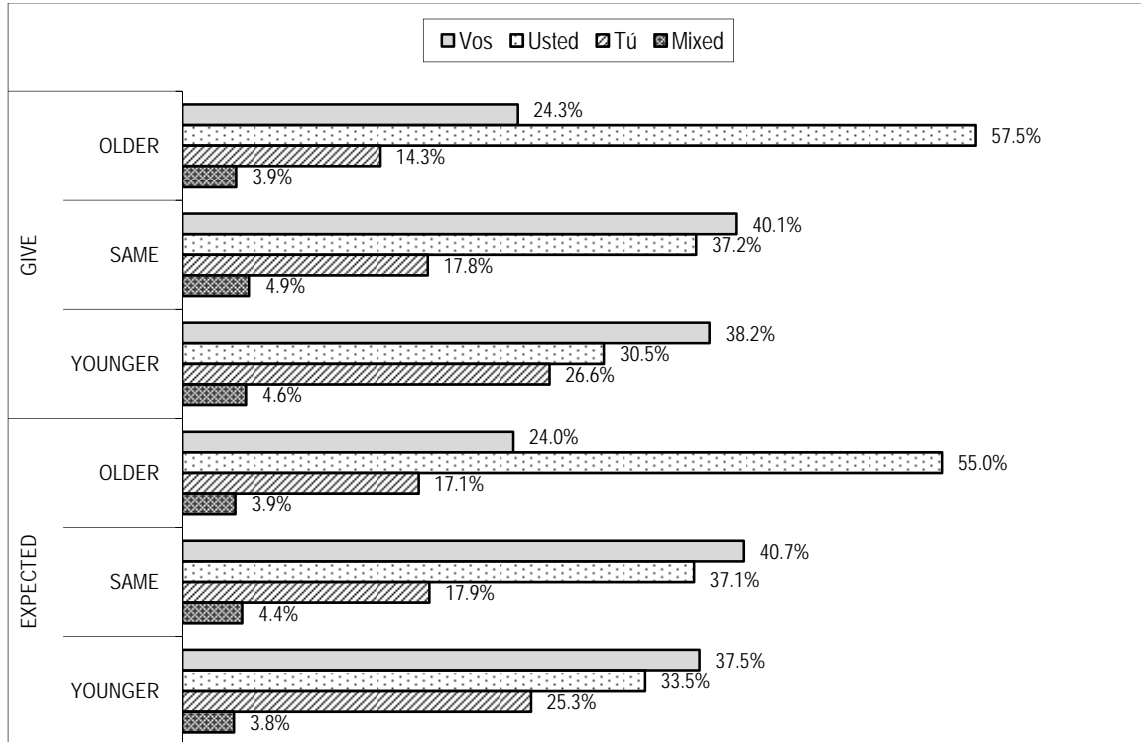


Figure 4.13. Pronoun Distribution by Generation⁵³

The analysis of the data reveals significant differences, $\chi^2(6) = 1031.12, p < .001$, in pronominal choice based on the generation of the interlocutor with respect to that of the speaker, mainly when the hearer belongs to an older generation. In these interactions, the most common form of address is *usted* (57.5%); and as the interlocutor gets younger, the use of this form decreases almost by half; it is used 30.5% of the time

⁵³ See table D.13 in Appendix D.

to address younger people. The pronoun *tú*, on the contrary, increases with younger generations. It is used to address them 26.6% of the time; while it is given to older people almost half as frequently (14.3%). Similar results were found by Charles de Cerda in his study in El Valle del Río Grande. His data showed that *usted* was preferred for addressing older people and *tú* was the preferred pronoun when talking to a colleague (i.e. same generation) (1997:158).

When addressing a member of the younger generation, the most frequent form is *vos* (38.2%). This is also the most common pronoun between interactants from the same generation (40.1%), closely followed in second place by *usted* (37.2%). Another similarity in pronominal use between younger and the same generations, is the use of more than one form in the same context. In both situations the *mixed-use* is given almost 5% of the time.

Regarding how speakers expect to be addressed, results do not show main differences in the distribution of the forms expected compared to those given. In the following section, there is a closer examination of the variable generation, taking into consideration the sex and social class of the speaker.

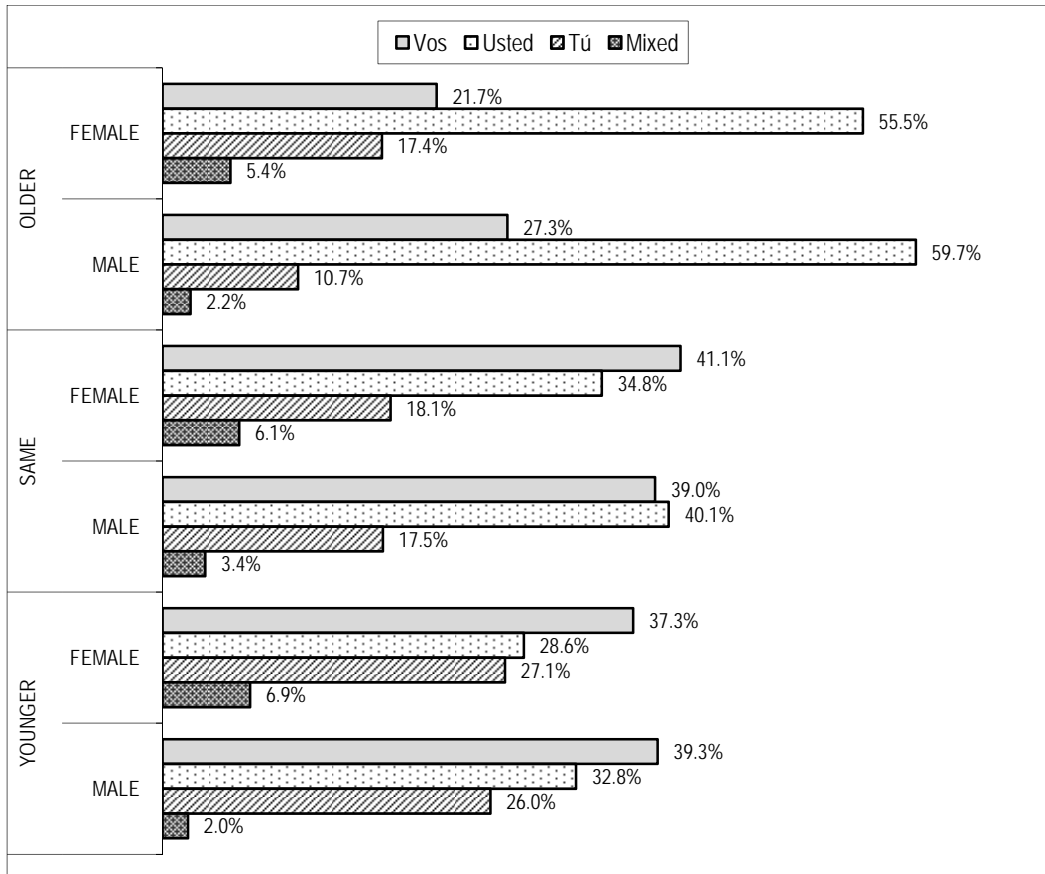


Figure 4.14. Distribution of Pronouns given by Generation and by Sex of Speaker⁵⁴

As illustrated in figure 4.14, overall results suggest that the sex of the speaker play a role in pronominal choice⁵⁵. When addressing older interlocutors, informants from both sexes reported using *usted* above all other forms, especially males, who give this pronoun 59.7% of the time versus 55.5% by females. Similarly, *vos* seems to be more predominant in men than in women (27.3 versus 21.7% correspondingly). The opposite trend is observed with the reported use of *tú*. As expected, females tend to give this form more often than males (17.4% vs. 10.7%). Regarding the mixed-use, women

⁵⁴ See table D.14 in Appendix D.

⁵⁵ Older interlocutors: $\chi^2(3) = 264.140, p < .001$ / Same generation: $\chi^2(3) = 76.21, p < .001$ / Younger interlocutors: $\chi^2(3) = 13.45, p < .001$

reported giving more than one form to the same addressee in the same context twice, and sometimes even three times, more often than men across all generations.

Speaking about interactions between people from the same generation, the main difference based on the sex of the speaker is related to the use of *vos* and *usted*. Females indicated a preference for *vos* to address interlocutors from their same generation (41.1%). They also stated giving *usted* but with a relatively lower frequency (34.8%). Males, on the other hand, give both of these forms almost as frequently (40.1% *usted*, 39% *vos*). As for the pronoun *tú*, both men and women reported a very similar frequency in its use (18.1% by males and 17.5% by females).

When the addressee is younger than the speaker, the differences in pronominal choice between men and women are not as big as with the other generations. *Vos* and *usted* were mostly reported by males (39.3% vs. 37.3% by females for *vos* and 32.8% vs. 28.6% correspondingly for *usted*). Similar to interaction within the same generation, *tú* was reported slightly more frequently by women (27.1%) than by men (26%).

Concerning the forms individuals expect to receive from younger generations, we find a couple of differences when compared to the forms they give. First, females seem to give *usted* less often than males (28.6% and 32.8% respectively) but expect it a little bit more often (34% by females and 33% by males). The opposite situation is observed with *tú*; women give it somewhat more often than men (27.1% and 26% correspondingly) but expected it less (23.4% by women and 27.4% by men). In interactions with interlocutors from the same or older generations, speakers expect to be addressed very similarly to the way they address their hearer. Next, results by generation and by social class of the speaker are presented.

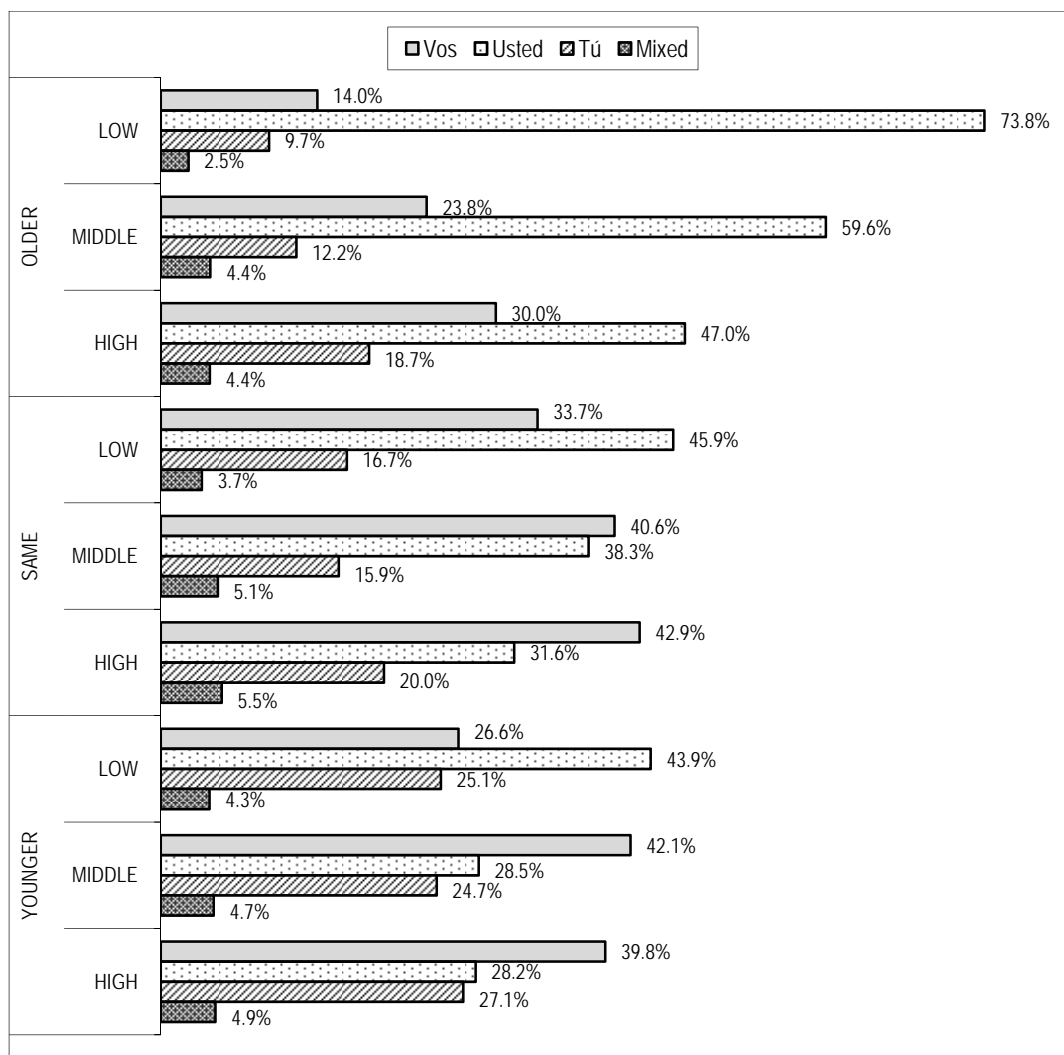


Figure 4.15. Distribution of Pronouns given by Generation and by Social Class of Speaker⁵⁶

A detailed analysis of the data by generation and by social class of the speaker reveals significant differences⁵⁷ in pronominal choice, and relevance of both factors. When addressing younger interlocutors, speakers from the lower class show a preference for *usted* (43.9%); whereas middle and upper classes tend to prefer *vos* (42.1% and 39.8% respectively). Moreover, the lower class gives *tú* almost as

⁵⁶ See table D.15 in Appendix D.

⁵⁷ Older generation: $\chi^2(6) = 332.8798, p < .001$ / Same generation: $\chi^2(6) = 93.76, p < .001$ / Younger generation: $\chi^2(6) = 44.02, p < .001$

frequently as *vos* (25.1% and 26.6% correspondingly), while the upper class gives *tú* almost as frequently as *usted* (27.1% and 28.2% in that order).

Interactions among people from the same generation show some similarities to those where the speaker is younger. The preferred form given by the lower class is *usted* (45.9%), followed by *vos* (33.7%); while in the upper classes the distribution of these pronouns is the opposite, *vos* is the predominating form (42.9%) and *usted* comes in second place (31.6%). The situation in the middle class is slightly different as they use both of these pronouns somewhat similarly; they give *vos* 40.6% of the time and *usted* 38.3%. Regarding the pronoun *tú*, it is given by the middle class almost as frequently as by lower classes (around 16%), and, as expected, it is more commonly used by upper classes (20%). However, in general, the frequency of *tú* when addressing individuals of the same generations is lower than when the interlocutor is younger than the speaker.

Interactions with older interlocutors show a clear distinction in pronominal use. *Usted* is the dominating reported form of address, especially by lower classes (73.8%), and as the social class of the speaker increases, the frequency of this pronoun decreases. Upper class indicated addressing its interlocutor with this form 47% of the time. *Vos*, on the other hand, is more popular among speakers from the highest social strata (33.7%), and its reported use decreases with social class; it is used by the lower class less than half as frequently (14%). *Tú*, as has already been mentioned, follows a similar trend. Its reported use by the lower class is 9.7% and by the upper class is almost double (18.7%). Finally, the use of more than one form to address the same

person in the same discourse does not seem to be affected as much when looking at generation by social class of the speaker.

Concerning the forms the speakers expect to receive, results show some differences compared to the forms they reported giving. Within the same generation, individuals from lower and middle classes indicated giving *tú* with similar frequencies and less often than upper classes; however, speakers from the lower social level expect it the most (19.7% vs. 16.2% by middle and 18.8% by high classes). When addressing older interlocutors, on the other hand, lower classes stated giving *tú* less often than the middle class, but they both expect it with nearly the same frequency (about 15%).

Another difference between the forms given and the forms expected is found in the use of *vos* in conversations with younger interlocutors: upper classes give this pronoun less often than the middle class (39.8% and 42.1% respectively) but expects it the most (41.6% upper and 39.2% middle classes). Similarly, in the same type of interactions, middle and high classes reported giving *usted* with the same frequency (28%), but the middle class expects it more recurrently than the highest social levels (34.8% vs. 25.1% middle class).

In sum, generation influences the selection of a pronoun over another, particularly when the addressee is older than the speaker. The gender of the speaker in combination with generation plays a role in pronominal choice; for instance, among people from the same generation, women prefer to address their interlocutor with *vos*, while men tend to use *usted* more. Similarly, results by social class show significant differences. Middle and upper social levels show a tendency for the pronoun *vos* when

their interlocutor is younger or from the same generation, *usted* is the preferred form in all other situations, especially to address older people.

The following section examines data by the variable sex of the interlocutor and the role it plays in pronoun choice.

4.5. SEX OF THE INTERLOCUTOR

The variable sex of the interlocutor was analyzed taking into consideration whether the speaker and the hearer are both (1) the same or (2) different sex. Figure 4.16a illustrates the overall distribution of the data by this variable.

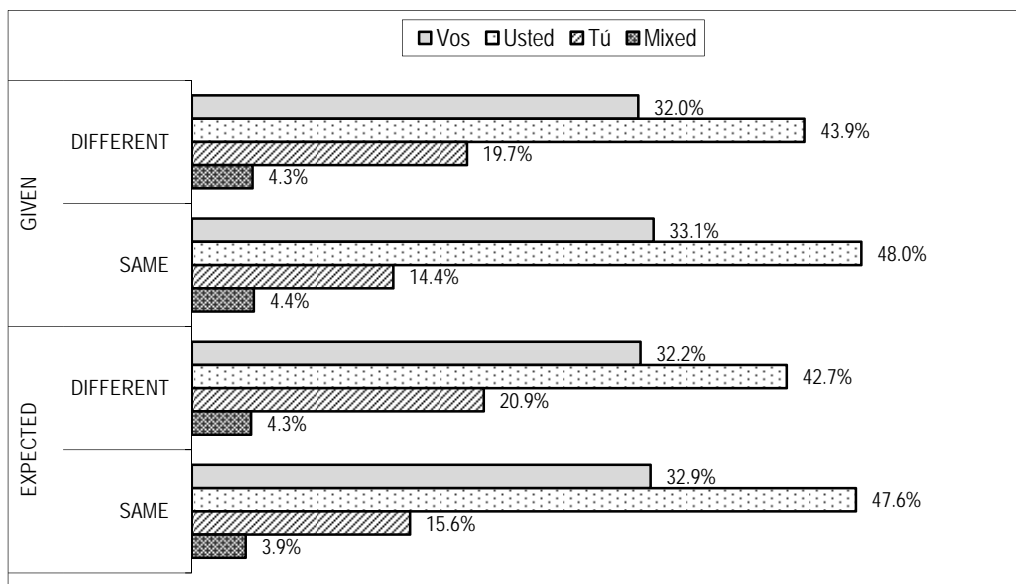


Figure 4.16a. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of Interlocutor⁵⁸

As shown in figure 4.16a, the pattern of use of pronominal address is very similar; however, there are significant differences ($\chi^2(3) = 96.98, p < .001$) based on whether the hearer is the same sex of the speaker or not; particularly in the use of the

⁵⁸ See table D.16 in Appendix D.

pronoun *tú* and the forms expected from the interlocutor. These differences are more evident when we look at the distribution of the variable sex of the interlocutor by each of the address forms, as illustrated in figure 4.16b.

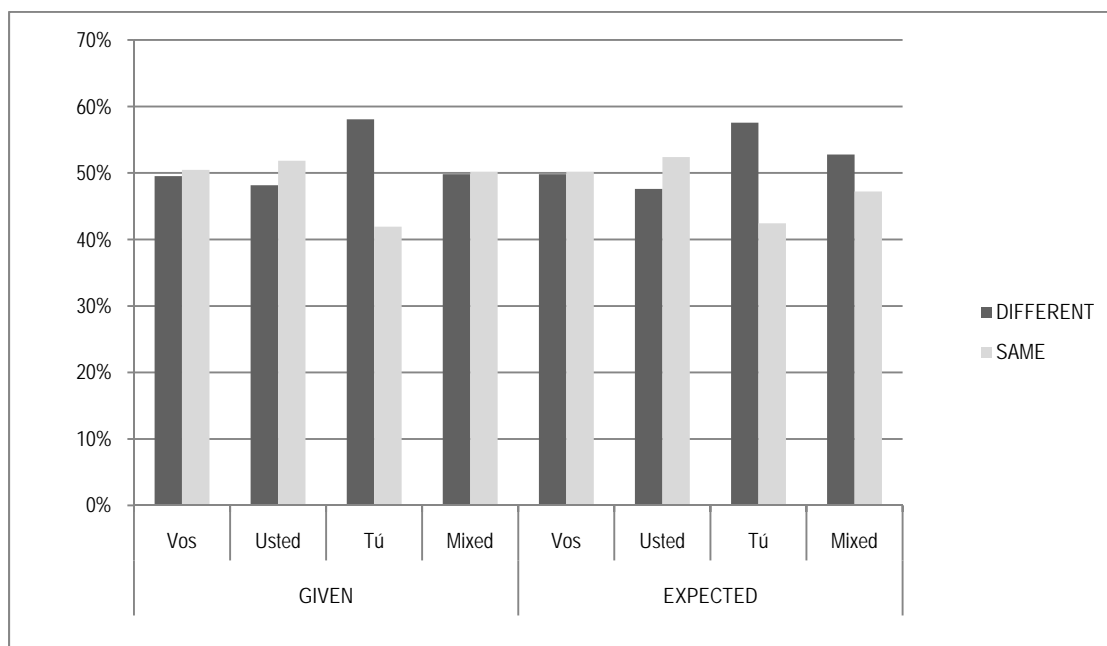


Figure 4.16b. Distribution of Sex of Interlocutor by Address Form

This figure clearly shows that speakers give and expect *tú* mostly when the interlocutor is of different sex; in these cases, participants reported giving it 58.1% of the time and expecting it 57.6% vs. 41.9% given to and 42.4% expected from somebody of the same sex than the speaker. The fact that *tú* is more predominant when addressing a person of a different sex of the speaker could be explained by what other researchers have suggested (Jang, 2005:158 for Medellin; Paez Urdaneta 1981: 83, 91 for Costa Rica and Maracaibo, Venezuela) that *tú* is used to flirt or to imply affective feelings between men and women. Furthermore, since *tú* is regarded by many speakers as a 'feminine' pronoun, most male informants interviewed in this study described this

pronoun as “suave”[soft], “más delicado”[more delicate], and therefore, more appropriate in the speech of women or to address a woman.

The sex of the interlocutor also influences the use of *usted* to some degree, but the difference is not as marked as with *tú*. In interactions with people of the same sex, participants indicated giving and expecting *usted* approximately 52% of the time versus 48% given and expected from individuals of their opposite sex.

Concerning the *mixed-use*, it is given to interlocutors of different sex as frequently as to those of the same sex of the speaker; however, it is expected from people of different sex more often (52.8% vs. 47.2% from same). Finally, the pronoun *vos* appears to be appropriate with any interlocutor, no matter his/her gender, not only given but also expected.

Below I present a closer examination of the variable sex of the interlocutor, taking into consideration the sex of the speaker.

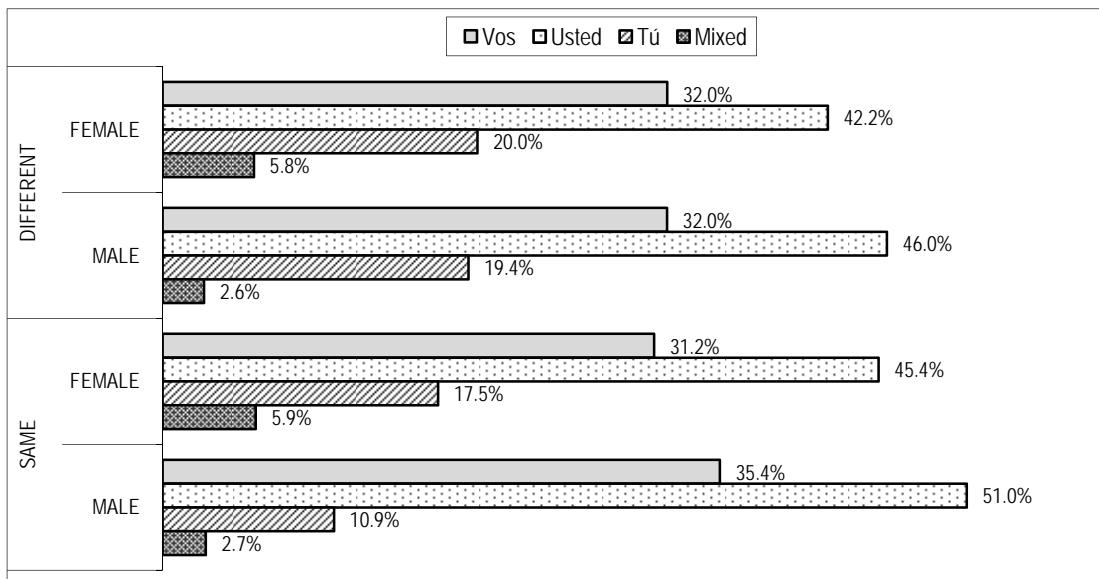


Figure 4.17. Distribution of Pronouns given by Sex of Interlocutor and by Sex of Speaker⁵⁹

⁵⁹ See table D.17 in Appendix D.

As illustrated in figure 4.17, pronominal use (both given and expected) is related more to whether the speaker and the interlocutor are of the same or different sex and not so much to the sex of the speaker alone. The main difference found is in the use of *tú*. Although it is quite clear that this pronoun is mainly used when the interlocutor is of the opposite sex, regardless of the sex of the speaker, it is more common between two women than between two men (17.5% vs. 10.9% respectively). This result seems to confirm Jang's statement that "el *tú* no se usa tanto entre hombres como entre hombre y mujer o entre mujeres; a saber, el *tú* puede asociarse con un matiz feminizante" [*tú* is not used between men as often as between a man and a woman or between two women; that is to say, *tú* could be associated with a feminine nuance] (66). Regarding the last part where he says that *tú* has feminine connotations, one of the respondents in my interviews stated that "es que el *tú* suena muy femenino [...] El *tú* es como muy suave" [*Tú* sounds very feminine. *Tú* sounds like very soft].⁶⁰ Additionally, when participants were asked for their opinion about two young men friends addressing each other with *tú*, most of the respondents said "qué son pareja!!" [that they were a couple],⁶¹ unless they belong to the highest social level where they regard the use of this pronoun between two men as "normal que se traten así" [it is normal to address each other in that way].⁶² In the following, I present the results on the variable sex of the interlocutor by social class of the speaker.

⁶⁰ Female respondent from UdeA, track 2.

⁶¹ Male respondents from UdeA, track 3

⁶² Male respondent from UdeA, track 1.

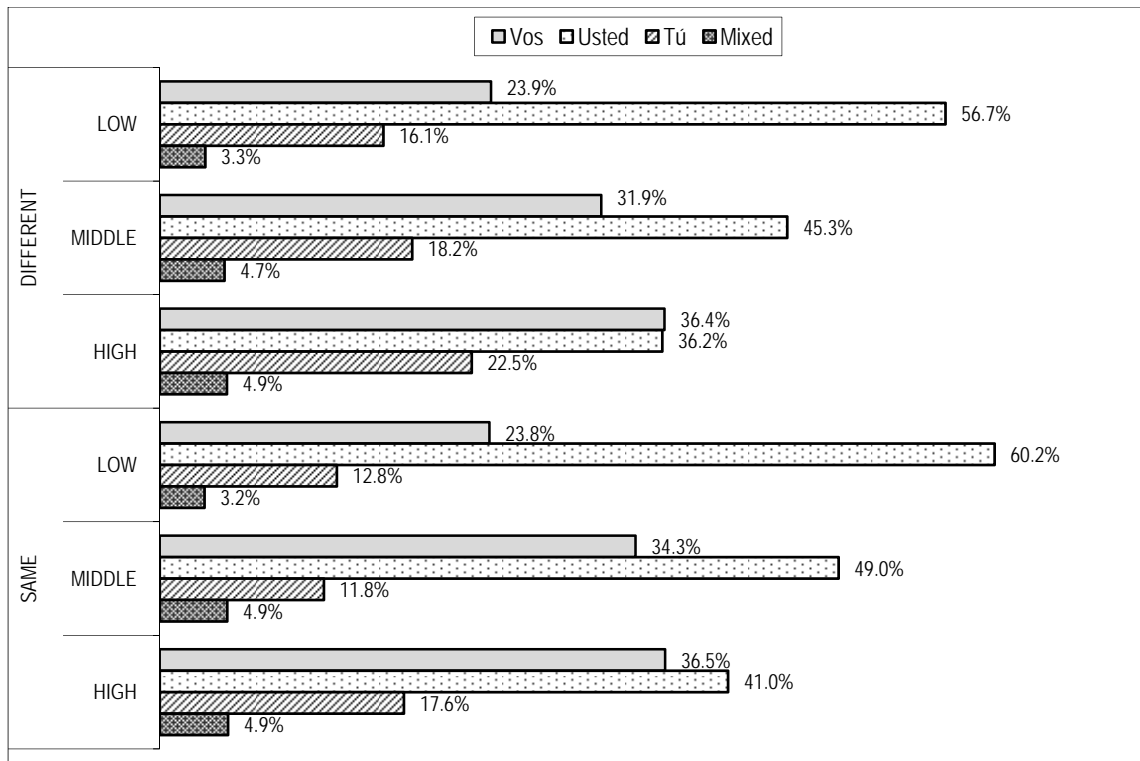


Figure 4.18. Distribution of Pronouns given by Sex of Interlocutor and by Social Class of Speaker⁶³

Data by sex of the interlocutor and by social class of the speaker show that the differences in pronominal use are more related to the social class of the speaker than to the sex of the interlocutor, as is evident when comparing the distribution and frequency of pronouns by this variable to the overall distribution by social class of the speaker alone.

One difference we encounter is in the reported use of the pronoun *tú* which, as expected, predominates in interactions between two people of different sex, and it is particularly given by individuals from the highest social status (22.5% upper, 18.2% middle, and 16.1% lower classes). However, the middle class displays the biggest difference in the frequency of this pronoun depending on whether the interactants are of

⁶³ See table D.18 in Appendix D.

same or different sex. They give this form to interlocutors of different sex 18.2% of the time, and to those of the same sex 11.8% of the time. Another difference is the use of *usted* by individuals from the upper class. When interacting with people from their opposite sex, they would address them with either *vos* or *usted* (36%); however, when the interlocutor is of the same sex, they give *usted* (41%) more often than *vos* (36.5%). This is not observed in the other social classes, who tend to use *usted* more often than *vos*, regardless of the sex of their hearer

As for the forms they anticipate to receive, in general speakers expect their interlocutor to address them in the same way they address their hearers. One difference found is in interactions with interlocutors of different sex, where the middle class tends to give *tú* more often than the lower class (18.2% vs. 16.1% respectively), but both social levels expect it with the same frequency (20%).

In sum, the variable sex of the interlocutor is relevant to pronoun choice mainly for the use of *tú*, which seems to be more appropriate in interactions between individuals of different sex. The next variable deals with the topic of the discourse and whether or not it conditions pronominal choice.

4.6. TOPIC OF DISCOURSE

For the purpose of data analysis, the topic of conversation has been divided into two groups: (1) private (i.e. private matters) and (2) non private. Data on overall pronoun distribution by topic of discourse are included in table D.19 (see appendix D) and illustrated in figure 4.19.

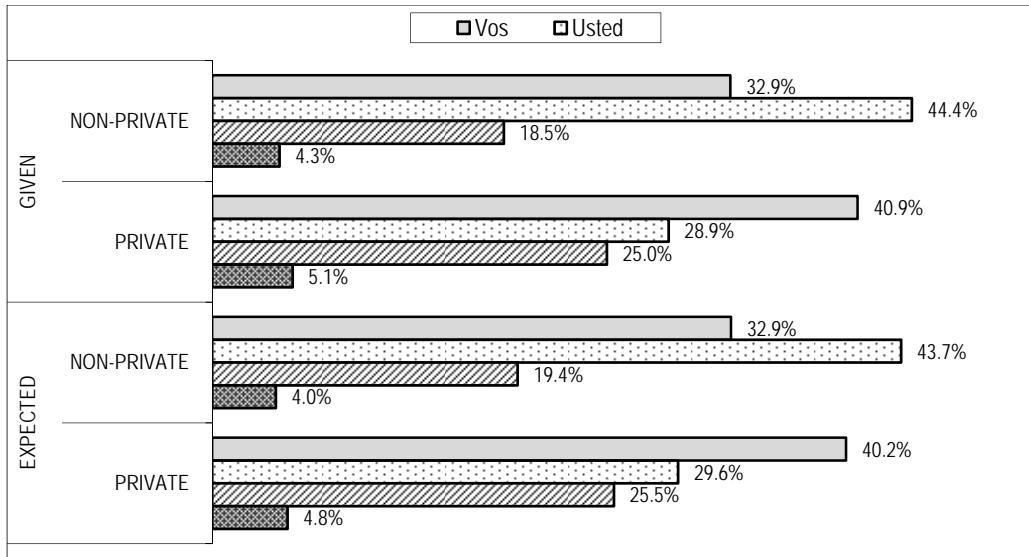


Figure 4.19. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse⁶⁴

Results show significant differences in pronominal use based on the topic of the discourse, $\chi^2(3) = 189.81, p < .001$. When talking about non private issues, informants indicated using *usted* above all other forms of address (about 44% both given and expected); whereas for private topics, the preferred form of address reported was *vos* (33% given and expected). The fact that *usted* predominates in non-private topics can be related to how speakers approach the topic. Non-private or public topics can be seen as distant from the speaker and therefore, a pronoun like *usted* that signals distance would be expected. On the other hand, private topics are closer to the speaker, more intimate, and in these cases a more “solidary” pronoun, such as *vos*, would be more appropriate. Similarly, the use of *tú* is more likely to take place when talking about personal issues or topics that the speaker regards as private. *Tú* is given and expected in private topics 25% of the time versus 18.5% in non-private topics. Similarly, the

⁶⁴ See table D.19 in Appendix D.

mixed-use is higher when the conversation deals with private issues than with non private; however, the difference is small (5.1% vs.4.3% correspondingly).

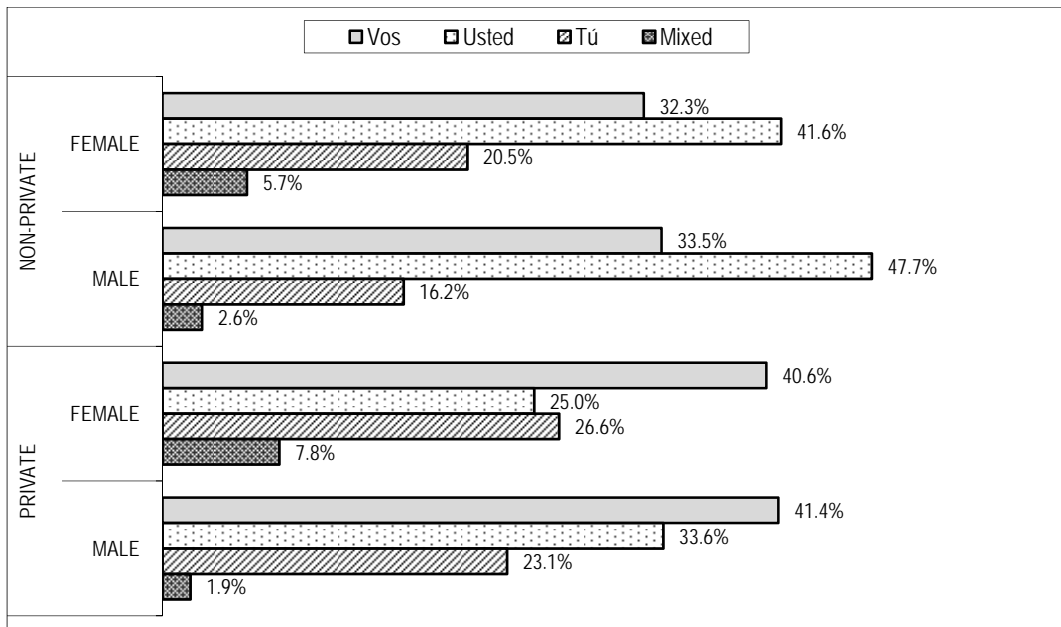


Figure 4.20. Distribution of Pronouns given by Topic of Discourse and by Sex of Speaker⁶⁵

A close analysis of the variable topic of discourse by sex of the speaker shows some differences in pronominal choice, particularly when talking about private issues. On one hand, female informants reported giving *usted* less frequently than *tú* (26.6% vs. 25% for *usted*). Men, on the other hand, reported the opposite trend (33.6% and 23.1% respectively). These results do not come as a surprise, especially the higher use of *tú* by women. As it has repeatedly been said in this study, the pronoun *tú* has been described as feminine and intimate; therefore, a woman talking about their private issues seems as a suitable environment for the use of *tú*. Finally, the *mixed-use* was also reported more frequently in the speech of women than in men. It was reported by female speakers about four times more often than males.

⁶⁵ See table D.20 in Appendix D.

Regarding the form of address expected from the interlocutor, results show a very similar pattern to that of the distribution of the pronouns given. Below, data are analyzed by topic of discourse and by social class of the speaker.

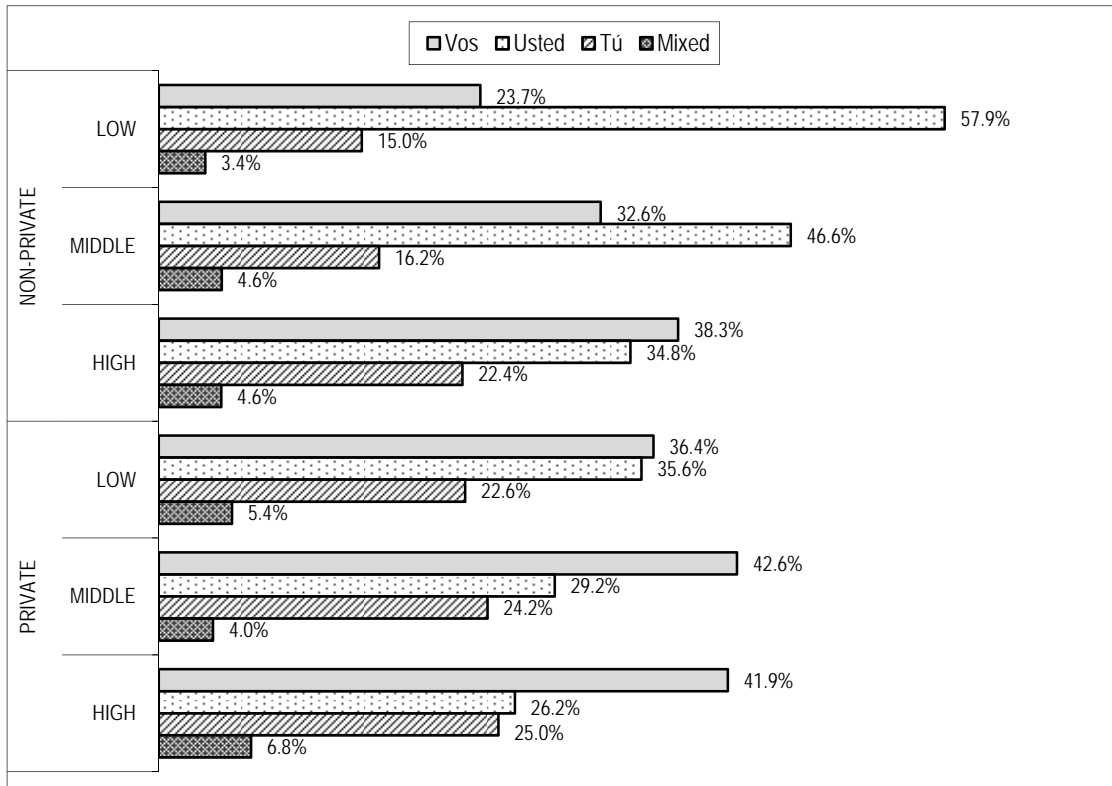


Figure 4.21. Distribution of Pronouns given by Topic of Discourse and by Social Class of Speaker⁶⁶

As figure 4.21 shows, there are significant differences in pronominal choice based on the topic of the conversation and the social class of the speaker⁶⁷. In non-private topics, while people from the lower class reported giving and expecting *usted* more than twice as often as *vos*, which is the second most common form of address in this type of interaction; the percentages of use of these two forms by speakers from the higher class is relatively close. Participants reported giving and expecting *usted* around

⁶⁶ See table D.21 in Appendix D.

⁶⁷ Non private topics: $\chi^2(3) = 408.65, p < .001$ / Private topics: $\chi^2(3) = 55.79, p < .001$

34% of the time and *vos* 38%. Another difference found when talking about public issues is the use of *tú*. As expected, it is used by the highest social levels more often (22.4%) than by middle and lower classes, who use it with almost the same frequency (16.2% and 15% correspondingly). A somewhat similar trend is followed by the forms expected, informants from the upper class expect *tú* 21.6% of the time, and those from middle and lower classes expect it 17.8% and 19% of the time in that order. Regarding the *mixed-use*, it is given more often and with the same frequency by middle and upper classes (4.6% vs. 3.4% by lower class); however, the highest social level expects it almost twice as often than the other two social strata (5.8% vs. 3% by middle and lower classes).

On the other hand, for private topics, middle and high classes tend to behave similarly. Speakers from both of these social strata frequently use *vos* in this context (about 42%); whereas those from the low class give *vos* as frequently as *usted* (36%). Concerning the pronoun they expect to receive from their interlocutor, people from all social levels expect to be addressed mostly with *vos* (42.7% upper and about 39% middle and lower classes). As for the pronoun *tú*, it does not seem to be influenced by the social class of the speaker as it is given and expected by speakers with somewhat similar frequencies regardless of their social status.

To conclude, it can be said that the topic of the discourse plays a role in the selection of one pronoun over another. The preferred form of address reported when talking about private matters is *vos* and for non-private issues is *usted*. Additionally, social factors such as the sex and social class of the speaker also influence pronoun choice. The next and final variable analyzed in the current study is emotional closeness.

4.7. EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS

Emotional closeness refers to the feelings of the speaker toward the interlocutor; that is (1) negative (anger, frustration, etc.) or (2) positive (or neutral) feelings. Overall results are included in table D.22 (see appendix D) and illustrated in figure 4.22.

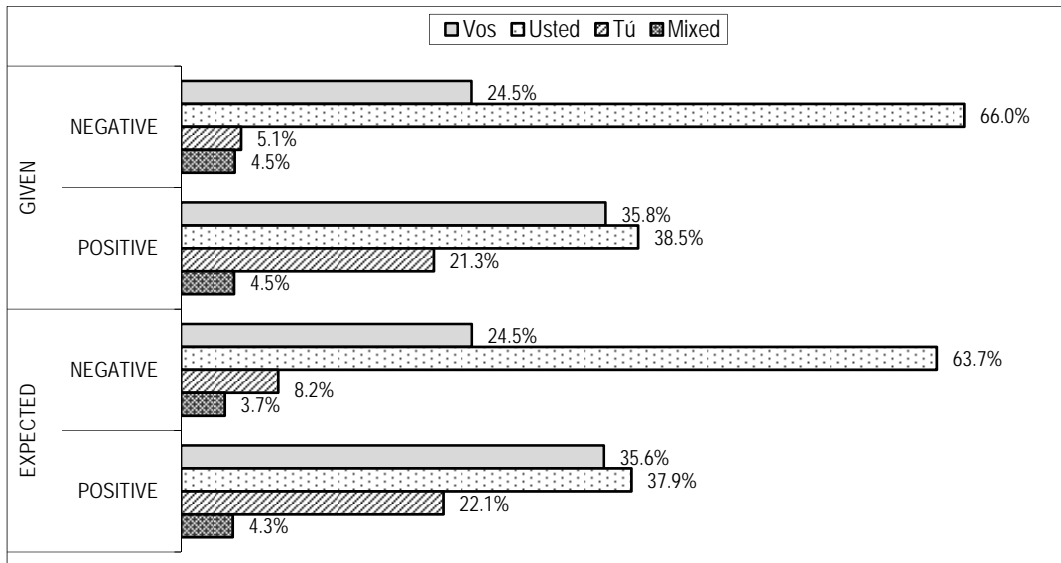


Figure 4.22. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness⁶⁸

As it is evident from figure 4.22, the variable of emotional closeness strongly influences the selection of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(3) = 847.80, p < .001$. Participants in the study indicated giving and expecting *usted* approximately two thirds of the time when there are negative feelings between the interactants. On the contrary, when the emotional relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor is positive or neutral, they would give and expect *usted* or *vos* (around 38% and 36% in that order). To say it in one of the informants' words, "para regañar o algo serio, *usted* y cuando estamos cheveritos y en confianza, *vos*" [to reprimand or something serious, *usted* but

⁶⁸ See table D.22 in Appendix D.

when we are cool and on good terms, vos].⁶⁹ In addition, the use of *tú* is quite frequent in these situations as well; informants indicated giving it 21.3% and expecting it 22.1% vs. 5.1% given and 8.2% expected when there are negative feelings involved.

In the following, data by emotional closeness is analyzed taking into consideration the sex of the speaker. Figure 4.23 illustrate the results which are included in table D.23 (see Appendix D).

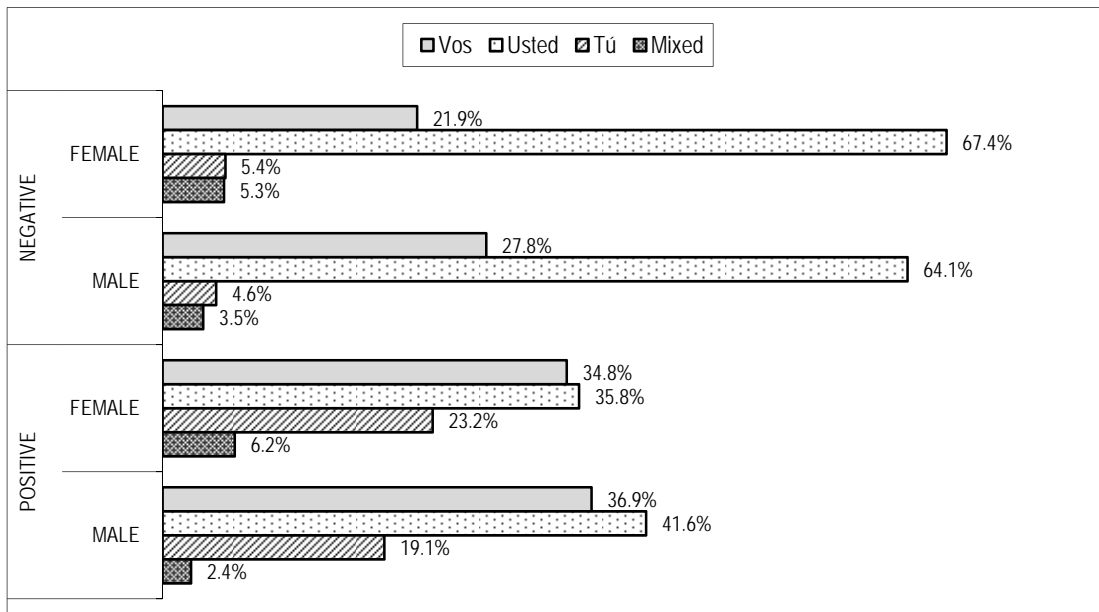


Figure 4.23. Distribution of Pronouns given by Emotional closeness and by Sex of Speaker⁷⁰

Differences in pronominal choice both given and expected are more related to the emotional closeness between speaker and interlocutor than to the sex of the speaker. As figure 4.23 illustrates, the distribution of pronouns for emotional closeness by sex of the speaker is very similar to that of the overall pronominal distribution within emotional closeness alone (see figure 4.22).

⁶⁹ Female respondent from UdeA, track 1.

⁷⁰ See table D.23 in Appendix D.

Finally, there is a closer examination of the data by emotional closeness and by social class of the speaker.

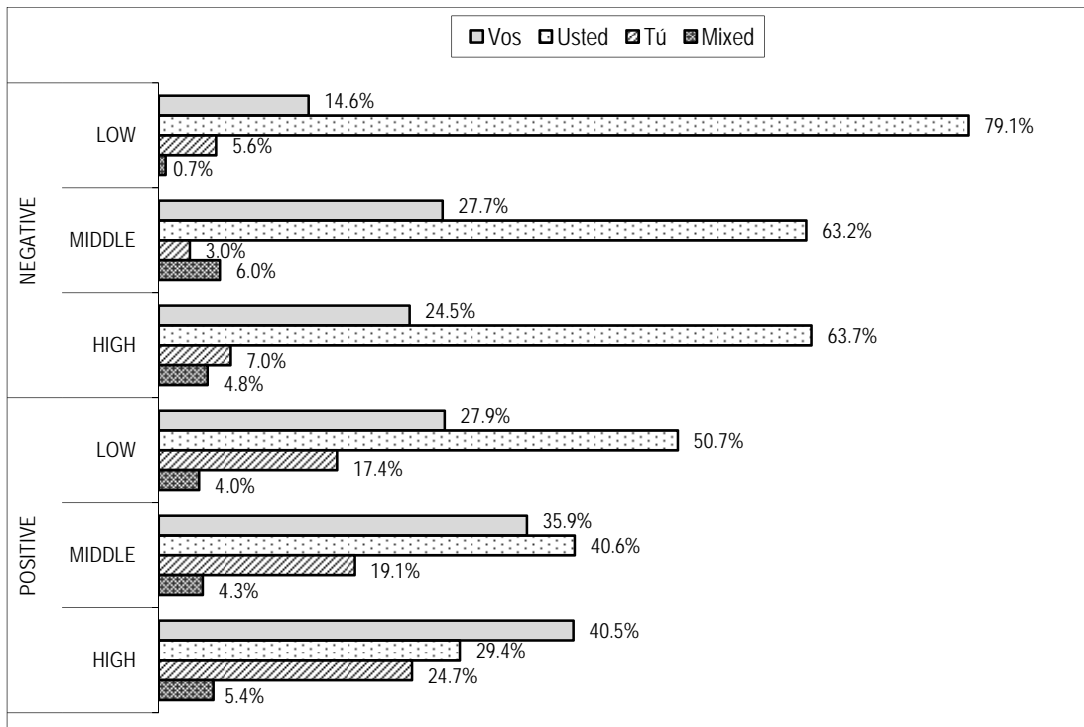


Figure 4.24. Distribution of Pronouns given by emotional closeness and by Social Class of Speaker⁷¹

A comparison of the total percentages of occurrence of address forms by emotional closeness shows significant differences based on the social class of the speaker⁷². Findings reveal that when the emotional closeness is negative, members of the lower class reported giving *usted* more often (79.1%) than the other two social levels (around 63%), and expecting it more as well (75.7% vs. 64.7% and 57.9% by middle and upper classes). This result is not surprising as the preference of the lowest social level for the use of this pronoun has been established. *Vos*, on the other hand, is mostly given and expected by the middle class; participants reported using this form

⁷¹ See table D.23 in Appendix D.

⁷² Negative emotional closeness: $\chi^2(6) = 74.63, p < .001$ / Positive emotional closeness: $\chi^2(6) = 329.57, p < .001$

about 27% of the time vs. 14% and 25% by lower and upper classes respectively. A similar trend is apparent for the use of more than one pronoun, which is more frequently given by the middle class (6% vs. 4.8% by upper and 0.7% by lower classes); however, the *mixed-use* is expected by the middle class as often as by the upper class (4%). Finally, the pronoun *tú* is the least used by the middle classes when there are negative feelings involved in the interaction. Informants from the middle class indicated using this form 3% of the time versus 5.6% by the lower class and 7% by the upper class.

When the emotional closeness is positive, upper classes favor the use of *vos* (41% both given and expected), whereas the other two social strata have a preference for *usted*, particularly the lower class, which uses it half of the time. *Tú* and the *mixed-use* follow the same pattern of the pronominal distribution by social class alone.

In sum, emotional closeness plays an important role in the selection of one form of address over another; whereas the role of the sex and the social class of the speaker does not seem to be as strong.

4.8. CONCLUSION

As mentioned before, the literature on address forms suggests that social factors, such as dialect, sex, social class, place of interaction, relationship with the interlocutor, generations, topic of discourse and emotional closeness, might influence the selection of one pronoun over another. Following is a summary of the findings for the Antioquian dialect taking into consideration each of the addressee's characteristics (relationship with the interlocutor, generation, and sex of the interlocutor) and context of interaction

(place of interaction, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness) by the sex and by the social class of the speaker.

In general, and contrary to what was expected, the most common form of address among college students from Medellín is *usted*. This pronoun is more commonly used by males than females, who, on the other hand, use *tú* more often than men. This result comes as no surprise since, as reported in previous studies, women tend to use prestige forms⁷³ more often than men (Labov, 2001; Gordon, 1997). Additionally, women have also been found to be in advance of men in the development of linguistic changes (Labov, 2001:280), which suggests that there is a possible change in progress with regard to the forms of address used in this variety of Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, female speakers also reported giving more often than men more than one form to address the same person in the same discourse, suggesting a certain instability in the address system, which might be another sign of change in progress.

Overall results by the addressee's characteristics and the contexts of interaction indicate that the pronoun *vos* is common in most situations, but its use increases in more intimate and familiar situations, such as interactions at home, with family member or people of the same age or younger, and when talking about private issues; for this reason it can be regarded as a *familial*⁷⁴ pronoun in Benavides's (2003) terms. Moreover, there seems to be more variation in pronominal address in these types of interactions since in many cases, we have two or three forms competing. For example, in interactions at home and with the family the frequencies of reported use of *vos*, *usted*, and *tú* are relatively close. Similarly, the use of the pronoun *tú* is much higher in more

⁷³ *Tú* is the standard form for Colombia's national advertisement and television, and, as is stated in this study, it is a form associated with the upper social class and the variety spoken in Bogotá, the capital.

⁷⁴ For Benavides's definition of *familial* refer back to section 2.1.2. Other studies

informal and solidary situations and its frequency tends to decrease as the solidarity decreases.

On the other hand, as expected, the use of *usted* becomes more predominant as the distance in age, feelings, familiarity with the topic and/or the interlocutor increases, as for example, when talking about non private issues, with older people, in public or at the university, or when there are negative feelings involved.

Looking at the results based on the sex of the speaker, there appears to be more variation in the reported speech of women. One example is at home, where the percentages of reported use of *vos*, *usted*, and *tú* are much closer in the speech of females than in that of males. This goes hand by hand with what was previously stated about a possible linguistic change in progress.

Another difference in pronominal address based on the sex of the speaker is the pronoun of *vos*, whose use was reported often more by men than by women. However, in interactions at home and at the university, with family member, classmates, professors, and strangers, and with people of the same sex, females indicated a greater use of this form. On the other hand, men reported a higher use of *tú*, which is mostly used by women, when they interact with strangers.

Regarding the role of social class in pronoun choice, data reveal that, for the most part, *vos*, *usted* and *tú* are socially marked. The use of *vos* and *tú* tend to increase with social class; whereas *usted* decreases as the social level of the speaker increases. The *mixed-use*, on the other hand, varies depending on the context of the interaction and the interlocutor. The relationship with the interlocutor is a good example of this variation; in interactions with professors and strangers, the use of more than one

pronoun with the same addressee increases with social class; while with family members, it is more frequently given by the lower class, and less by the middle class; and with friends and classmates, the *mixed-use* is higher in the middle class but lower in the lower classes with friends and in the upper class with classmates. Some of these results contradict what others have found. For instance, in a previous study on the variety spoken in Medellin, Jang (2005) notes that people from the lower class use *vos* very frequently as a sign of identity to their own socio-economic and regional group. *Tú*, on the contrary, seems to confirm Jang's (2005) suggestion that upper classes use this pronoun as a sign of belonging to their socio-economic group.

Another particularity observed, related to social class, is that in interactions with people of their same age, friends and siblings, or in public places, participants from the middle class indicated using the pronoun *tú* less often than those from the other two social levels. However, they have the highest reported use of *vos* in more familiar situations; that is, at home, with parents and siblings, and when talking about private issues.

Finally, regarding the way speakers expect to be addressed by their interlocutor, we find that for the most part, participants reported reciprocal address. In other words, they expect to receive in return the same form of address they give to their interlocutor.

5. RESULTS FROM CALI

This chapter comprises the analysis of the data collected in Cali among 146 college students from two institutions: 75 participants from Universidad del Valle, a state institution, and 71 from Universidad Autónoma de Occidente, a private university. Results include the frequencies of the pronouns participants reported using to address his/her interlocutor, and the frequencies of the pronouns they expect to receive in return.

The data from both universities consists of 51,392 tokens (half corresponds to the form given and half to the form the speaker expects to receive in return) out of which 14,720 (7,309 given and 7,414 expected) were considered as missing. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a response was considered as missing for any of the following two reasons: (1) the participant did not select a response, or (2) s/he indicated that a certain relationship did not apply to her/him. The total amount of tokens considered in the analysis is 36,672 (18,389 given and 18,283 expected). Chi-Square tests were conducted to test for independence.

Similar to the findings from Medellín, there is first a summary of the general pronoun distribution in Cali, followed by an analysis of the findings by each of the addressee's characteristics (relationship with the interlocutor, generation, and sex of the interlocutor) and context of interaction (place of interaction, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness). Each section contains a summary of the pronoun distribution within the corresponding variable and associations between the variable and sex of the speaker, on the one hand, and social class of the speaker on the other. Tables with total percentages and chi square values for Cali are included in appendix E.

5.1. OVERALL RESULTS

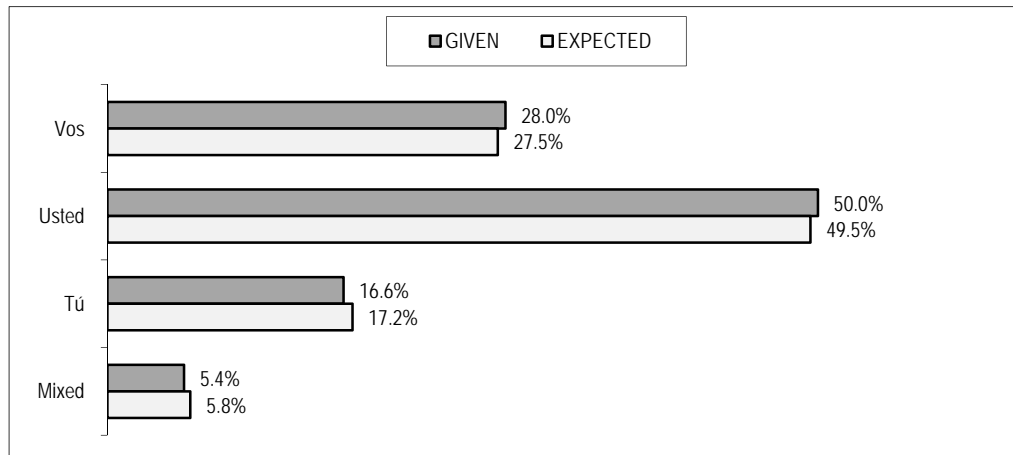


Figure 5.1. Overall Address Form Distribution in Cali for informal contexts⁷⁵

Overall results on the reported use of second person address forms in Cali show a high frequency of the pronoun *usted* in informal contexts, both given and expected (50%). The use of more than one pronoun in the same interaction, on the other hand, is the least frequent form of address (around 5% given and expected). With regards to *vos*, participants reported using it almost half of the time as compared to their use of *usted* (28%). These results are somewhat surprising, particularly the relatively low frequency of *vos* as compared to *usted*, since this variety has been characterized by general use of *voseo* (Montes, 1967, 1985; Lipski, 1994). Moreover, participants in the study indicated that *vos* is the common form of address in this variety of Spanish; “aquí en Cali siempre se utiliza mucho el vos” [here in Cali *vos* is always used a lot].⁷⁶ Furthermore, Murillo Fernández states that in Popayán, a city south of Cali, the *voseo* predominates over *tuteo* and *ustedeo* (2003:12). One explanation for the lower than expected use of *vos* in this variety could be the attitude of speakers toward its use.

⁷⁵ See table E.1 in Appendix E.

⁷⁶ Female respondent from Univalle, track 1.

Some participants in Simpson’s study (2002) described voseo as incorrect, “a lack of education,” and “a sign of bad Spanish” (29). According to her, some of her informants claimed in the oral interview that they did not use vos even though they did in natural conversation; when asked about this contradiction, they responded that ‘sometimes it slips out’ (29). A similar situation is observed in the current study, the same people who at the beginning of the interview described vos as pejorative, later indicated using this pronoun very often. Another explanation, in the case of the study presented here is that the lower frequency of vos might be related to the fact that these overall results come from a questionnaire and not from natural speech. The respondents’ attention to the form is highlighted by the questions in the survey.

Following is the overall pronoun distribution by sex of the speaker, which is presented and illustrated in figure 5.2.

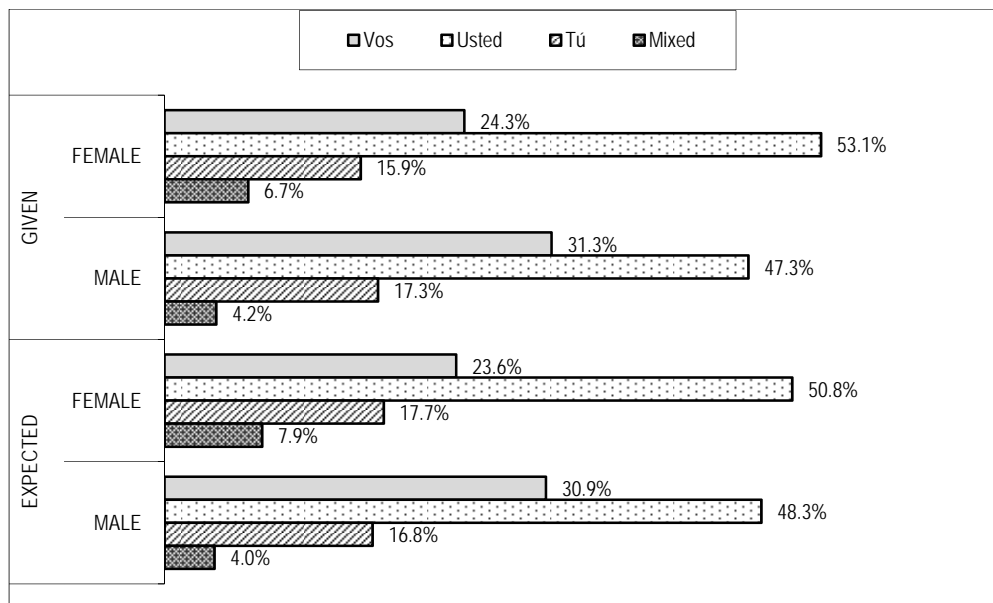


Figure 5.2. Pronoun distribution by Sex of the Speaker⁷⁷

⁷⁷ See table E.2 in Appendix E.

A closer look at the data show a strong association between the sex of the speaker and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(3) = 175.3, p <.001$. Women reported giving *usted* more often than men (53.1% women vs. 47.3% men), and they also expect to receive this form more frequently (50.8% women vs. 48.3% men). Similarly, results show that the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same discourse is more commonly given by women (6.7%) than by men (4.2%). Male speaker, on the other hand, indicated a higher preference for the use of *vos* than women, both given and expected (31% men vs. 24% women).

Concerning the pronoun *tú*, the results indicate a slightly higher use of this pronoun given by men (17.3%) than by women (15.9%); these results are somewhat surprising as previous studies on pronominal use in Cali (Simpson, 2002) and other varieties of Spanish (Bartens, 2003; Jaramillo, 1986; Pinkerton, 1986) have reported a much higher use of *tú* by women. In fact, some informants from those studies and from the current one have described *tú* as a “feminine” pronoun and one that belongs to women’s spoken language (Mason, 1995 noted the same). Furthermore, Lakoff (1973, 1985) states that “men who use overly grammatical speech or polite forms, such as the tuteo, are viewed with suspicion” (1973:60-61). As for the frequency of *tú* expected from the interlocutor, women indicated expecting this pronoun somewhat more often than men (17.7% vs. 16.8% respectively), which goes corresponds to what I have just mentioned about *tú* being related to women.

Next, results by social class of the speaker are presented in table E.3 (See Appendix E). Chi-square tests suggest that there is a significant association between the social class of the speaker and pronominal choice, $\chi^2(6) = 335.26, p <.001$.

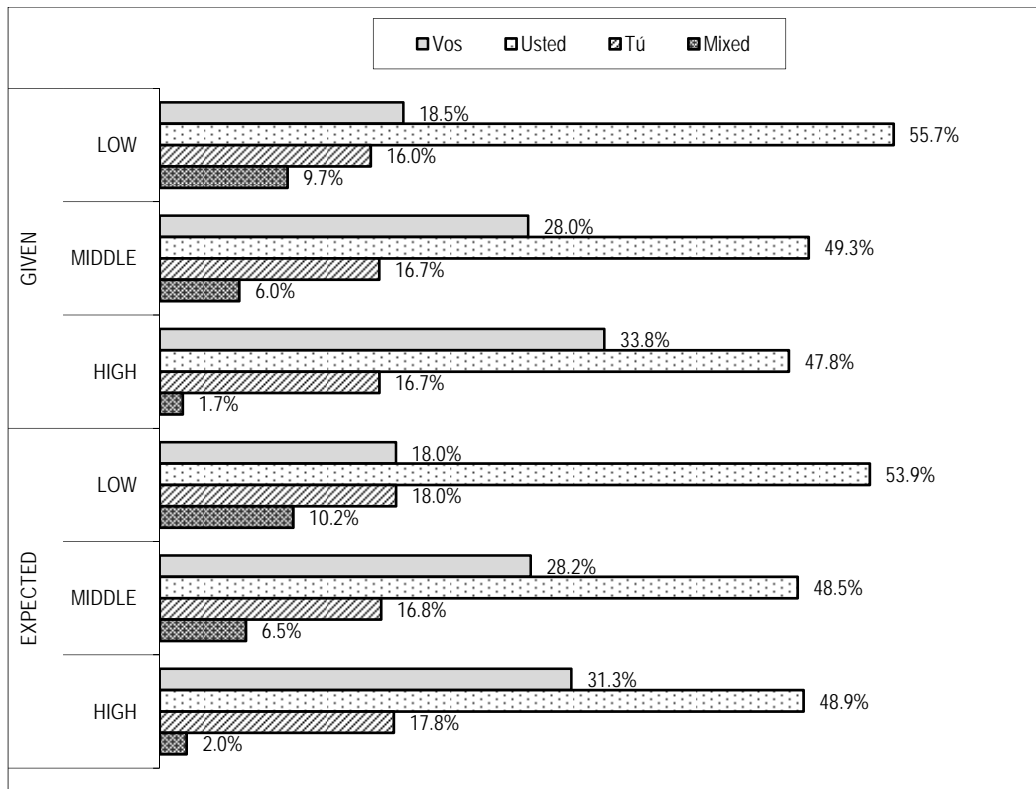


Figure 5.3. Pronoun Distribution by Social Class of Speaker⁷⁸

As illustrated in figure 5.3, there are significant differences in the patterns of second person pronominal address based on the social class of the speaker. The results show that *usted* and the *mixed-use* predominate in the lower classes, and, as the social status of the speaker increases, the frequency of these forms of address decreases; *usted* is given and expected by the lower class above 54% vs. 48% by the upper class; and participants from the lower classes reported giving and expecting the *mixed-use* about five times more often than those belonging to the highest social group. The opposite situation is observed with *vos*, which seems most popular in the upper classes (above 30% given and expected) than in the lower strata (18% given and expected). These findings are contrary to what has been generally reported by other

⁷⁸ See table E.3 in Appendix E.

scholars. Simpson (2002) reports for Cali a higher use of *vos* by lower classes.

Similarly, Murillo Fernandez (2003) observes that, even though, *vos* is used by people from all social classes, it predominates among the lower class.

Concerning *tú*, the frequency with which this pronoun was reportedly given is distributed uniformly among all three social levels (around 16%). Once again, these results do not follow what has previously been found. Simpson notes that, for example, *tú* is not common among people from lower classes, except to express affection within romantic relationships or flirt. According to her, if *tú* is used by people from lower classes, others consider them to be superficial and even pedantic (2002:29).

Furthermore, Simpson points out that speakers from the lower class consider the use of *tú* by other people from their same social group to be inappropriate and unacceptable, and would use it to be more like higher classes, “to appear more cultured” (2002:30).

Interestingly, a similar observation is made by a consultant in Murillo Fernandez’s study, according to him, *tuteo* “es todo un arte y no es fácil de manejar ya que no tiene hábito en su uso y es propio de una clase social alta” [is an art and it is not easy to deal with because it is not much used and it is characteristic of the upper class] (2003:9).

Observations like those and the relative high frequency of *tú* by lower classes appear to be an indication of a possible linguistic change in progress in Cali. This can be regarded as a change from above (Labov, 2001) since there seems to be a relatively high level of social consciousness on the speakers’ part. *Tú* appears to be expanding its use and it might eventually take over the functions of other pronouns. Several researchers (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1970; Uber, 1984) have noticed the expansion of *tú* in different varieties of Spanish and other languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

The results above indicate that the sex and social class of the speaker play an important role in the selection of one pronoun of address over another. In the following sections, findings are presented by place of interaction, relationship with the interlocutor, generation, sex of the interlocutor, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness. First, general frequencies within each variable are given and then the variables sex and social class of the speaker are considered.

5.2. PLACE OF INTERACTION

In order to examine the relationship between the place of the interaction and pronoun choice, three settings were identified to be of potential relevance for the current study: (1) university, (2) public spaces, and (3) home. Chi-square tests were conducted to test for independence, results indicate that there is a significant association between the place of the interaction and the choice of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(6) = 918.38$, $p < .001$. Data on pronominal usage within place of interaction are included in table E.4 (see appendix E) and illustrated in figure 5.4.

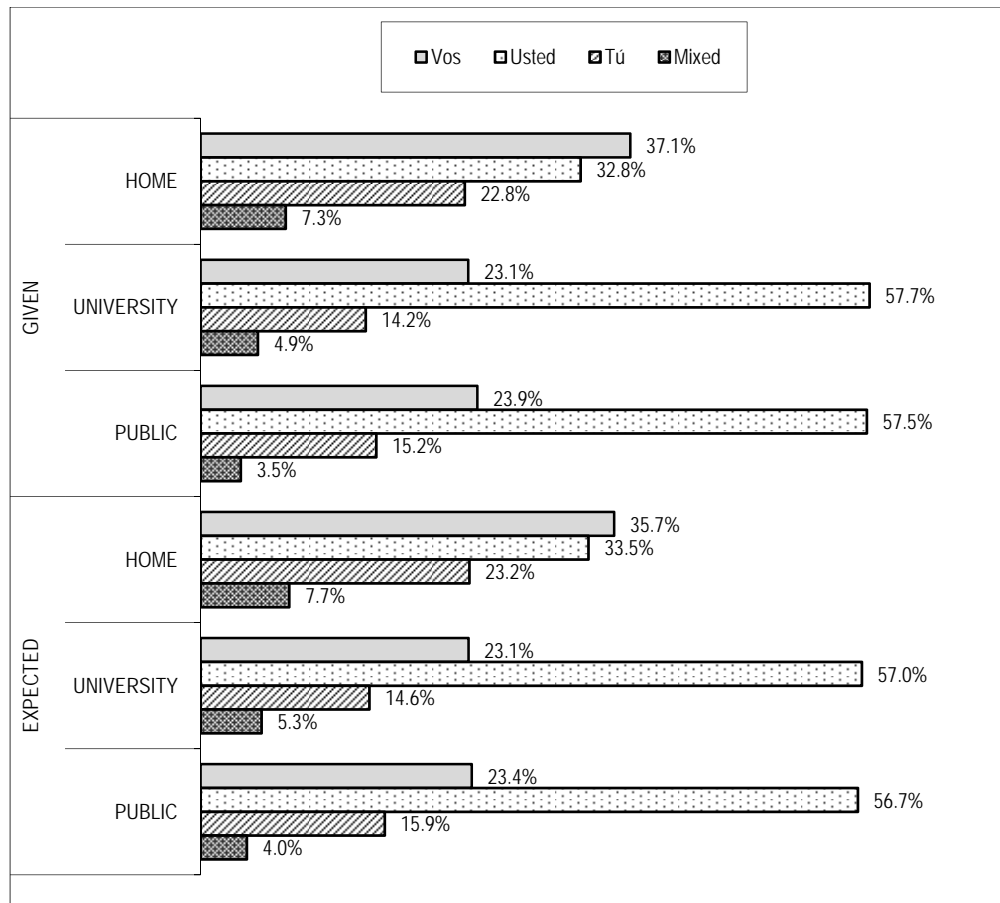


Figure 5.4. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction⁷⁹

Results show differences in pronominal choice based on the place of the interaction. On the one hand, at home, even though the most reported form of address is *vos* (37.1% given and 35.7% expected), *usted* is also quite frequent (32.8% given and 33.5% expected), followed by *tú*, which participants reported giving and expecting approximately 23% of the time. The *mixed-use* of pronouns is the least frequent form of address; however its percentage of use is higher at home than in the other two places of interaction. In general, we can observe that the distribution of the frequencies of use of the different forms at home is not as widespread as in the other two settings, as

⁷⁹ See table E.4 in Appendix E.

shown in figure 5.4, which seems to suggest that there is more variation in pronominal use in this place of interaction. On the other hand, in public and at the university, there is a huge gap between the preferred pronoun of address reported and the other forms. Participants in the study stated a clear preference for *usted*; they indicated giving and expecting this pronoun more than 50% of the time both in public and at the university. *Vos* is the second most common pronoun, but its use is more than half the frequency of *vos*.

Concerning *tú*, even though this pronoun is most commonly used for interactions at home, a high frequency of it is encountered in conversations in public and university settings; according to the results, it is given and expected almost 15% of the time in each of these places of interaction. Although these findings might seem surprising, similar observations have been reported for other varieties of Spanish. For instance, in Jaramillo's study of the variety of Spanish spoken in Tomé, New Mexico (1986), several young consultants reported that *tú* is frequently employed to "initiate and maintain friendly or casual relations with others, even with strangers" (76). Interestingly, a similar remark is made by Mason (1995): he states that "the use of the *tú* by *vos* speakers [in general] appears to be motivated by the desire to be not too familiar when addressing a stranger or foreigner" (361). Furthermore, Alvarez and Carrera (2006) report that in some areas of Mérida, Venezuela, *tú* is the pronoun used to express politeness.

Finally, the use of more than one pronoun to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse is more popular at the university than in public. At the former, the frequency of *mixed-use* is about 5% both given and expected; whereas in the latter, the percentage of *mixed-use* is around 3%. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the

university setting can be regarded as a “mixed” place where interactions between two people can involve different social factors which might contribute to the use of more than one pronoun in the same discourse and with the same interlocutor.

To summarize, the data indicate that there are significant differences in pronominal choice based on the place of the interaction, particularly at home where more variation seems to be present. Additionally, similar to the dual function of *usted* proposed by Uber (1985) for the variety of Spanish spoken in Bogota, results show that there might be two different types of *tú* as well: (1) a familiar and intimate *tú*, found at home, and (2) a solidary but respectful *tú*, used in public.

Following is an analysis of the data considering place of interaction and sex of the speaker on the one hand, and social class of the speaker on the other.

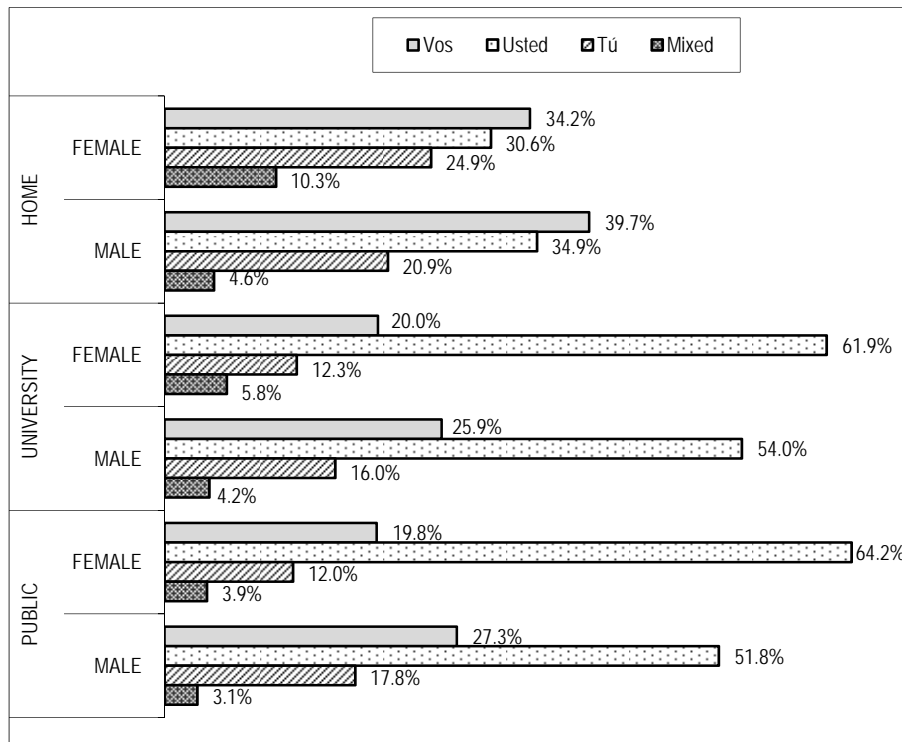


Figure 5.5. Distribution of Pronouns given by Place of Interaction and by Sex of Speaker⁸⁰

⁸⁰ See table E.5 in Appendix E.

As illustrated in figure 5.5, there are significant differences⁸¹ in pronominal choice based on the place of the interaction and the sex of the speaker. At home, males indicated giving (39.7%) and expecting (38.2%) *vos* more often than women (34% given and 32.7% expected). Similarly, *usted* is more commonly given and expected by men (34.9% and 36.2% respectively) than by females (30%). On the other hand, *tú* and the *mixed-use* predominate in women's speech. Female participants reported giving and expecting *tú* approximately 25% of the time vs. 21% by men, and exchanging more than one form with the same interlocutor more than twice as frequently as men.

Results in public and at the university are very similar, and the pattern of the distribution of some of the forms opposes that found at home. For instance, *usted* at home is more frequently given and expected by males; however, in public and at the university, this pronoun predominates among women, who reported giving and expecting it above 60% of the time compared to approximately 54% by men. These findings are in line with Lakoff's statement that women are more polite than men (1985:74); therefore, if we take into consideration that these two settings conveyed a certain degree of formality, it would make sense the higher frequency of *usted* by females when interacting in these types of places.

Similarly to *usted*, the trend in the use of *tú* in public and at the university is contrary to that at home. As mentioned above, *tú* is more used by females at home, but in the other two settings of interaction, male participants were actually the ones to report using this pronoun more often; they give it above 16% in both places vs. 12% reported by women. Taking into consideration the two types of *tú* discussed above, one might

⁸¹ At home: $\chi^2(3) = 103.94, p < .001$ / In public: $\chi^2(3) = 103.95, p < .001$ / At the university: $\chi^2(3) = 35.29, p < .001$

speculate that the familiar and intimate *tú* is more common in the speech of women, whereas the solidary but respectful *tú* is uttered more by men.

Concerning the *mixed-use* in public and at the university, the frequency with which it is given by both men and women is very close (4% and 3.1% respectively in public and 5.8% and 4.2% at the university). The percentage difference regarding the use of more than one pronoun from the interlocutor is, on the other hand, somewhat greater. Women expect to be addressed with *mixed-use* in public 5.3% of the time vs. 2.9% by men and at the university 6.9% vs. 3.9% by men.

The following chart shows pronoun use by place of interaction and by social class.

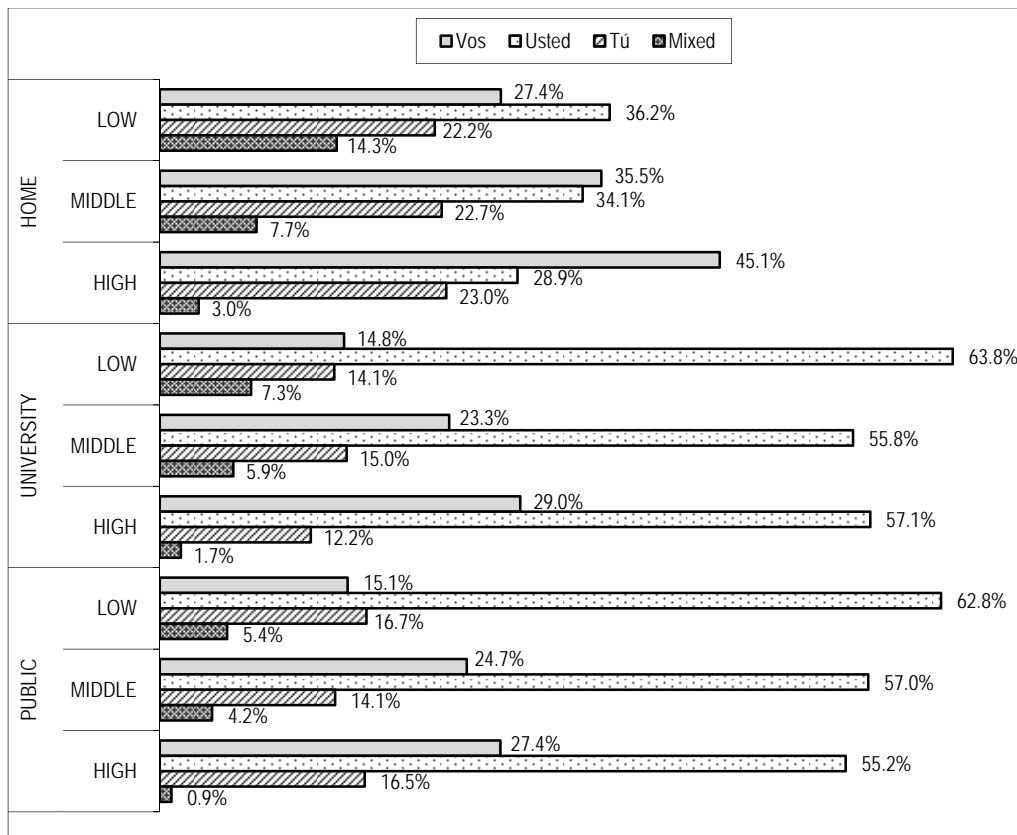


Figure 5.6. Distribution of Pronouns given by Place of Interaction and by Social Class of Speaker⁸²

⁸² See table E.6 in Appendix E.

As illustrated in figure 5.6, there are significant differences in pronominal use based on the place of the interaction by social class of the speaker⁸³, especially at home, where we find the most variation. In this setting of interaction, *usted* is the form of address that participant from the lower class indicated giving the most (36.2%), *vos* is in second place with a frequency of 27.4%. On the contrary, the distribution of the pronouns reported by the highest social level displays the opposite trend: *vos* is the most frequent form given (45.1%) followed by *usted* (28.9%). Concerning the middle class, speakers from this group indicated giving *usted* almost as frequently as *vos* (34.1% and 35.5% respectively). The pronoun *tú*, on the other hand, does not appear to be affected by the social class of the speaker when interacting at home since its frequency of use is very similar across all social strata.

In public and at the university, people from all social levels, show a high preference for *usted* both given and received. The frequency of use of this pronoun in these places of interaction is above 55%. However, lower classes use it much more frequently than the other two social strata. Results show that the lowest social group reported giving *usted* 62.8% of the time in public and 63.8% at the university. It is important to point out that in public, the middle class gives this pronoun somewhat more frequently than upper class speakers (57% vs. 55.2% correspondingly), but at the university the pattern is the opposite; upper class speakers give *usted* 57.2% of the time versus 55.8% given by middle class. The higher use of this pronoun in public and at the university domain comes as no surprise since, as already mentioned, these settings entail some degree of formality, particularly the university domain. In the questionnaire,

⁸³ At home: $\chi^2(6) = 140.32, p < .001$ / In public: $\chi^2(6) = 74.58, p < .001$ / At the university: $\chi^2(6) = 57.92, p < .001$

participants were asked how they would interact with certain interlocutors in class and at the library, which can be considered less informal settings than the cafeteria, for example.

Another difference in pronominal choice is found in the use of *tú*. As mentioned above, the frequency of use of this pronoun at home is similar across social strata; however, in public, the percentage of use of this form by the middle class is slightly lower than the other two social groups; speakers from the middle class give *tú* 14.1% of the time versus 16.5% by lower and upper classes. On the contrary, at the university, individuals from middle and lower classes indicated using this pronoun more (15% and 14% respectively) than those in the upper class (12.2%). One explanation for the higher use of *tú* by middle and lower classes is that, as mentioned before, in other studies (Murillo, 2003; Simpson, 2002), participants indicated that they regard *tú* as an 'educated' pronoun, and what place can be more cultured than an educational institution.

Regarding the *mixed-use*, it is more commonly given by the lower class regardless of the place of the interaction. However, the differences in frequency among the three social strata are particularly noticeable at home. Speakers from the lower class give more than one pronoun to the same address almost twice as frequently as middle class speakers and above four times more often than upper class speakers. In public, on the other hand, the middle class uses *mixed-use* almost as frequently as the lowest social group (4.2% and 5.4% respectively) and almost five times more frequently than the upper class who gives it less than 1% of the time.

As for how speakers expect to be addressed, the distribution of forms reported is similar to what is given, with some exceptions, particularly in the use of *tú*. At home, this pronoun is reportedly given by all social groups similarly; however, speakers from the lower class expect to receive it the most (24.8%) and those from the middle class expect it the least (22.6%). In public, *tú* is given by lower class speakers as frequently as those from the upper class but the former group expects it somewhat more often than the latter (19.1% vs. 18% correspondingly).

In short, the place of interaction, the sex and the social class of the speaker play an important role in the selection of one form of address over another. At home, males use *usted* more often than females, but in public and at the university the situation is the opposite. Similarly, *tú* is more commonly given by females at home, whereas in the other two places of interaction, it is men who use it more frequently. Moreover, speakers from the highest social group show a preference for *vos*; while lower class speakers preferred *usted*. Interactions at home show more variation in pronoun choice than in public or at the university. Pronoun distribution at these two settings of interaction displays a very similar pattern.

5.3. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR

To analyze the effects of the relationship between interactants in the selection of a second person pronoun of address, five types of relationships were considered: (1) family, which encompasses close and distant relatives and sentimental partner, (2) friends, which includes personal friends as well as family friends, (3) professors, (4) classmates, and (5) strangers. Chi-square tests were conducted to test for

independence, results indicate that there is a significant association between the relationship with the interlocutor and the choice of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(12) = 1513.18, p < .001$. Overall results are included in table E.7 (see appendix E).

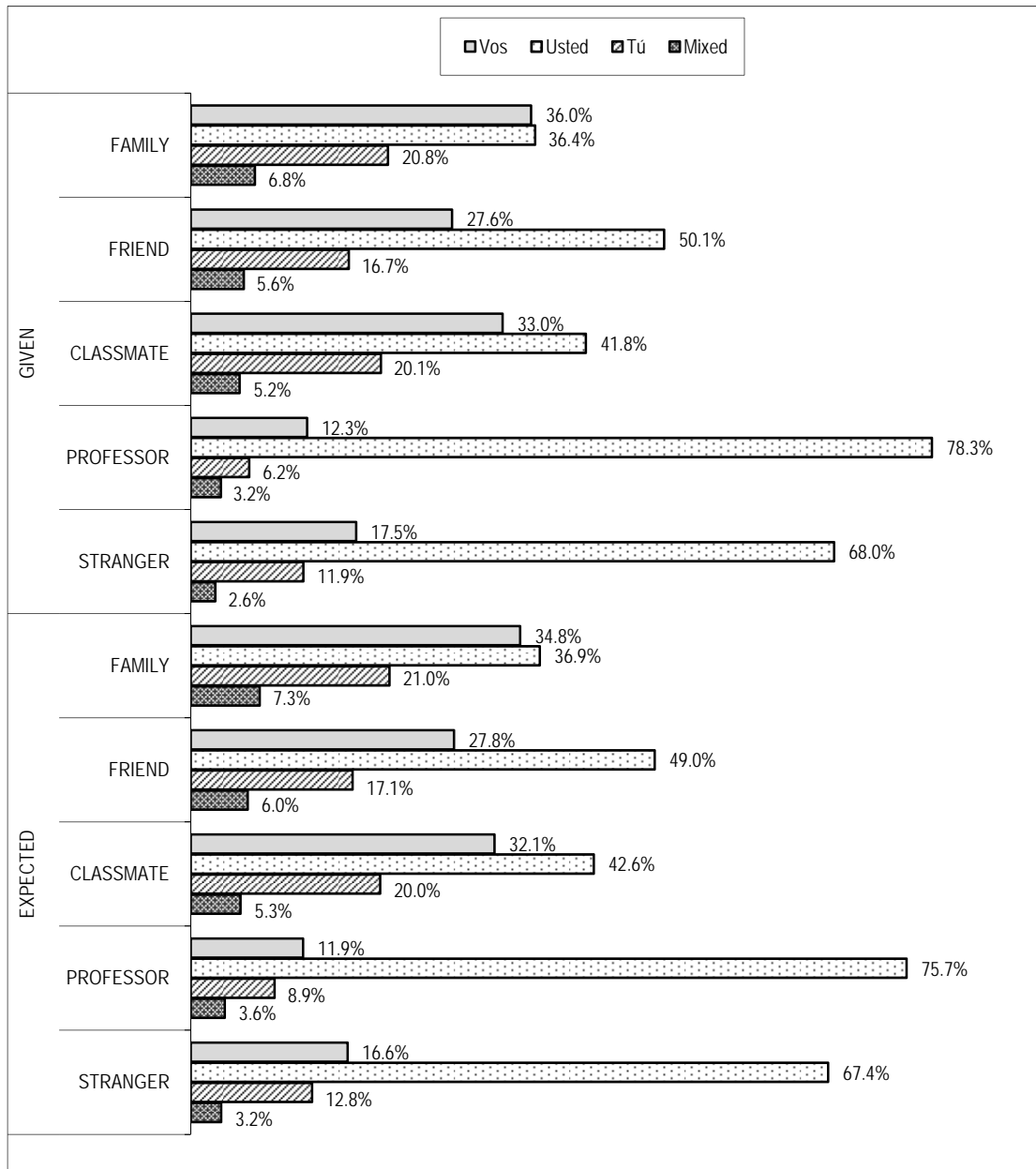


Figure 5.7. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor⁸⁴

⁸⁴ See table E.7 in Appendix E.

As figure 5.7 shows, the relationship with the interlocutor conditions the selection of one pronoun over another. Going from the closest and most informal of all five relationships considered to the most distant one, we find that it is within the family domain where more variation is present as indicated by the fact that there are two competing forms: *vos* and *usted*, which participants reported using with the same frequency (36%). Friends, on the other hand, commonly address each other with *usted*. Participants indicated doing so half of the time. These findings are different from what other studies have found in other varieties of Spanish of Spanish. For example, Rey (1994), in his study of three societies: Colombia, Honduras, and Nicaragua, reports that *vos* is the predominating form with friends. My data show that, even though *vos* is the second most common form when interacting with friends, its percentage of reported use is about 27% (both given and expected), which is almost half of the frequency of *usted*. Similarly, *usted* is a predominating pronoun when the interlocutor is a classmate; however, its frequency is lower than in the previous type of relationship; it is given and expected approximately 42% of the time. Participants also reported using *vos* quite frequently; it is given to classmates 33% of the time and expected from them about 32%. Finally, interactions with professors and strangers are governed by a high use of *usted*; speakers reported using this form 78.3% to professors and 68% to strangers and expecting it 75.7% and 67.4% correspondingly. These results are not surprising as these types of relationships can be considered somewhat less informal or more distant, and, therefore, the pronoun *usted* might be seen as the most appropriate form for these interlocutors. Similar claims have been made by other scholars, such as Simpson, 2002; Bentivoglio and Sedano, 1992; and Castro-Mitchell, 1991. As we might expect

with such a high percentage of reported use of a pronoun, the frequency of other forms of address in these kinds of interactions is relatively low, particularly in interactions with professors, where the presence of *usted* is very strong.

It is important to note that, except for interactions with professors and strangers, the use of *tú* is somewhat reciprocal. It is given to and expected from family members at a rate of 21%, classmates at 20%, and friends at 17%. When talking with professors and strangers, speakers from Cali expect to receive *tú* more often than they give it. They expect this form from professors 8.9% of the time but give it only 6.2%, and they expect it from strangers 12.8%, while they address them with *tú* 11.9%. This last finding is very interesting, especially because it is quite high since *tú* is not regarded as a form used to address strangers but to people whom the speaker knows, as the data show. These results go hand in hand with what I have previously mentioned; there seems to be two types of *tú* (1) a familiar and intimate *tú*, used with family members and friends, and (2) a solidary but respectful *tú*, used with classmates, professors, and strangers.

Finally, the use of more than one form to address the same interlocutor in the same discourse is anticipated more frequently than it is said initially regardless of the relationship between the speaker and his/her interlocutor. What is important to highlight here is that the frequency of *mixed-use* is conditioned by the familiarity between the speaker and the interlocutor; the closer the relationship is, the higher the frequency of reported *mixed-use*.

In short, the pattern of pronominal usage when addressing professors and strangers is very similar, in both cases the preferred form is *usted*, rather than the other forms. With classmates and friends, *usted* is also very popular, but its frequency is less

compared to the previous two. Moreover, there is not a big difference between the use of this pronoun and the second most popular one, *vos*. Finally, when the interlocutor is a family member, there are two competing forms: *usted* and *vos*. Results by relationship with the interlocutor mirror, to some extent, those by place of interaction, where we find that at home, there is more variation in pronominal use and in public and at the university the predominant form of address is *usted*.

Following there is a closer examination of the variable relationship with the interlocutor, taking into consideration the sex of the speaker and his/her social class.

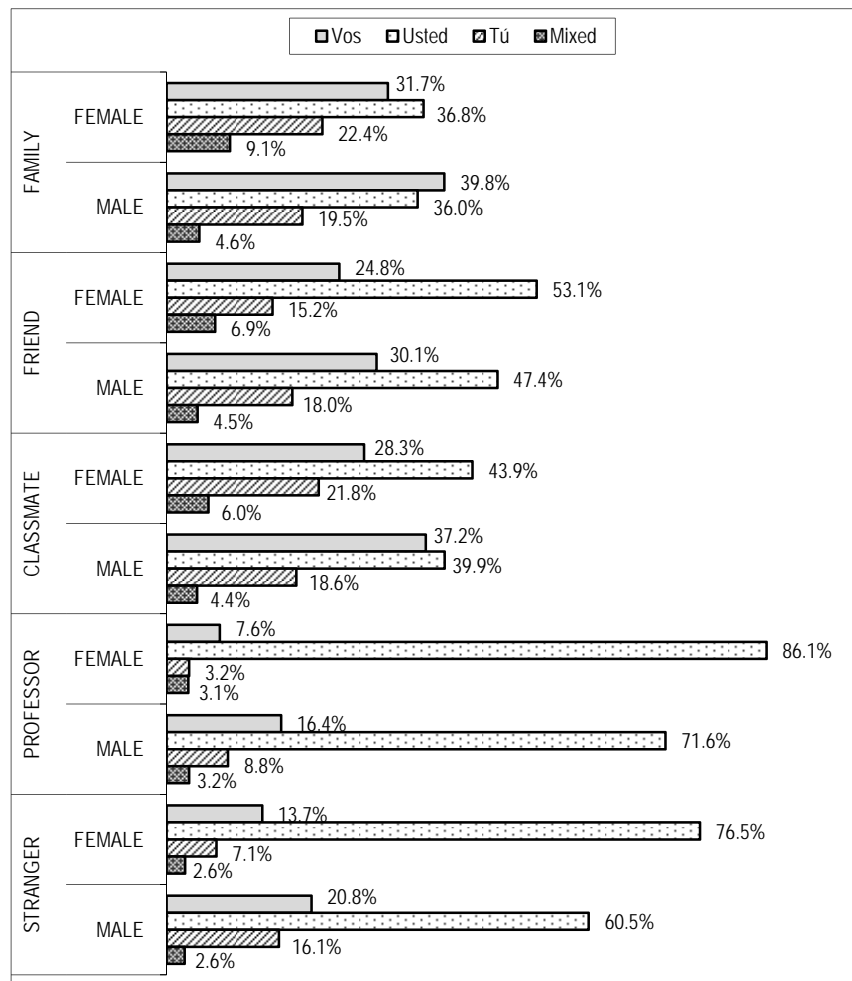


Figure 5.8. Distribution of Pronouns given by Relationship with the Interlocutor and by Sex of Speaker⁸⁵

⁸⁵ See table E.8 in Appendix E.

There are differences in pronominal choice based on the relationship with the interlocutor by the sex of the speaker. First of all, at the family domain, there is a significant association between the sex of the speaker and the use of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(3) = 88.48$, $p < .001$. Males, for instances, reported giving *vos* almost 40% of the time, closely followed by *usted* with 36%. Women informants, who show an opposite trend, indicated giving *usted* 36.8% of the time and *vos* 31.7%. Another difference is the use of more than one pronoun with the same interlocutor, females used *mixed-use* almost twice as frequently as men (9.1% vs. 4.7% respectively). Similarly, *tú* is more commonly given by females than males, but the difference in percentages is not as big (22.4% vs. 19.5% correspondingly).

Interactions with friends also show a significant association, $\chi^2(3) = 50.18$, $p < .001$, even though the distribution of pronouns is very similar. Both males and females prefer *usted*, but it is more frequent in women than in men (53.1% vs. 47.4% in that order), in the same way, the *mixed-use* is more commonly given by women (6.9% vs. 4.5% given by men). On the contrary, the reported use of *vos* and *tú* are somewhat higher by males than by females. The fact that men give *tú* more often than women is particularly interesting because, as already mentioned, this pronoun tends to be associated to women's speech.

Regarding interactions with classmates, results of the Chi-Square test reveals that there is not a significant association between the sex of the speaker and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(3) = 8.63$, $p > .001$. Both women and men give *usted* more often than *vos*; even though, the percentages of both of these pronouns given by males are closer than those given by females. Women address friends with *usted* 43.9% of the time and with

vos 28.3%, whereas men give *vos* almost as frequently as *usted* (37.2% and 39.9% respectively). As for *tú* and the *mixed-use*, they are more common in women than in men.

Moving to interactions with professors and strangers, both men and women show a strong tendency to give *usted* to these interlocutors; female informants reported choosing this pronoun to address professors 86% of the time and strangers 76.5%, and males 71.5% and 60.5% in that order. *Vos* is also sometimes used with these interlocutors, in particular by men, but it is almost one third as frequently as *usted*. One particularity worth noticing when addressing professors and strangers is that, similarly to interactions in public and at the university, men give *tú* more often than women. They use it with professors almost three times as much as females and with strangers more than twice as frequently. Finally, it is important to highlight that in interactions with both of these types of interlocutors, there is a strong association between the sex of the speaker and the pronoun used, $\chi^2(3) = 74.77, p < .001$ with professors and $\chi^2(3) = 72.90, p < .001$ with strangers.

Regarding how speakers expect to be addressed, results show some differences in the distribution of the forms expected compared to those given: 1) when the interlocutor is a relative, males reported giving *usted* almost as frequently as women; however, the former expect this pronoun from their interlocutor somewhat more than the latter (37.7% men vs. 36% women). 2) In interactions with friends, both males and females expect *usted* with almost the same frequency (around 49%), even though the frequency with which women reported giving it is higher. Also with friends, men give *tú* more often than women, but the latter are the ones who expect it the most (18.1% vs.

16.2% by men). 3) Finally, with professors and strangers, the percentages of *tú* expected from the interlocutor are higher than that given by both men and women. It is important to emphasize here, that in general, pronoun choice based on the relationship with the interlocutor and the sex of the speaker shows somewhat symmetrical address except for the use of *tú* with professors and strangers. As just mentioned, this pronoun is expected more often than it is given. In the following section, I present results by relationship with the interlocutor and by social class of the speaker.

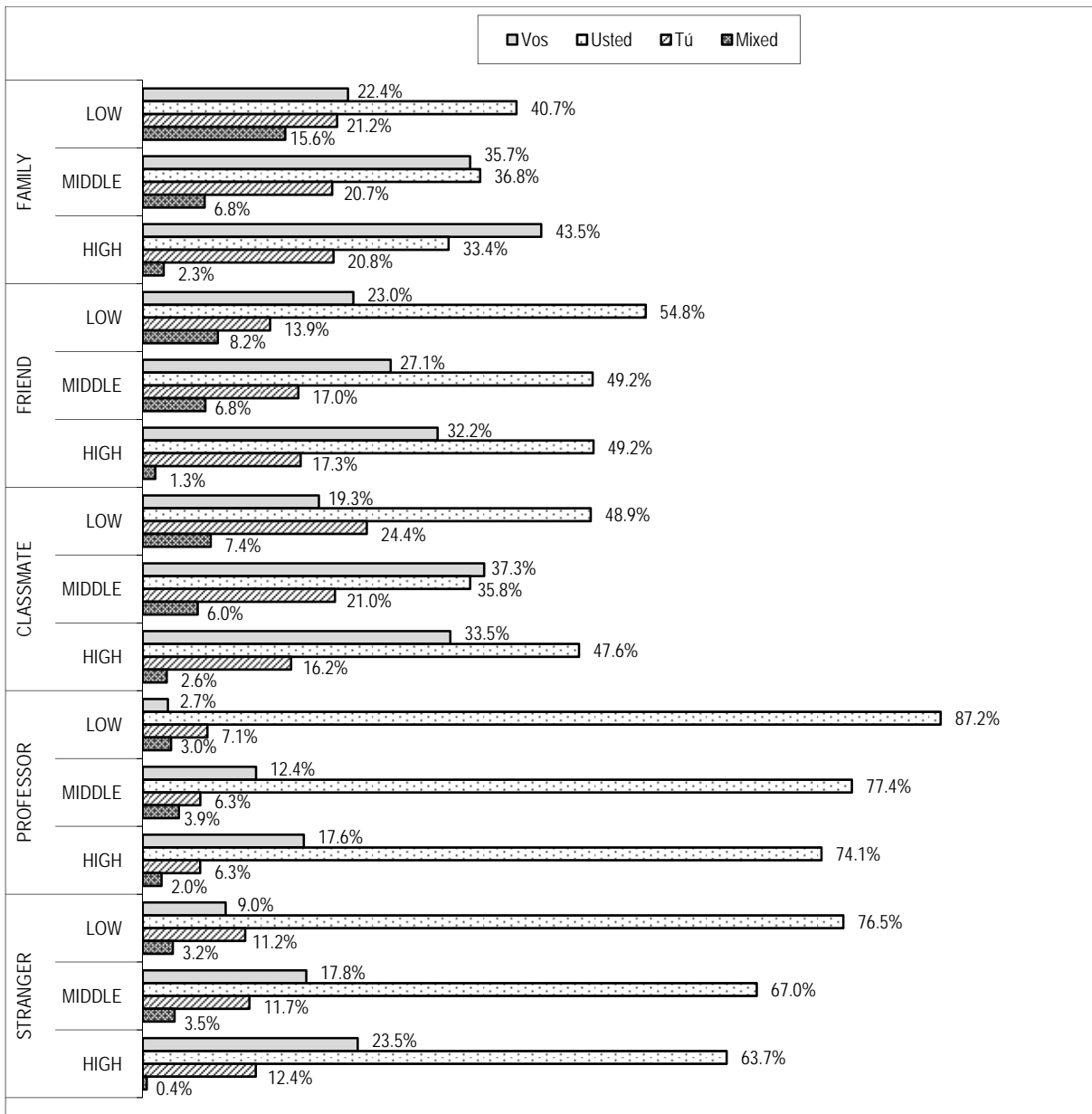


Figure 5.9. Distribution of Pronouns given by Relationship with the Interlocutor and by Social Class of Speaker⁸⁶

As illustrated in figure 5.9, there are significant differences in pronominal use, based on the relationship with the interlocutor by social class⁸⁷. In interactions with family members, people from the low class reported giving *usted* more often than *vos*

⁸⁶ See table E.9 in Appendix E.

⁸⁷ Family: $\chi^2(6) = 225.43, p < .001$ / Friend: $\chi^2(6) = 129.72, p < .001$ / Classmate: $\chi^2(6) = 37.05, p < .001$ / Professor: $\chi^2(6) = 140.35, p < .001$ / Stranger: $\chi^2(6) = 57.73, p < .001$

(40.7% vs. 22.4% respectively). Upper classes, on the contrary, give *vos* at a rate of 43.5% and *usted* at 33.4%. Middle class speakers on the other hand, give *vos* almost as frequently as *usted* (35.7% and 36.8% correspondingly). Another characteristic of the distributions of pronouns by social class when interacting with relatives is that *tú* appears with almost the same frequency across the different social strata (around 21%).

In interactions with friends, individuals from the lowest social level reported giving *usted* more often (54.8%) than the other social strata, who indicated giving it with almost the same frequency (49%). The pattern of choice of *vos* is the one expected based on the general results: as the social class of the speaker increases so does the use of this pronoun (23% by low, 27.1% by middle, and 32.2% by upper classes). As for the pronoun *tú*, it is least given by the lower class (13.9%), and the middle class reported giving it as frequently as the upper level (17%).

In interactions with classmates we find several differences among social strata. Similarly to what happens in conversations with relatives, the middle class indicated giving *vos* and *usted* with relatively the same frequency (37.3% and 35.8% in that order). Upper and lower classes, on the other hand, give *usted* more often than *vos*, particularly the lower class, who reported giving *usted* more than twice the time than *vos* (48.9% vs. 19.3%). One particularity of the results is that the lower class gives *tú* to classmates the most. In fact, the reported use of this pronoun to address classmates decreases as the social class increases (24.4% vs. 21% by middle and 16.2% by upper classes). Once again, these findings can be related to the idea of *tú* as a 'cultured pronoun,' as was observed at the university setting.

Finally, the distribution of pronouns when addressing professors is very similar to that when the interlocutor is a stranger, with some particularities. Both types of interactions are governed by a reported use of *usted*, especially among the lower classes, who use it with professors 87.2% of the time and with strangers 76.5%. Higher social levels, on the other hand, give it to these interlocutors 74.1% and 63.7% correspondingly. In addition, in both types of interactions, the uses of *vos* increase with social class. Lower classes give it to professor 2.7% of the time and to strangers 9%, whereas the upper class gives it 17.6% and 23.5% in that order. Finally the use of *tú* to address professors and strangers is very similar across all social strata, with one disparity: when addressing a professor, on the one hand, lower classes give *tú* somewhat more often than middle and upper classes, whose frequency are the same (7.1% by the lower class vs. 6.3% by the other two social groups). This result serves as support in favor of the idea that individuals from the lower class relate the use of the pronoun *tú* to education. On the other hand, when the interlocutor is a stranger, the frequency of this pronoun increases slightly with social class, speaker from lower class reported using this form with strangers 11.3% vs. 12.4% used by upper class.

Regarding the *mixed-use*, as expected, in interactions with relatives, friends, and classmates, its use decreases as the social class goes up. Nevertheless, when the interlocutor is a professor or a stranger, the middle class tends to address the interlocutor with more than one pronoun slightly more often than the lower class, especially if the interlocutor is a professor (3% lower and 3.9% middle). In both kinds of interactions, the upper social levels give more than one pronoun in the same discourse the least; 2% to professors and 0.4% to strangers.

Pertaining to the form anticipated from the interlocutor, results are very similar to those the participants indicated using, with few differences, mainly in the use of *tú* by the middle and upper classes. When addressing family members, friends, and professors, informants from these social levels reported giving this pronoun with almost the same frequency; however, when the interlocutor is a relative or a friend, those from the upper social level seem to expect it somewhat more often than the middle class (21.8% by the upper class vs. 20.1% by the middle class to relatives and 16.8% by the higher class vs. 18.6% by middle class to strangers), and when the interlocutor is a professor, the middle class is the one expecting *tú* the most (9.7% vs. 7.2% by the upper class). If the interlocutor is a classmate, the percentage of *tú* given decreases as the social class increases; nonetheless, both middle and upper classes expect this form 19.9% of the time.

To conclude, the relationship with the interlocutor as well as the sex of the speaker and his/her social class play a role in pronoun choice particularly when addressing family members. The following section deals with the variable relationship with the interlocutor but focusing on the nuclear family.

Nuclear Family

For the analysis of these data the sex of the interlocutor will not be considered at all because the distribution of pronouns is very similar between males and females in the same type of relationship (i.e. between mother and father). What seems to play a more important role in the selection of one pronoun over another is the type of relationship between interactants. Therefore, data has been grouped into three

categories: grandparents, parents, and siblings. Results on the use of address forms by family member are included in table E.10 (see appendix E) and illustrated in figure 5.10.

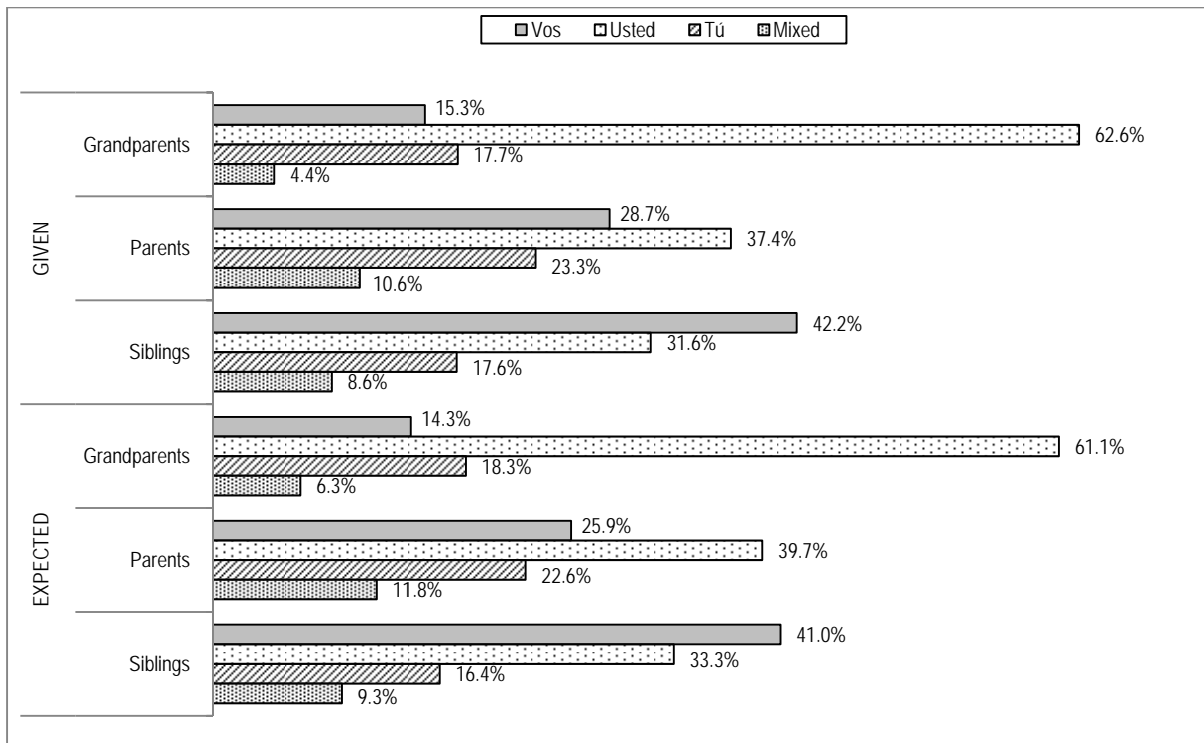


Figure E.10. Pronoun Distribution by Nuclear Family⁸⁸

As shown in figure 5.10, the type of relationship with family members has an impact on pronoun choice, $\chi^2(6) = 131.207, p < .001$. As expected, interactions with grandparents are governed by a high use of *usted*, both given and expected. Similarly, this pronoun predominates in conversations with parents, but its use is not as overwhelming as when the interlocutor is a grandparent. In addition to *usted*, participants reported using *vos* and *tú* quick frequently with their parents (28.7% and 23.3% correspondingly). On the other hand, the most common form of address between siblings is *vos*, which, as it will be described in the next section, is the most popular pronoun to address interlocutors from the same generation.

⁸⁸ See table E.10 in Appendix E.

I would like to draw attention to the use of *tú*. As it was mentioned before, results from the current study suggest that in addition to the familiar function of this pronoun, there is also a solidary but respectful *tú*. Results by nuclear family seem to support this idea given the relatively high use of this pronoun in interactions with parents and grandparents, on one hand, and with siblings, on the other hand. The results in the chart below are reported based on the sex of the speaker.

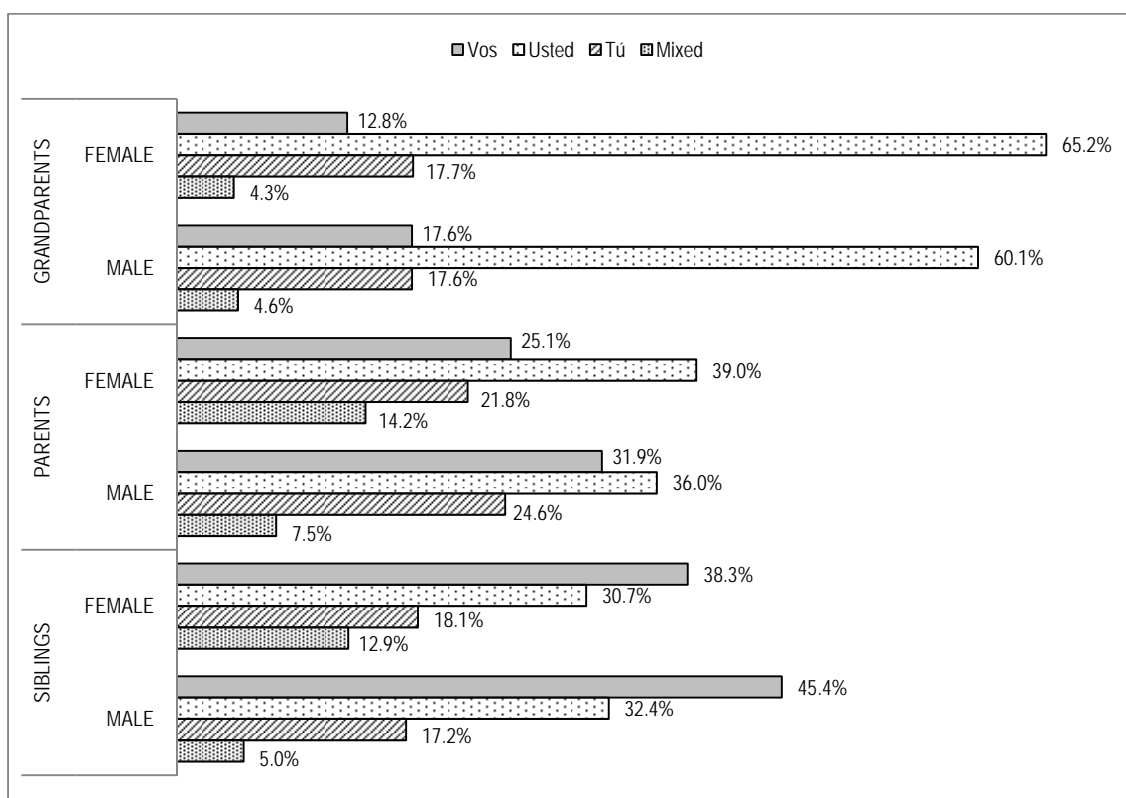


Figure 5.11. Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Sex of Speaker⁸⁹

Chi-square test reveals significant differences between male and female speakers only when the interlocutor is a sibling, though the Chi-square value is relatively low, $\chi^2(3) = 19.422, p < .001$. With parents and grandparents, results indicate that the sex of the speaker does not play a significant role in pronominal choice.

⁸⁹ See table E.11 in Appendix E.

Nonetheless, there are some particularities that I consider worth mentioning. For example, male participants indicated addressing their parents with *tú* more often than females. At first, I thought that it could be the case that sons were addressing mothers with this pronoun much more, and that it was bringing the percentage up. However, when I considered the sex of the interlocutor, I found that men were giving *tú* to both father and mother more often than women.

Another difference that I would like to mention is that female speakers indicated *mixed-use*, both given and expected, with parents and siblings more than twice as frequently as men, which follows the general trend observed in the results from this study. However, when interacting with grandparents, the use of more than one pronoun in the same context was indicated by males and females with almost the same frequency (4.3% and 4.6% correspondingly). Finally, I find very interesting the fact that male participants reported using *tú* and *usted* with grandparents with the same frequency. This result is an example of the familiar but respectful *tú* I mentioned before.

In the following section, results within the nuclear family by social class of the speaker are discussed.

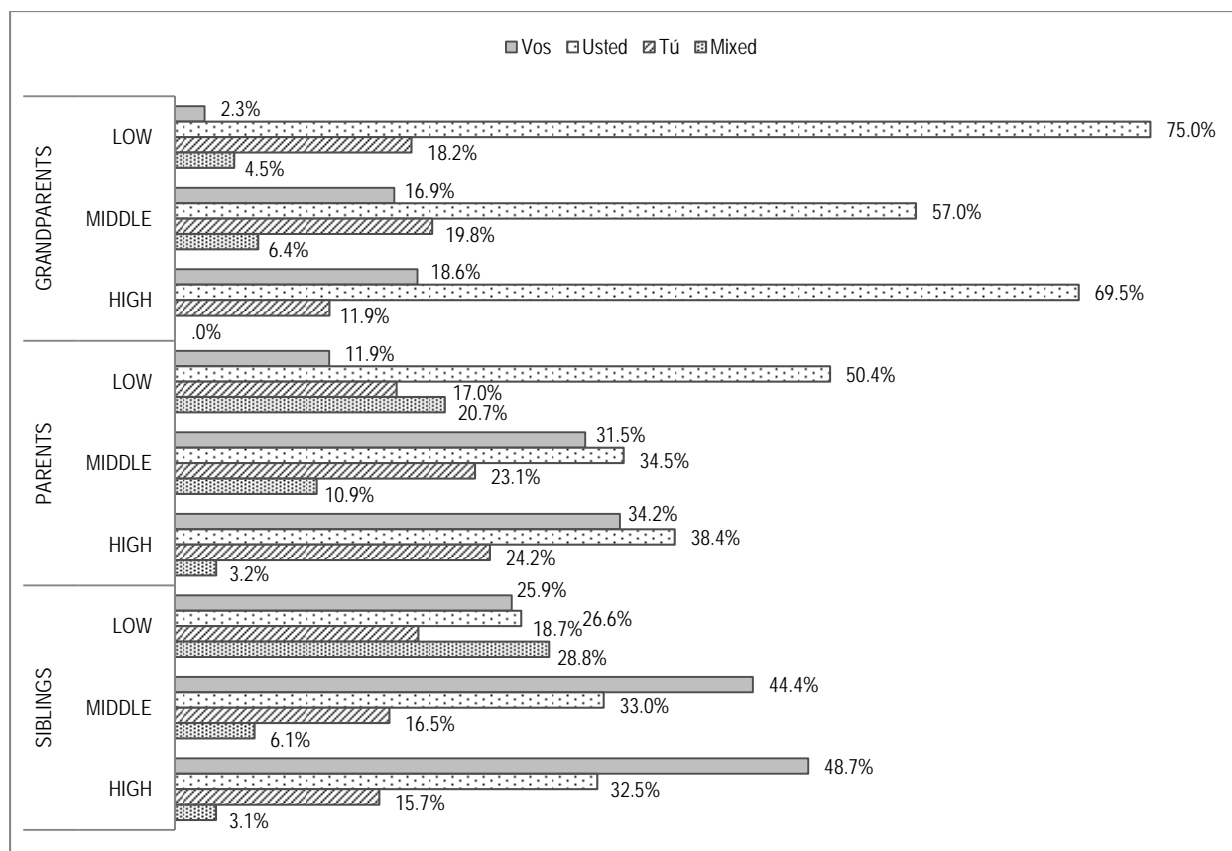


Figure 5.12 Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Social Class of Speaker⁹⁰

Results do not reveal significant differences based on the social strata of the speaker when the interlocutor is a grandparent, $\chi^2(6) = 13.451, p > .001$; however there is a particularity I would like to point out regarding the use of the pronoun *tú*. For the most part, results from this study have shown that this pronoun predominates in participants from the upper class and as the social class of the speaker decreases, so does the use of this pronoun. Nevertheless, when the interlocutor is a grandparent, speakers from the highest social strata reported the least use of *tú* with 11.9% of the time versus 19.8% indicated by the middle class and 18.2% by the lower class. One

⁹⁰ See table E.12 in Appendix E.

explanation for this higher use of *tú* by the middle class could be the duality that this pronoun seems to have.

In interactions with parents, there seems to be a strong association between the social class of the speaker and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(6) = 48.761, p < .001$. Even though *usted* is the predominating form regardless the social status of the speaker, middle and upper classes also give and expect *vos* quite frequently. Another form that is used often to address parents is *tú*. Based on the fact that there appear to be several competing forms, we could say that there is more variation in pronominal address among the middle and upper class speakers.

Regarding interactions with siblings, results also indicated significant differences in selection of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(6) = 85.177, p < .001$. I want to point out two differences in particular; first, there seems to be great variation in pronominal address at the lower social level. Here the forms of address under study seem to be competing as their percentage of use is relatively close. The fact that the *mixed-use* has the highest frequency (both given and expected), serves as evidence to this argument. The second finding I want to highlight is the pronoun *tú*, whose percentage of use decreases as the social status of the speaker increases.

To sum up, in conversations within the nuclear family, the relationship with the interlocutor seems to predominate over the sex of the interlocutor. When considering the sex and social class of the speaker, these factors do not appear to be significant in interactions with grandparents, and in the case of parents, only social class seems to play a role.

5.4. GENERATION

For the analysis of this variable, the data was classified into three groups depending on whether the interlocutor was (1) younger than the speaker, (2) of the same age of the speaker, or (3) older than the speaker. . Chi-square tests were conducted to test for independence, results indicate that there is a significant association between generation and pronoun choice, $\chi^2(6) = 1130.51, p < .001$. Overall results are included in table E.13 (see appendix E) and illustrated in figure 5.13.

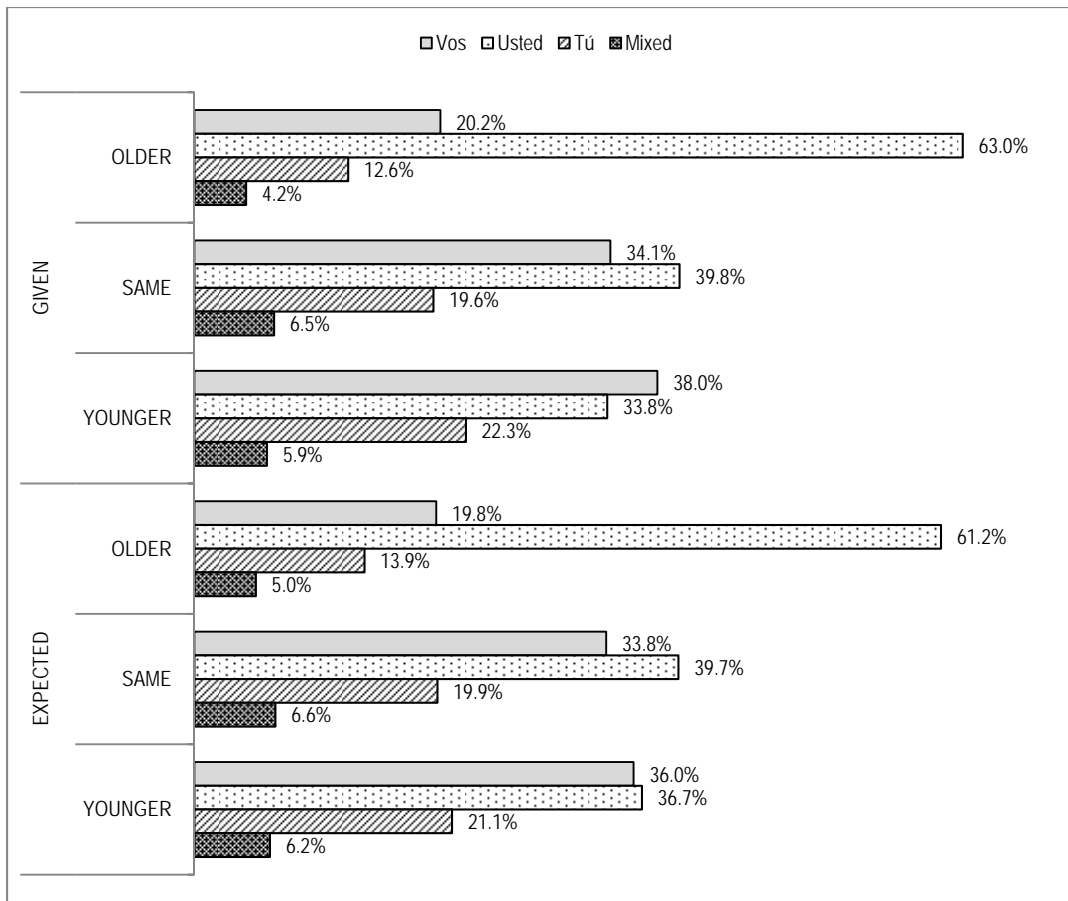


Figure 5.13. Pronoun Distribution by Generation⁹¹

⁹¹ See table E.13 in Appendix E.

The analysis of the data reveals significant differences in the choice of pronouns of address based on the generation of the interlocutor with respect to that of the speaker, $\chi^2(6) = 1130.51, p < .001$. Interactions with older people call for the use of *usted* more than 60% of the time. This result seems to echo Marin's (1972) statement that the difference in age automatically imposes the respectful *usted* toward the elderly. If the interlocutor is younger, the use of this form decreases almost by half; it is used 33.8% of the time to address younger people. The use of the pronoun *tú*, on the contrary, tends to increase with younger interlocutors. It is used to address them 22.3% of the time; while it is used with older people almost half as frequent (12.6%).

In interactions with younger people, the predominant form of address is *vos*, which is given 38% of the time, followed by *usted*. From these results, one may speculate that speakers use a more 'relaxed' speech when interacting with younger interlocutors, which leads to more variation in pronominal choice than when talking to people from an older or the same generation. Concerning this last type of interaction, speakers reported a higher use of *usted* than *vos* (39.8% vs. 34.1% respectively), and they give more than one pronoun to interlocutors of their same generation 6.5% of the time, which is very close to the 5.9% given to younger people. Older interlocutors are address with more than one pronoun 4.2% of the time.

Regarding the forms expected from their interlocutors, data show symmetrical pronominal address for the most part, except for interactions with younger interlocutors. In these interactions, participants reported using *vos* more often than *usted*, but expecting both pronouns with approximately the same frequency (around 36%). In the

following section I present a closer examination of the variable generation, taking into consideration the sex and social class of the speaker.

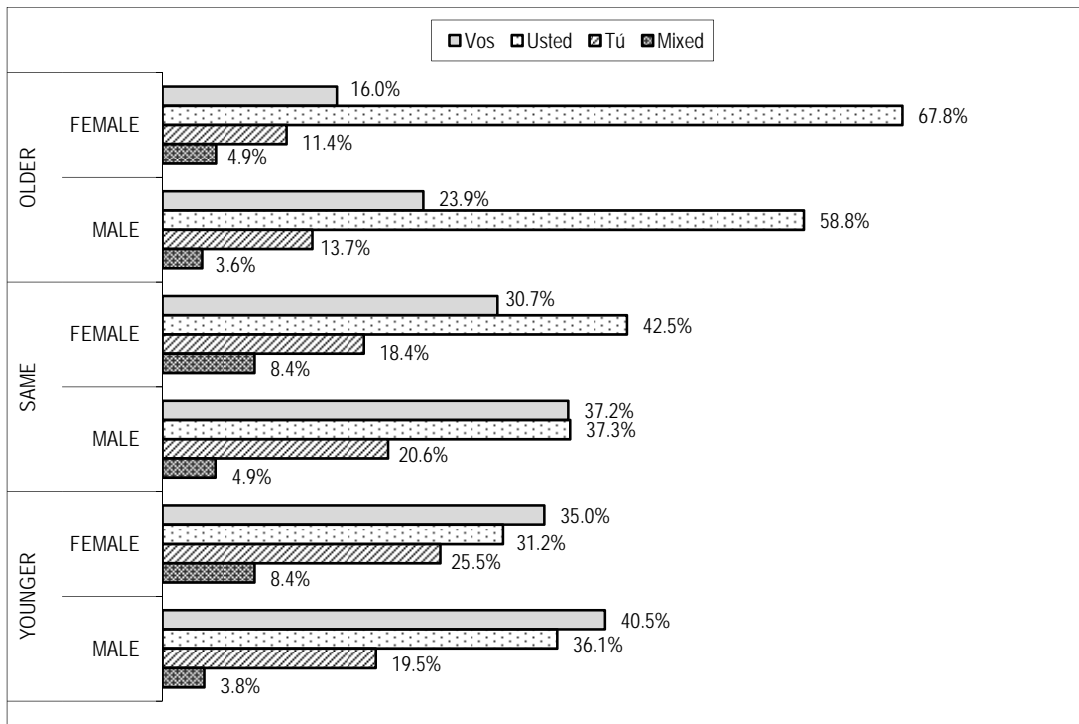


Figure 5.14. Distribution of Pronouns given by Generation and by Sex of Speaker⁹²

As illustrated in figure 5.14, results suggest some differences based on generation and sex of the speaker. The interactions that seem to display the most variation, as it was already mentioned, are between interactants from the same generation, $\chi^2(3) = 79.15, p < .001$. In these cases, females reported a preference for *usted* (42.5%), with *vos* in second place (30.7%). Men, on the other hand, indicated using both pronouns with the same frequency (37%). Another difference when talking to people from the same generation, based on the sex of the speaker, is the use of more than one form with the same addressee. Comparable to the overall results by sex of the speaker, women mixed-use almost twice as frequently as men (8.4% vs. 4.9%). Similar

⁹² See table E.14 in Appendix E.

results are found when the addressee is younger than the speaker. In these instances, women also mixed-use pronouns (8.4%) more often than men (3.8%). When the addressee is older, the difference between men and women regarding the *mixed-use* is not as big. Female indicated giving two or more pronouns to older interlocutors 4.9% versus 3.6% reported by men.

Moving to conversations with younger interlocutors, $\chi^2(3) = 33.38, p < .001$, contrary to what happens when the speaker and the listener belong to the same generation, women reported more variation in pronominal choice as shown by the relative closeness of the percentages of *vos*, *usted*, and *tú*, which are 35%, 31.2%, and 25.5% respectively. On the other hand, men indicated giving these three pronouns in the same order, but *vos* and *usted* are used almost twice as frequently as *tú* (40.5%, 36.1%, and 19.5% respectively).

Finally, when interacting with older people, there are differences based on the sex of the speaker, $\chi^2(3) = 110.96, p < .001$; for example, women reported giving *usted* more often than men (67.8% vs. 58.8%). This might be due to what was previously suggested about women being more polite in their speech (Lakoff, 1985). On the other hand, *vos* is spoken by men more frequently; 23.9% versus 16% by women. Likewise, *tú* is more recurrent in males than in females (13.7% vs. 11.3%). This finding is somewhat surprising as the opposite trend was expected based on observation of this variety and on informants' comments about the use of *tú* being associated with female speakers.

Concerning the forms individuals expect to receive from their interlocutor, data show a similar pattern to the overall results by generation: in general we observe

symmetrical address in all three types of interactions, except for the pronoun *tú*. In interactions with older people, this form of address is given by men more often than women, but all participants, regardless of their sex, indicated expecting it with the same frequency from their interlocutor (14%). Similarly, when interacting with someone from their own generation, males give *tú* more often than women, but they both expect it with the same frequency (20%). Next, results by generation and by social class of the speaker are presented.

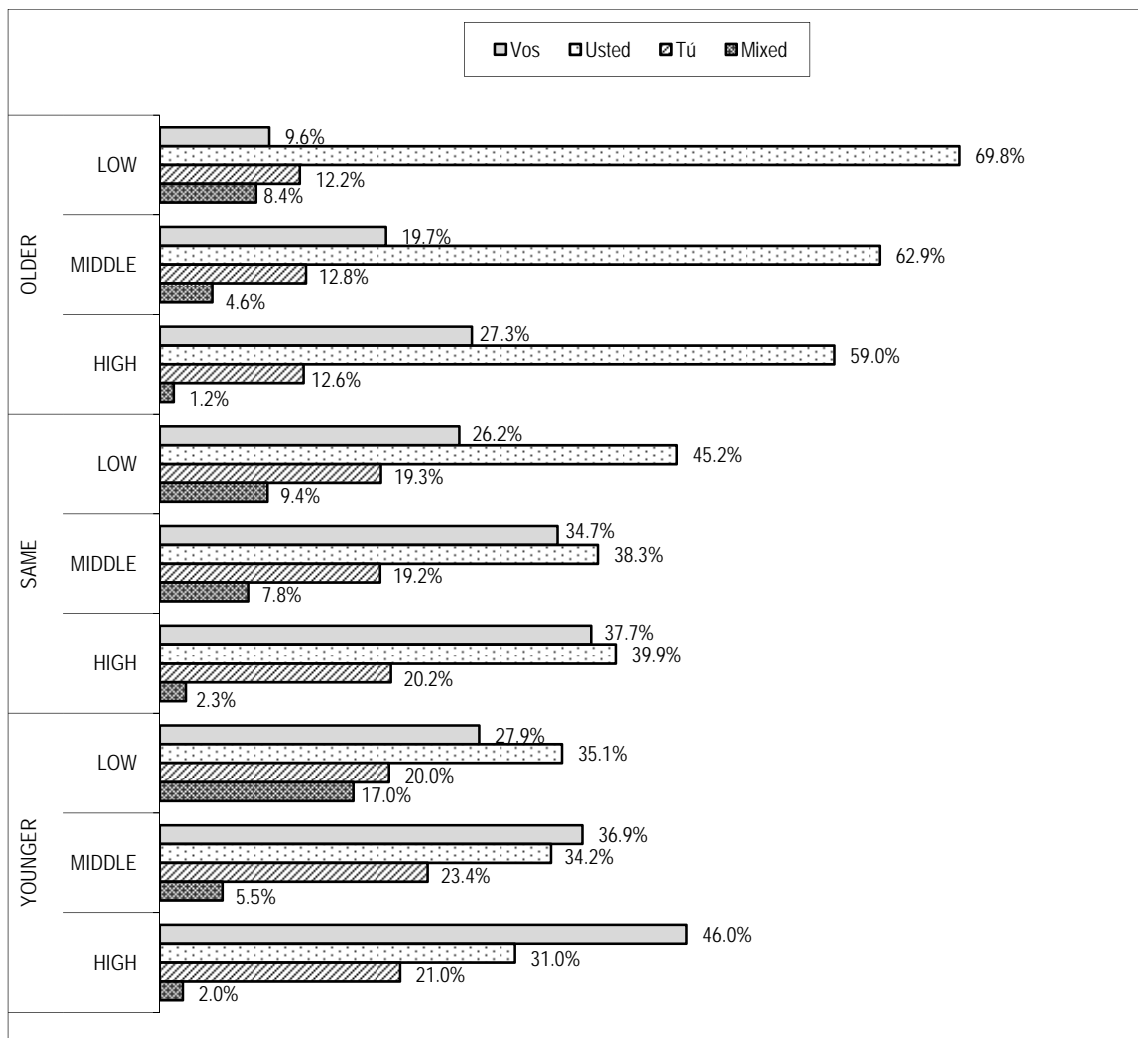


Figure 5.15. Distribution of Pronouns given by Generation and by Social Class of Speaker⁹³

⁹³ See table E.15 in Appendix E.

A closer analysis of the data based on generation by social class of the speaker reveals differences in pronominal choice, and relevance of both factors. Interactions with older interlocutors show a clear distinction in pronominal use, $\chi^2(6) = 216.56, p < .001$. *Usted* is the dominating form of address given, especially by lower classes (69.8%), and as the social class of the speaker increases, the frequency of this pronoun decreases. It is given by the upper class 58.9% of the time. Similarly, the use of more than one form to address the same person in the same discourse is much more predominant in the speech of the lower class than that of the upper social levels; it is given by the former more than four times more often than by the latter (8.4% by the lower class vs. 1.2% by the upper). *Vos*, on the other hand, is more popular among speakers from the highest social strata (27.3%), and its use decreases with social class; it is used by the lower class less than half as frequent (9.5%). Finally, the frequency of use of *tú* is very similar across all three social levels (around 12%).

Pronoun choice in interactions between two people from the same generation is also conditioned by the social class of the speaker, $\chi^2(6) = 102.99, p < .001$, and its distribution shows some similarities to those with older speakers. The preferred form given by the lower class is *usted* (45.2%), followed by *vos* (26.2%); in the upper classes the distribution of these pronouns is the same but the percentages are closer (39.8% for *usted* and 37.7% for *vos*). The middle class says *usted* almost as frequently as the upper class (38.3%), and their use of *vos* is also relatively close (34.7%). Similar to the situation with older speakers, the *mixed-use* by the lower class is much more frequent than by the highest social group (9.4% by lower, 7.8% by middle, and 2.3% by upper classes), and the use of *tú* is very similar across all social levels (around 19%).

Finally, we find more differences across social strata in interactions with younger interlocutors, $\chi^2(6) = 80.31, p < .001$. In these situations, speakers from the lower class show a preference for *usted* (35.1%); whereas middle and upper classes indicated a preference for the pronoun *vos* (36.9% and 46% respectively). Moreover, the lower class gives *mixed-use* quite frequently (16.9%) as compared to the other types of interactions and social levels. Another particularity of the interactions with younger interlocutors is that the use of pronominal address by the lower class displays the most variation and that by the upper class the least.

Concerning the forms the speakers expect to receive, results show a couple of differences when compared to the forms given. Within the older generations, individuals give *tú* with similar frequencies regardless of their social level; however, speakers from the lowest social class expect it the most and those in the middle class the least (15% vs. 13.7% by middle and 14.1% by high classes). Another difference is that when addressing people from the same generation, the middle class gives *vos* less often than the upper class, but they both expect it with nearly the same frequency (about 35%).

In sum, generation influences the selection of a pronoun over another, particularly when the addressee is older than the speaker. The sex of the speaker in combination with generation is more relevant in interactions between two people from the same generation; in these interactions, women prefer to address their interlocutor with *usted*, while men indicated giving this pronoun as frequently as *vos*. Social class is also an important factor in pronoun choice, particularly to address younger interlocutors. Middle and upper social levels show a tendency for the pronoun *vos* for these

interlocutors, *usted* is the preferred form in all other situations, especially to address older people.

The following section examines data by the variable sex of the interlocutor and the role it plays in pronoun choice.

5.5. SEX OF INTERLOCUTOR

The variable sex of the interlocutor was analyzed taking into consideration whether the speaker and the listener are both (1) the same or (2) different sex. Figure 5.16a illustrates the overall distribution of the data by this variable.

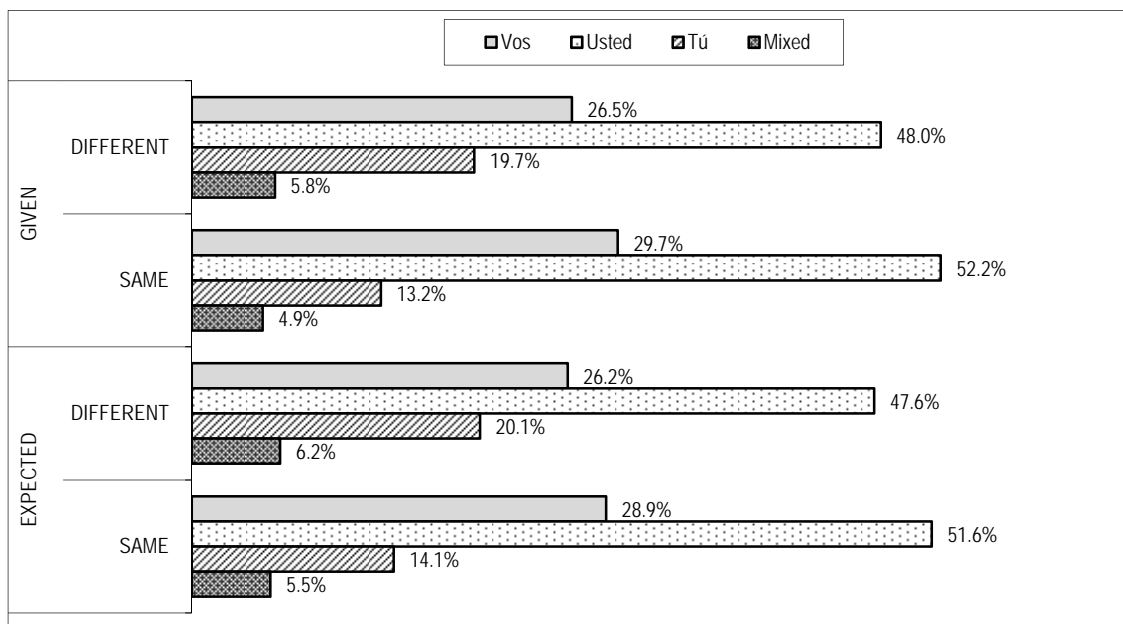


Figure 5.16a. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of Interlocutor⁹⁴

The value of the chi-square statistic is 155.74. This value is significant ($p < .001$), indicating that the sex of the interlocutor has a significant effect on pronominal choice. However, figure 5.16a shows us a very similar pronoun distribution. It is when we focus

⁹⁴ See table E.16 in Appendix E.

on the distribution of this variable by each of the address forms that we observe important differences, especially in the use of *tú*, as depicted in figure 5.16b.

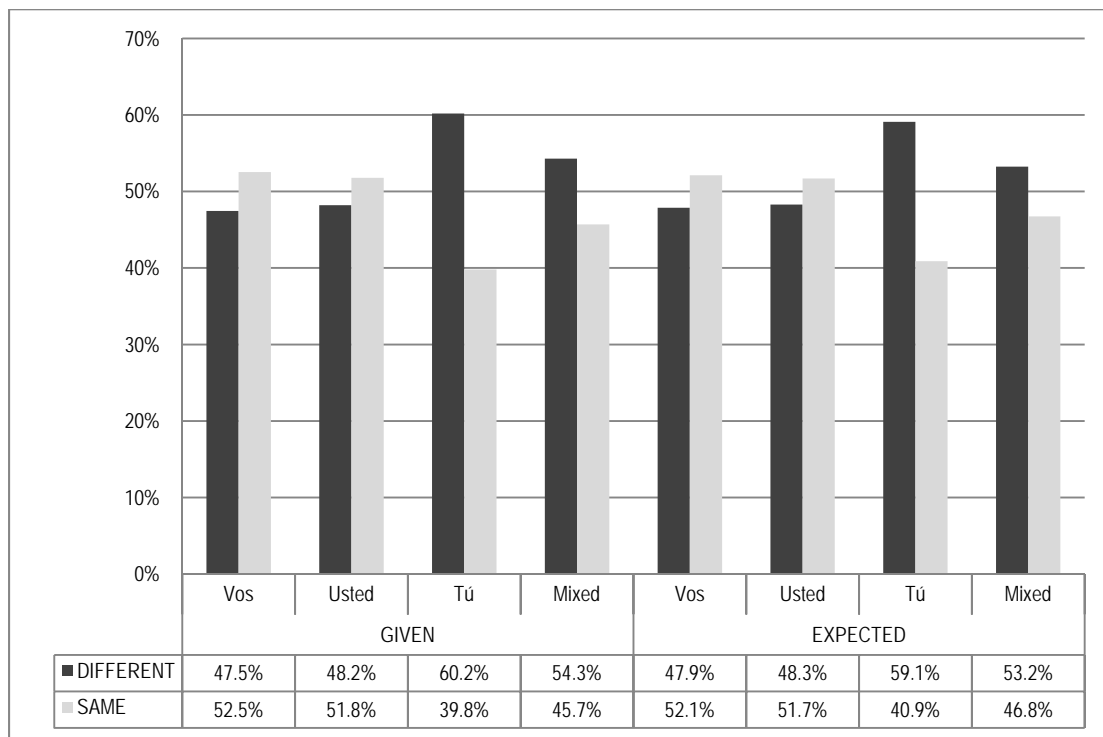


Figure 5.16b. Distribution of Sex of Interlocutor by Address Form

Figure 5.16b clearly shows speakers preference for *tú* when interacting with a person of different sex. Participants indicated that they give and expect to receive *tú* around 60% of the time when interacting with people of their opposite sex and approximately 40% from someone of the same sex. Similarly, the *mixed-use* is higher when the speaker and the address are not of the same sex. According to the results, it is given to and expected from an interlocutor of different sex more than 53% of the time, and expected from him/her around 46%. On the other hand, the frequency of use of *vos* and *usted* is somewhat higher when both interactants are of the same sex, though the difference in percentages between two people of the same or different sex is not as marked as with the pronoun *tú*.

In the following, I present a closer examination of the variable sex of the interlocutor, taking into consideration the sex of the speaker.

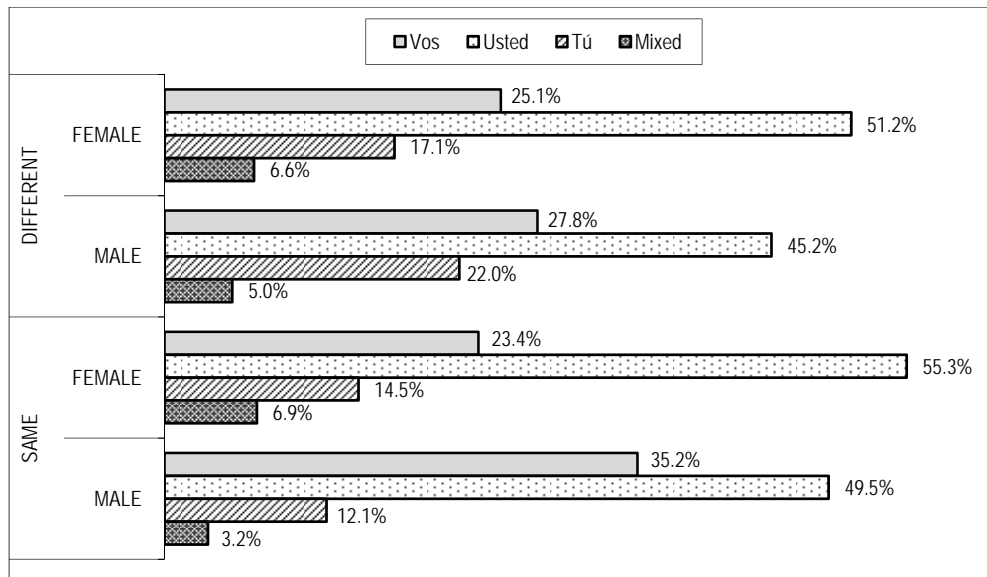


Figure 5.17. Distribution of Pronouns given by Sex of Interlocutor and by Sex of Speaker⁹⁵

Figure 5.17 shows that, when compared to the overall distribution by sex of the interlocutor, differences in pronominal use are related more to whether the speaker and the interlocutor are of the same or different sex and not so much on the sex of the speaker itself. One of the differences found is in the use of *vos*, it is exchanged between two male interactants more often than between two females (around 35% males vs. 23% females both given and expected). When the speaker and the interlocutor are of different sex, men are still the ones using *vos* the most, but the difference in percentages is smaller (approximately 27% males vs. 25% females given and expected). Another difference is in the use of *tú*, when the interlocutor is of different sex, men give it 22% of the time and anticipates it 21%, while these percentages for women are 17% and 19% respectively. On the contrary, when the conversation is between two

⁹⁵ See table E.17 in Appendix E.

people of the same sex, women use *tú* somewhat more frequently than men; they give it 14.5% and expect it even more often, 16.3%; men, on their part, give *tú* and expect it with the same frequency 12.1% of the time. The fact that *tú* predominates in interactions between individuals of different sex, was brought up in the interview, where some speakers pointed out that they relate the use of *tú* in these scenarios to romantic feelings or seduction. One informant from the study indicated that if he listens to a man and a woman addressing each other with this pronoun, he would think that they are a couple or “en un momento de seducción” [a moment of seduction].⁹⁶

The next section shows the results on the variable sex of the interlocutor by social class of the speaker.

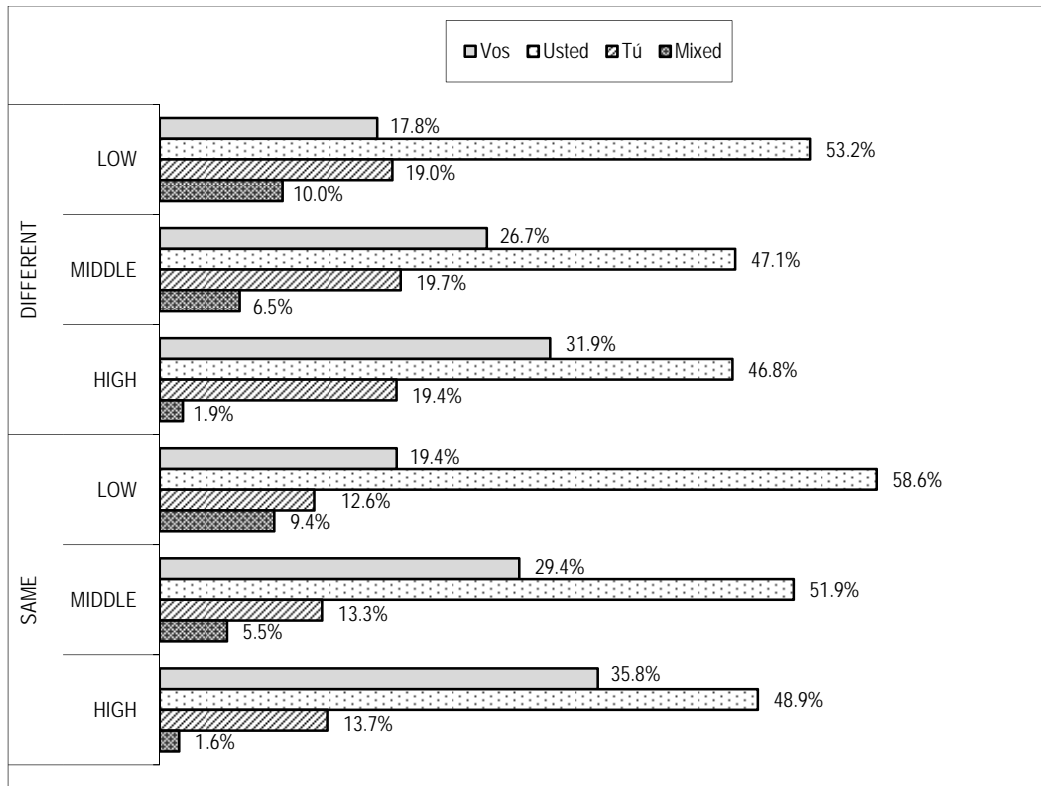


Figure 5.18. Distribution of Pronouns given by Sex of Interlocutor and by Social Class of Speaker⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Male informant from Univalle, track 2.

⁹⁷ See table E.18 in Appendix E.

Data by sex of the interlocutor and by social class of the speaker indicate that the differences in pronominal use are more related to the social class of the speaker than to the sex of the interlocutor, as it is evident when comparing the distribution and frequency of pronouns by this variable to the overall distribution by social class of the speaker alone.

One difference we encounter is in the use of the pronoun *usted*. When we compare the percentages of this form given to those expected in interactions between two people of different sex, we observe that people from the upper class gives *usted* almost as frequently as the middle class (around 47%); however, they anticipate it from the interlocutor somewhat more often (47.7% vs. 46.3% by the middle class). Another difference but along the same lines is found in the use of *tú*. When the interactants are of the same sex, this pronoun is given with relatively the same frequency across all social strata (around 13%); nonetheless, it is expected by the lower class slightly more often (15.2% vs. approximately 14% by middle and upper classes)

In sum, the variable sex of the interlocutor is relevant for pronoun choice mainly for the use of *tú*, which seems to be more appropriate in interactions between individuals of different sex. The next variable deals with the topic of the discourse and whether or not it conditions pronominal choice.

5.6. TOPIC OF DISCOURSE

In the present study, the topic of the conversation has been divided into two groups: (1) private (i.e. the conversation focuses on the personal life of one or both

interlocutors) and (2) non private. Data on overall pronoun distribution by topic of discourse are included in table E.19 (see appendix E) and illustrated in figure 5.19.

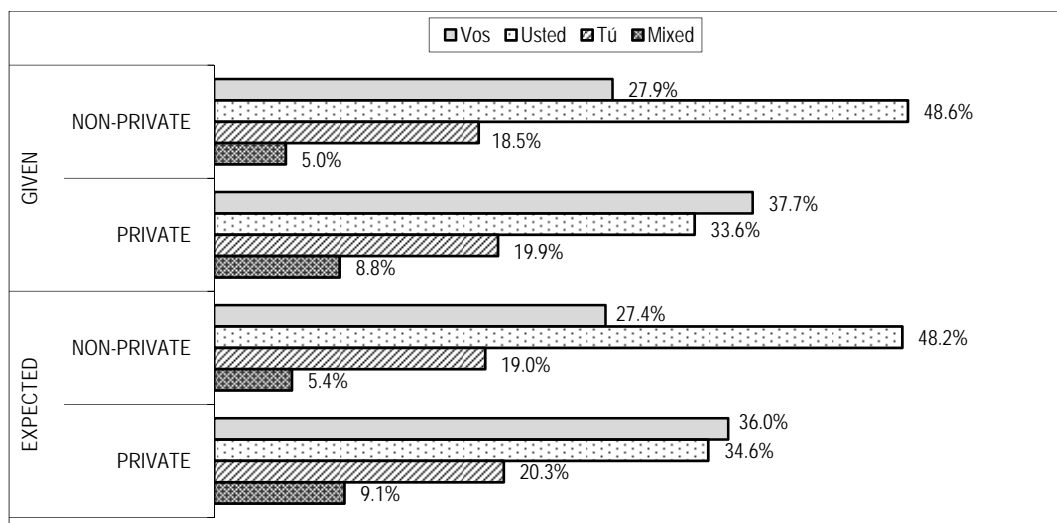


Figure 5.19. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse⁹⁸

A comparison of the results shows a clear difference in pronominal usage based on the topic of the discourse, $\chi^2(3) = 193.58, p < .001$, as shown in figure 5.16. Informants reported giving and expecting *usted* approximately 48% of the time when the topic of the discourse does not deal with private issues. In contrast, when the interactants regard the topic of the conversation as private, the preferred form of address is *vos* (around 27% given and expected), closely followed by *usted* (about 34%). Murillo Fernandez (2003:9) in her study of the variety of Popayan obtained similar results; *vos* predominated when the information being transmitted was considered private or as requiring more trust and *usted* for when dealing with less private topics. Finally, the use of more than one form with the same addressee is also most common in private conversations; it is used in these cases around 9% of the time versus 5% when

⁹⁸ See table E.19 in Appendix E.

talking about non private issues. The pronoun *tú* does not seem to be affected by the topic of the discourse as its use is very similar regardless of whether the interactants are talking about private matters or not.

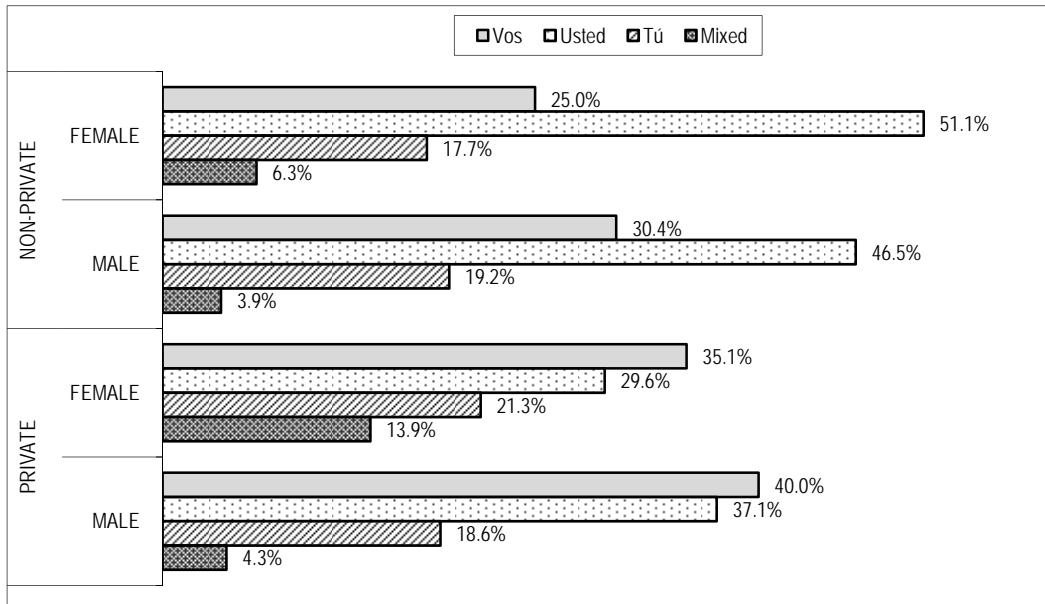


Figure 5.20. Distribution of Pronouns given by Topic of Discourse and by Sex of Speaker⁹⁹

A close analysis of the variable topic of discourse by sex of the speaker indicates that differences in pronominal use, both given and expected, are related more to whether the topic of the conversation is private or not and not so much to the sex of the speaker alone. The main differences found are in the use of *usted* and the *mixed-use*. When talking about non-private issues, both male and female speakers reported giving and expecting *usted* the most, but women use it more often than men; females give this pronoun 51% of the time and expect it 46.5%, while males give it and expect it around 47% of the time. These results are congruent with Castro-Mitchell's statement that women use *usted* with more frequency than men during conversations on general

⁹⁹ See table E.20 in Appendix E.

topics. (1991). On the other hand, when the topic of the conversation is private, the frequency of use of this pronoun by men is higher. They give it at a rate of 37.2% and anticipate it 39% of the time, whereas women use it almost 30% of the time.

Concerning the *mixed-use*, females tend to give and expect it more than twice as frequently as men (about 14% vs. 4% by men) when talking about private issues and above 6% versus about 4% respectively when the topic is non private. Below, the data are analyzed by topic of discourse and by social class of the speaker.

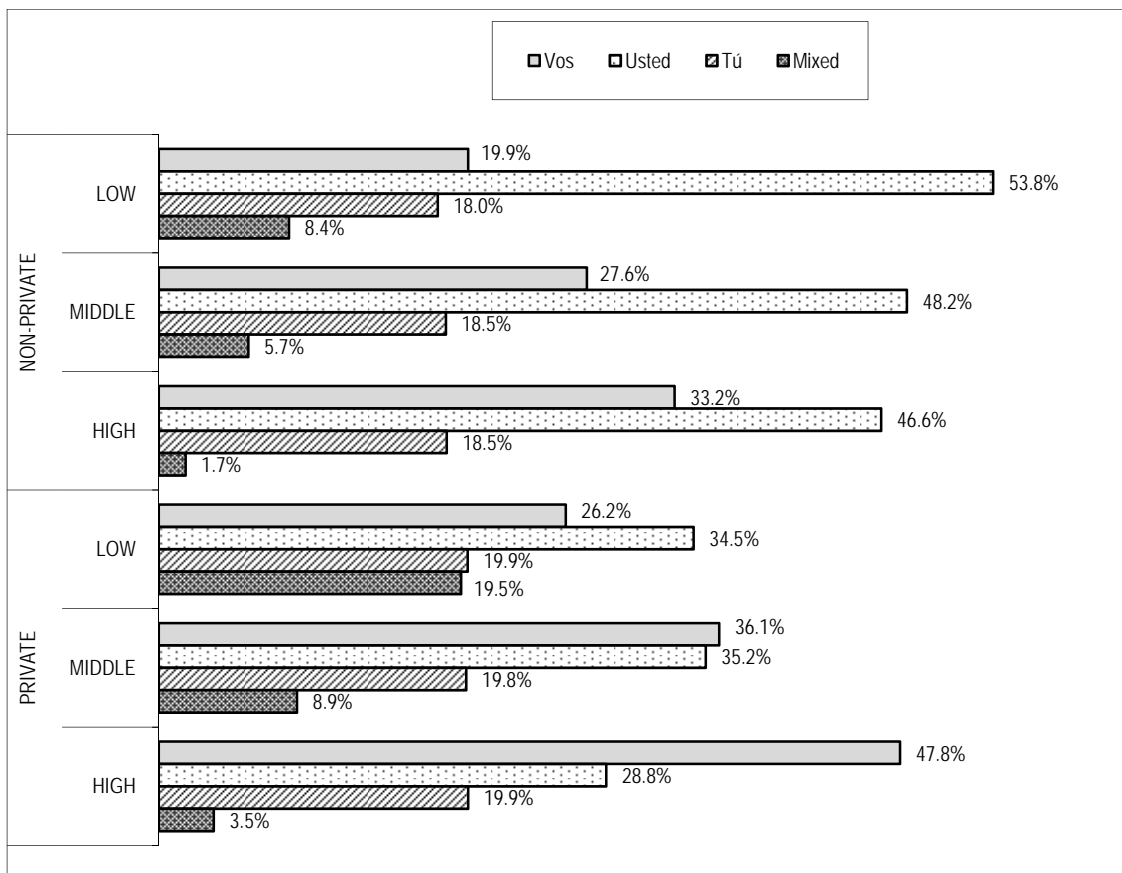


Figure 5.21. Distribution of Pronouns given by Topic of Discourse and by Social Class of Speaker¹⁰⁰

As shown in figure 5.21, there are differences in pronominal choice based on the topic of the conversation and the social class of the speaker,¹⁰¹ particularly when talking

¹⁰⁰ See table E.21 in Appendix E.

about private matters. In these situations, the preferred form of address by people from the upper social level is *vos* (47.7% given and 44.9% expected), while the lower class shows a preference for *usted* (34.4% given and 36.3% anticipated). The middle class, on its part, gives both pronouns with almost the same frequency (36.1% for *vos* and 35.2% for *usted*), but expect *usted* somewhat more often (36% vs. 34.8% for *vos*). Additionally, the lower class gives *tú* almost as frequently as the *mixed-use* (about 20% of the time), but expect *tú* more often (20.6% vs. 18.7%). On the other hand, when the topic of the conversation is non private, the distribution of pronouns is very similar to that by social class alone.

To conclude, it can be said that the topic of the discourse plays a role in the selection of one pronoun over another. When talking about private matters, the preferred form of address is *vos* and for non-private issues it is *usted*. Additionally, social factors such as the sex and social class of the speaker influence pronoun choice to some extent. The next and final variable analyzed in the current study is emotional closeness.

5.7. EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS

The last variable considered is emotional closeness, which refers to the feelings of the speaker toward the interlocutor; that is (1) negative (anger, frustration, etc.) or (2) positive (or neutral) feelings. Overall results are included in table E.22 (see appendix E) and illustrated in figure 5.22.

¹⁰¹ Non private topics: $\chi^2(3) = 192.19, p < .001$ / Private topics: $\chi^2(3) = 71.71, p < .001$

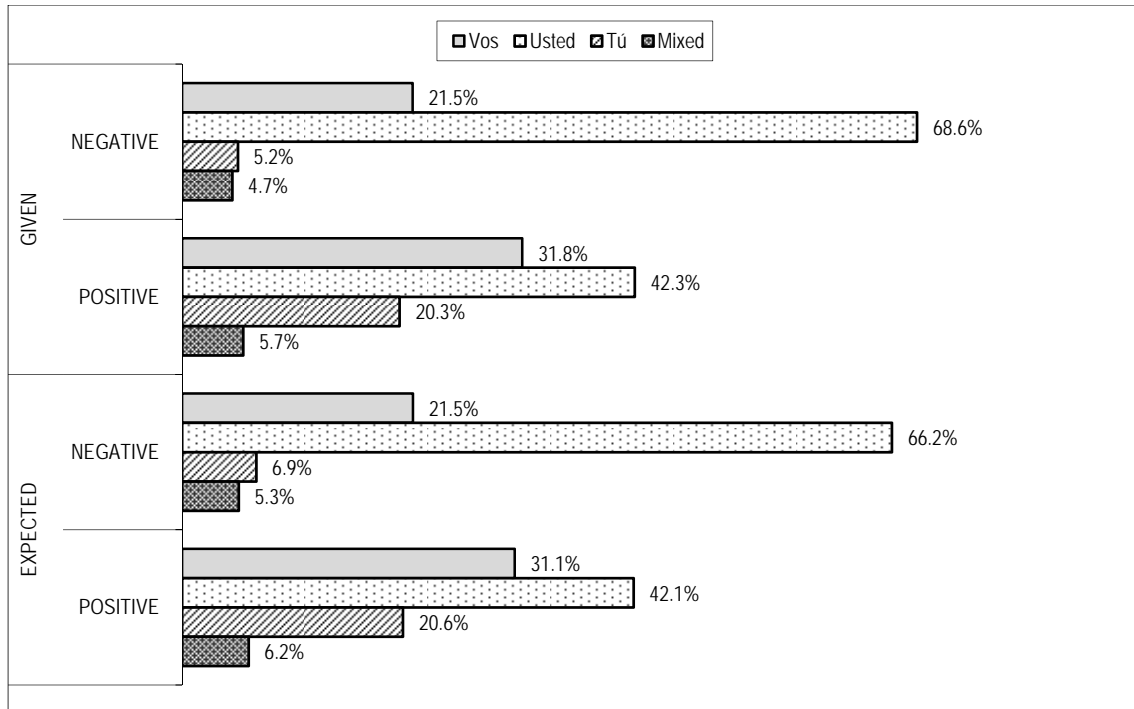


Figure 5.22. Pronoun Distribution by emotional closeness¹⁰²

As indicated by figure 5.22, the variable of emotional closeness strongly influences the selection of one pronoun over another, $\chi^2(3) = 724.62, p < .001$. A comparison of the total percentages of occurrence of the forms of address by emotional closeness indicates that, even though *usted* predominates in both kinds of interactions, the frequency of use of this pronoun is much higher when there are negative feelings involved. Participants reported using *usted* 68.6% of the time for negative emotional closeness versus 42.2% for positive. The same situation is observed in the forms expected from the interlocutor; speakers anticipate receiving this pronoun 66.2% of the time when they are angry at their interlocutor and 42.1% when the feelings are positive or neutral.

¹⁰² See table E.22 in Appendix E.

Another evident difference is with the use of *tú*, which predominates when the feelings of the speaker toward the interlocutor are positive or neutral. Informants indicated giving and expecting it about 20% of the time in this situation versus 5.2% given and 6.9% expected when it there are negative feelings involved.

Next I present data by topic of discourse taking into consideration the sex of the speaker. Figure 5.20 illustrate the results which are included in table E.23 (see Appendix E).

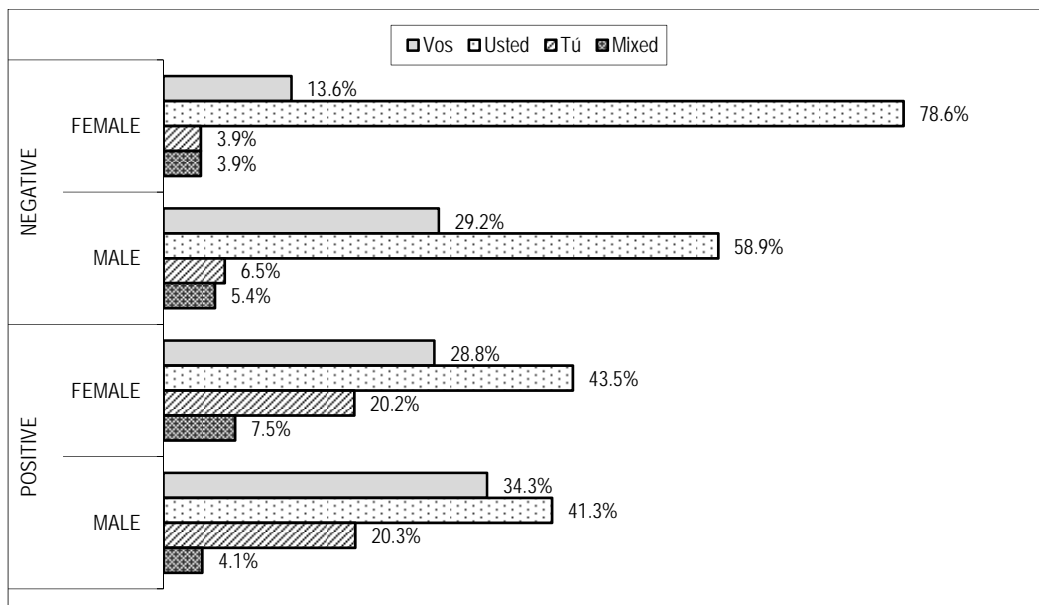


Figure 5.23. Distribution of Pronouns given by emotional closeness and by Sex of Speaker¹⁰³

Differences in pronominal choice both given and expected are related more to the variable emotional closeness than to sex of the speaker, as figure 5.23 illustrates. The distribution of pronouns by emotional closeness and by sex of the speaker is very similar to that of the overall pronominal distribution within this variable (see figure 5.21).

Finally, there is a closer examination of the data by emotional closeness and by social class of the speaker.

¹⁰³ See table E.23 in Appendix E.

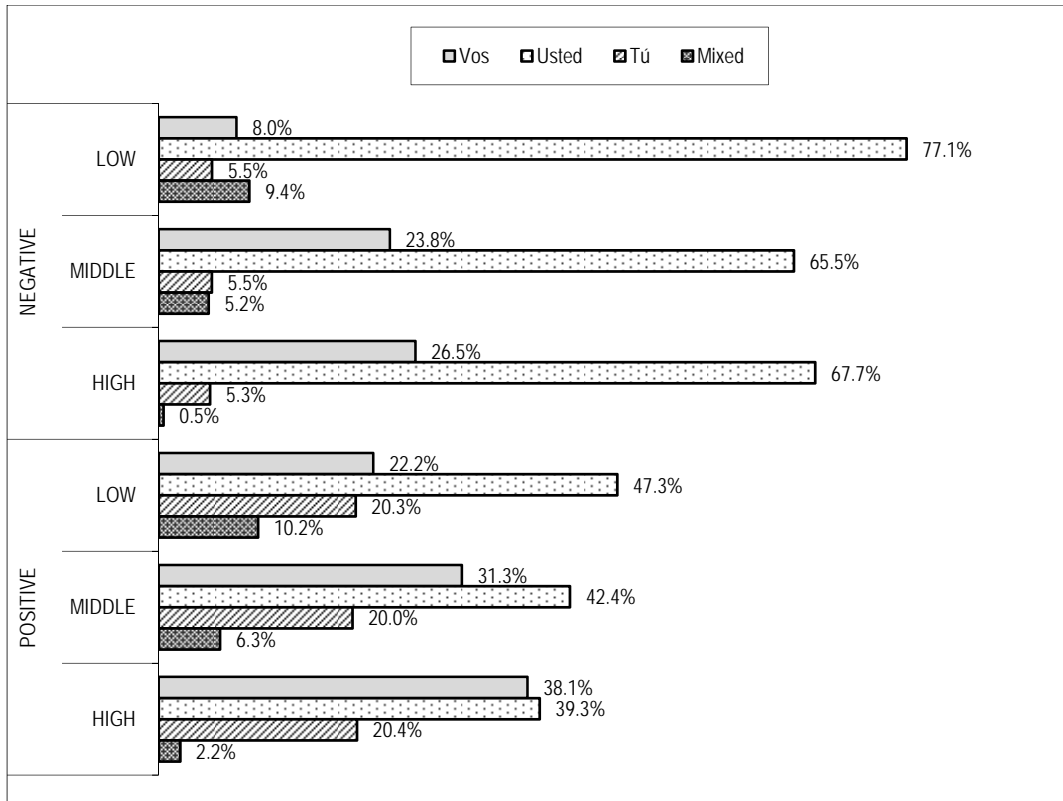


Figure 5.24. Distribution of Pronouns given by emotional closeness and by Social Class of Speaker¹⁰⁴

Figure 5.22 shows some particularities in the distribution of pronouns when taking into consideration emotional closeness and the social class of the speaker.¹⁰⁵ First, the frequency of *mixed-use* given and expected by speakers of the lower social group is considerably higher than the percentage of *tú*; informants indicated giving more than one form 9.3% of the time and expecting it 11.6%; while they give *tú* at a rate of 5.5% and expect it 9.1% of the time. On the other hand, the upper class rarely uses more than one pronoun with the same interlocutor, when there are negative feelings involved in their interaction (0.5%). Additionally, all social strata give *tú* more than 5% of

¹⁰⁴ See table E.24 in Appendix E.

¹⁰⁵ Negative emotional closeness: $\chi^2(6) = 95.93, p < .001$ / Positive emotional closeness: $\chi^2(6) = 215.44, p < .001$

the time, but the lower class expects it the most (9.1% vs. about 6.5% by middle and upper classes). Another peculiarity found in interactions where there is negative solidarity is that participants reported a much higher use of *usted* given by the lower class, as it is expected, and a lower use of this form by the middle class (77.1% by lower, 65.5% by middle, and 67.7% by upper classes); however, the lower and the upper social levels expect to receive this pronoun from their interlocutor with almost the same frequency (about 70% of the time).

Concerning interactions with positive emotional closeness, one characteristic worth noting is that *tú* is given by all social levels the same (about 20% of the time); nevertheless, it is expected by the lower class the most and by middle class the least (22.3% by lower, 19.7% by middle, and 21.2% by upper classes).

In sum, emotional closeness plays an important role in the selection of one form of address over another; whereas the role of the sex and the social class of the speaker does not seem to be as strong.

5.8. CONCLUSIONS

Similar to what was found for the Antioquian variety of Colombian Spanish, social factors also seem to condition the selection of one pronoun over another in the variety of Cali. Following is a summary of the results taking into consideration the extra-linguistics variables considered in this study.

Overall results of pronominal use by college students in Cali indicate that, contrary to what have been said, the predominant form of address is reported to be *usted* both given and expected. *Vos* is somewhat frequent but not as much as it was

anticipated. In fact, informants reported using this pronoun almost half of the time as compared to *usted*. Additionally, men reported a preference for *vos*; whereas *usted* seems to be more frequent in the speech of women.

In general, *vos* appears to be an appropriate pronoun in most contexts; however, its use increases with younger interlocutors and when the topic of the discourse is regarded by the speaker as private. Similarly, the frequency of *tú* is higher with younger interlocutors and private topic, but in addition, it is also more common when interacting with people of different sex. Another particularity about *tú* is that its frequency of reported use is greater than expected, in most situations, even in public and with stranger. As for the use of more than one pronoun with the same interlocutor in the same discourse, its frequency decreases as the distance with the interlocutor increases or the place of the interaction becomes more public.

Data by sex of the speaker reveal some interesting results. As mentioned before, *usted* seem to predominate in the speech of women, except in interactions at home, when talking to younger people and siblings, or when the topic of the conversation is private; in all other cases, the percentage of reported use of *usted* by females is greater. On the other hand, results indicate that *vos* always predominates in men's speech regardless of the characteristics of the addressee or the context of the interaction. Similarly the *mixed-use* displays a clear distinction between men and women since it was more often reported by the latter than the former. There are two situations in which males indicated addressing their interlocutor with more than one pronoun more often than women and that is to younger people or when talking about private issues.

Regarding the pronoun *tú*, the situation is not as straight forward as with the other forms of address considered in the study since it varies according to the circumstances. Generally, it is used by women more often than by men. However, there are several instances where the use of *tú* by males exceeds that of females; for example, in public and at the university, when addressing parents, friends, professors, and strangers; and when talking about non-private issues; among other situations. Something worth noticing is that the overall use of *tú* was much higher than anticipated in all contexts, particularly at the university and in public places.

Concerning the role played by the social strata of the speaker in pronominal choice, we found some patterns; on the one hand, we can observe that the use of *vos* increases parallel to the social class; whereas the *mixed-use* decreases as the social status of the speaker goes up. These findings about the pronoun *vos* are contrary to what has been generally reported by other scholars. For instance, Simpson (2002) reports a higher use of this pronoun by lower classes. Similarly, Murillo Fernandez (2003) observes that, even though, this pronoun is used by people from all social classes, it predominates among the lower class.

Regarding *tú*, on the other hand, does not seem to be influenced by social class as much as the other pronouns since its reported frequency in most contexts is very similar regardless the social strata of the speaker. One example in which social class does play a role in the use of *tú* is in public, where speakers from the middle class reported a lower use of this pronoun than the middle and upper class, whose frequency is almost the same. In addition, at the university, the use of *tú* by speakers from the upper class is lower than the other two classes. Another example worth mentioning is

the interactions with classmates because the frequency of *tú* decreases as the social status of the speaker goes up. One explanation for this could be that very often the pronoun *tú* is regarded as an “educated” form, and one appropriate in the context of the university.

Finally, the general pattern displayed by the pronoun *usted* is a decrease in its use as the social level increases; however, social factors, such as the relationship with the interlocutor and the feeling toward him/her, the place of the interaction, and the topic of the discourse, might trigger changes to this general trend.

As for the forms expected from the interlocutor, similar to what was found in Medellín, participants stated that they expect to be addressed in the same form they address their interlocutor, as a result we find mostly reciprocal address.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter compares the results from both speech communities under study and summarizes the major findings of this investigation by assessing the hypotheses and goals that were introduced in chapter 2. The chapter concludes with directions for future avenues of research.

First, it is important to point out that for the most part, results show symmetrical relationships with respect to pronominal address in Medellin and Cali. That is, participants in this study expect to be addressed in the same form they address their interlocutor, with some exceptions already mentioned in the discussion of each variety. Therefore, for the last part of this study, the discussion will focus on the forms given by the speaker and not on the form they expect to receive in return.

Research Questions

This section comprises the research questions presented in chapter two, starting with the main research question guiding the present study, followed by the secondary questions.

Main research question: *how does the use of second person pronominal address forms differ from one Colombian dialect to the other (Antioquian - Medellin and Vallecaucan - Cali)?*

Overall, the second person pronominal address systems of Medellin and Cali are very similar in terms of pronoun distribution and factors conditioning the selection of one form over another. However, as it will be discussed in more detailed next when

addressing the secondary questions, there are differences in their use based on the extralinguistic factors considered in the study.

Secondary questions:

- a. *What are the main extralinguistic factors that condition the selection of pronominal address forms in each dialect?*

Chi-square tests indicate that all eight extralinguistic factors (sex of the speaker, social class of the speaker, place of interaction, relationship with the interlocutor, sex of the interlocutor, generation, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness) play a significant role in the selection of one pronoun over another in Medellín and Cali. However, the impact these factors have in determining pronoun choice and the outcome in each variety might differ.

Beginning with the variable sex of the speaker, overall results indicate that there are differences between Medellín and Cali in the use of all forms considered in the study, based on this extralinguistic factor. First of all, males from Medellín reported a higher use of *usted* in most contexts of interaction; while in Cali, women indicated a greater use of this pronoun. On the other hand, females from Medellín seem to use *tú* more often than males, but in Cali the trend is the opposite. Regarding the pronoun *vos*, its use by men is higher in both varieties; nevertheless, the difference in the percentages is larger in Cali (31.3% males and 24.3% females) than in Medellín (33.6% and 31.6% correspondingly). As for the use of more than one form with the same addressee, females from both varieties reported a higher frequency of *mixed-use* than males.

The second factor conditioning pronoun choice is social class. In the Antioquian and Caleñan dialect, *usted* and *vos* are socially marked and display opposite trends. Based on the reported use of these pronouns by participants from both varieties, we observe that the pronoun *vos* is less commonly used in the lowest social group, but as social class increases, so does the frequency of this pronoun. In contrast, *usted* predominates among the lower class, and its use diminishes as social class goes up.

In turn, *tú* and the *mixed-use* differ from one dialect to the other. On the one hand, in Medellín, *tú* is conditioned by social class as its use increases parallel to the social status of the speaker; whereas, this extralinguistic factor does not seem to condition the use of *tú* as much in Cali since the reported frequencies for this pronoun is very similar across all social strata, with a couple of exceptions already mentioned. On the other hand, the *mixed-use* is socially marked in Cali, and its use decreases as the social level of the speaker increases. In fact, the lower class uses more than one form to address the same addressee in the same discourse almost five times more often than the upper class. In Medellín, social class plays a role as well, but there is not a clear pattern in the *mixed-use* as we observed with the other pronouns. Its use varies depending on other factors not just the social class of the speaker.

The next extralinguistic variable is place of interaction. The pronominal distribution in Cali and Medellín is very alike. In both dialects, *vos* and *tú* are used more often at home; while *usted* is the preferred form of address in public and at the university. Regarding the *mixed-use*, it is more likely at the university in the Antioquian dialect and at home in the Caleñan variety. In both varieties the use of pronouns displays similar distribution in public and at the university, especially in Cali where it is

almost identical, and therefore these two places of interactions could be regrouped together.

Regarding the relationship with the interlocutor, even though this variable strongly conditions pronoun choice in both varieties, the outcome shows some differences. The main difference is that in Medellín, *vos* predominates in interactions with family members, and it is used together with *usted* when the interlocutor is a classmate. In Cali, instead, family members are addressed with *vos* and *usted*; whereas the preferred form for classmates is *usted*. In both varieties, the governing pronoun to address professors and strangers is *usted* as this pronoun is used with these types of interlocutors more than 2/3 of the time. Additionally, this pronoun also predominates with friends, despite the fact that its frequency is not as high, at least not in Medellín, where the frequency of reported use of this pronoun is 47.2% versus 50% in Cali. *Tú* predominates in interactions with relatives, and its use in Cali decreases as the distance between the speaker and the interlocutor increases. In Medellín, the trend is similar except that *tú* is used with strangers more often than with professors. Similar to the variable place of interaction and the pronoun distribution in public and at the university, interactions with professors and strangers display similar patterns and could become one group, once again in Cali even more than in Medellín.

Another variable considered to play an important role in pronoun choice is generation. In both varieties, interactions with older people call for the use of *usted*; while *vos* is the predominating form with younger people. One difference between Cali and Medellín is that participants from the former reported a preference for *usted* when

talking to people of their same generation. On the contrary, speakers from Medellín indicated a higher use of *vos* with these interlocutors.

The sex of the interlocutor, another social factor considered in this study, plays an important role particularly in the use of the pronoun *tú*. Participants from both regions indicated using this form mostly to address interlocutor that were not of their same sex. Especially men would prefer to use this pronoun to address women and not other men since, as some of the respondents indicated in the interview, *tú* is regarded as feminine and one that belongs to the speech of women.

Concerning the topic of discourse, conversations dealing with private issues call for the use of *vos*, especially in Medellín. In conversations about non private or neutral topics, on the contrary, the predominant form of address is *usted* in both varieties. *Tú* and the *mixed-use* display a different pattern in each dialect. In Medellín, *tú* and the *mixed-use* are also common when talking about private matters. In Cali, on the contrary, the use of more than one form with the same addressee is more frequent in exchanges about private issues, while the use of *tú* is very similar regardless of the topic of the conversation.

The last extralinguistic factor that is considered to determine the selection of one pronoun over another is emotional closeness. In Medellín as well as in Cali, *usted* is the main form of address when there are negative feelings involved toward the interlocutor. In fact, this pronoun is used almost three times more frequently than *vos*, the second most common pronoun in these situations. On the other hand, *vos* is used more often when the emotional closeness is positive; similarly, the pronoun *tú* is more recurrent when there are not any negative feelings involved. Finally, the *mixed-use* is

used by Caleñans similarly regardless of the emotional closeness between the speaker and the interlocutors; whereas, people from Medellín tend to give more than one pronoun slightly more often when the emotional closeness is positive.

b. What extralinguistic factors determine the mixed-use of pronouns in each dialect?

First of all, it is important to mention that the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same was reported to be slightly more common in Cali than in Medellín and that is reflected in the number of extralinguistic factors determining its use. The social factors where more variation is observed in the use of more than one form with the same addressee in Medellín are sex of the speaker, place of interaction, and relationship with the interlocutor. In Cali, all social factors included in this study play a role in the *mixed-use*, but we find the greater variation, in addition to the three in Medellín, when we take into consideration social class, place of interaction, generation, and topic of discourse.

In both varieties of Spanish studied, the *mixed-use* is more frequent in women than in men, and Antioquians reported using more than one pronoun to classmates more often than to any other interlocutor; whereas, Caleñans give it more commonly to relatives. Furthermore, in Cali, the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same discourse is conditioned by the closeness of the relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. As the familiarity between the interactants decreases, so does the *mixed-use*. Along the same lines we find that the *mixed-use* is higher at home, and its use diminishes as the place of the interaction becomes more

public. In addition, the *mixed-use* is also socially marked in Cali. It is mostly given by individuals from the lower class and as the social class of the speaker increases, the use of more than one pronoun decreases. Concerning how the generation of the interlocutor with respect to that of the speaker influences the use of more than one pronoun, results indicate that the *mixed-use* is more likely to take place when the interactants belong to the same generation or when the listener is younger than the speaker. Finally, the last social factor that prompts the *mixed-use* in Cali is topic of discourse; the use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee is more likely in conversations about private issues.

c. How widespread is the use of tú and vos in each dialect?

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the varieties of Spanish spoken in Medellín and Cali have been characterized by a general *voseo*; however, findings from the current study seem to suggest that the use of *vos* is not as high as previous studies (Lipski 1994; Simpson 2002; Bartens 2003; Jang 2005, among others) have indicated. One explanation is that there could be a linguistic change in progress in both varieties as there is variation in second person pronominal address; the *tuteo* is higher than it has been reported, and *tú* might be taking over the functions of other pronouns. Additionally, it appears that in both varieties we are dealing with a dual *tú* as I will explain later. Following is a description of the use of *vos* and *tú* in each variety and an explanation about the duality of *tú* that I am proposing.

Overall results show that *vos* is used somewhat more often in Medellín than in Cali. Data indicate that this pronoun is used in Medellín 32% of the time versus 28% in

Cali. Here are some of the particularities of the use of this pronoun in each dialect.

When considering the sex of the speaker, we find that, despite the fact that *vos* is more common in men and its frequency between speakers from both dialects is quite similar (33.6% Antioquians and 31.3% Caleñans), female from Medellin use it more often than female from Cali (31.6% vs. 24.3% respectively). Another particularity in the use of *vos* between dialects is that in Medellin it is more frequently used to address classmates, with family member in second place; whereas in Cali the trend is the opposite, *vos* is more common with relatives than with classmates. Finally, while *vos* is the preferred form between Antioquians of the same generation, in Cali, it predominates in exchanges with younger individuals, and as the interlocutor gets older, the use of this pronoun decreases.

Regarding *tú*, participants from both varieties chose this pronoun about 17% of the time. However, even though the frequencies of this pronoun are almost the same in Medellin and Cali, there are some differences in its use. For instance, in Medellin, *tú* is more common in women; while in Cali, men reported using it the most. Additionally, considering the variable of relationship with the interlocutor, *tú* is mostly used in interactions at home and, as the distance between the speaker and the interlocutor increases; the use of this pronoun diminishes, except for strangers, who are addressed with this pronoun more often than professors. In Cali, on the other hand, we do not observe a pattern connecting the closeness or distance between interactants and the pronoun *tú*. Another difference between both varieties in the use of this pronoun is when taking into consideration the topic of the discourse. In Medellin, the use of *tú* is higher

when individuals are talking about private issues; whereas in Cali, the topic of the discourse does not seem to condition the use of this pronoun as much.

Finally, I will talk about the duality of *tú* and what I mean by it. Uber (1985) stated in her study on Colombian Spanish, that in some varieties the pronoun *usted* has two functions: the *usted* of solidarity and the *usted* of non-solidarity (1985: 385). My findings lead me to believe that similar to the dual function of *usted*, *tú* also has two functions: the *tú* of closeness and intimacy and the *tú* of respect and education. This duality of *tú* is more noticeable when taking into consideration the variables of place of interaction and relationship with the interlocutor and it is more evident in the variety of Cali than in that of Medellin. In general, *tú* is described as the familiar form; therefore, it is expected to be more frequent in interactions at home and with family members, which are the most familiar and intimate of all environments and relationships studied. What is not expected is a relatively high use of this pronoun in public to address stranger, and that is what we found in this study. In Cali, for instance, *tú* is used in public 15.2% of the time, which is somewhat high if we considered that it is used at home at a rate of 22.8%. Similarly, it is used with stranger 11.9% of the time, compared to 20.8% with family members.

d. Is usted used in informal contexts in the Antioquian dialect as frequently as it is in the Vallecaucan dialect?

Findings from the current study indicate that *usted* is the predominant form of address in informal contexts in both varieties of Colombian Spanish studies; however, it is somewhat more frequent in Cali than in Medellin (50% vs. 46% respectively), and

there are a couple of differences in the use of this pronoun from one variety to the other. Additionally, even though, the difference in percentages between Cali and Medellin is not large, it is important to note that the disparity between *usted* (the predominant variant) and *vos* (the second most frequent form of address in both dialects) indicates that *usted* is much more frequent in Cali than in Medellin. To be more precise, in the Caleñan variety, *vos* appears almost half as often as *usted* (28% vs. 50% correspondingly); whereas, in the Antioquian dialect the frequency of the first is around one third of the second (32.5% *vos* vs. 46% *usted*). Furthermore, similar to the duality proposed for *tú*, *usted* also shows dual functions, as explained later. Here is a description of the two most important differences of *usted* between Cali and Medellin: the main difference found is that, in Medellin, this pronoun predominates in men, while in Cali, women tend to use it more often. Male participant from Antioquia indicated using this form 48.4% of the time and females 43.7% versus 53.1% reported by female Caleñans and 47.2% by males. The second most outstanding disparity between dialects is regarding the relationship with the interlocutor, in the Antioquian variety, *usted* is used with strangers almost as frequently as with professors (around 67% of the time), while in Cali, it is much more frequent with the latter (78% with professors vs. 68% with strangers), additionally, in Cali, this pronoun is exchanged with family members as frequently as *vos* (36%).

As for the duality of *usted*, as explained above, Uber (1985) proposed that this pronoun has two functions in some varieties of Colombian Spanish: the solidarity and the non-solidarity function. Findings from my investigation shows evidence in support of this proposal as *usted* is used in close, familiar relationships and environments as well

as in more distant and formal settings. On the one hand, this pronoun governs interactions with professors and strangers and those taking place in public and at the university, which is not surprising since this form conveyed some degree of formality even in informal contexts. On the other hand, *usted* is also quite popular to address friends and for exchanges at home.

Having in mind the different functions of *usted* and *tú* observed in the findings, I propose the following continuum for second person pronominal address in informal contexts for the Colombian varieties of Medellin and Cali:

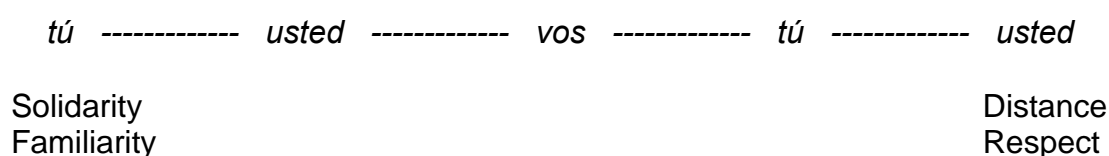


Figure 6.1. Continuum of second person pronominal address

The following section addresses the initial hypotheses of this study and indicates whether they are confirmed or rejected based on the results obtained.

Hypothesis 1: External or extralinguistic factors (dialect, sex of the speaker, social class of the speaker, place of interaction, relationship with the interlocutor, , generation, sex of the interlocutor, topic of discourse, and emotional closeness; cf. Friedrich 1971) account for the variation of pronominal address in informal contexts.

Results on reported use of the different address forms included in the present study seem to confirm this hypothesis since all nine extralinguistic factors analyzed condition pronoun choice in one way or another. Further statistical analysis is needed in order to be able to rank the variables from the most influential to the least.

Hypothesis 2: *The use of more than one pronoun with the same addressee in the same discourse (mixed-use) is conditioned by external factors.*

This hypothesis also seems to be confirmed. As mentioned above, external factors such as sex of the speaker, place of interaction, and relationship with the interlocutor display greater variation in *mixed-use* in Medellín; while, sex of the speaker, social class, place of interaction, relationship with the interlocutor, generation, and topic of discourse seem to be more influential in Cali. However, similar to the previous hypothesis, further statistical analysis is needed to draw more definite conclusions.

Hypothesis 3: *The use of vos is more widespread in Medellín than in Cali and it correlates with different external factors in each dialect.*

Based on the results obtained in this study, it is very difficult to conclude whether the pronoun *vos* is widespread in Medellín or in Cali as their frequencies of reported use in each variety is very close. All that can be said is that the percentage of this pronoun in Medellín is slightly higher than in Cali, but more statistical analysis is needed in order to determine if that difference is significant or not. Concerning the external factors, as mentioned before, all 9 variables studied were significant in both dialects, but the way in which they correlate might differ.

Hypothesis 4: *The pronoun usted is used in informal contexts both in the Antioquian dialect and in the Caleñan dialect.*

This hypothesis is confirmed as data indicate that, overall, *usted* is the predominant form of address in Cali and Medellin. Whether it is more frequent in one variety or another, further statistical analysis is needed in order to come to a conclusion.

Hypothesis 5: There is a change in progress in pronominal use in both dialects.

In order to confirm or reject this hypothesis, it is necessary to expand this study to include speakers from other backgrounds, such as from older generations and different levels of education. However, based on the results from this study, we could say that there seems to be evidence of a linguistic change in progress in both varieties studied. The first indication of this possible change is the variability present in the pronominal address system of Medellin and Cali. According to Blas Arroyo (2005), change emerges after a previous state of “conflict” between different alternating forms (250), in the case of the present study we found three forms coexisting, and in some instances, one is conflicting with another. Other indicators of a possible undergoing change are the sex of the speaker and social class, and we found some evidence of it. First, there is a higher use of *tú* by women and to address younger people. These groups are considered to be users of more innovative forms, and initiators of linguistic change, particularly women, when the changes can be considered prestigious (Labov, 1981, 1990, 2001). That is the case here since *tú* is a form not only associated with the upper class but also with the variety spoken in Bogota, the capital city, which is the national standard and a prestigious dialect in Colombia.

Furthermore, the association of *tú* with the highest social level might also contribute to the change. Simpson points out that speakers from the lower class

associate the use of *tú* with higher classes and with being “more cultured” (2002:30). Interesting, similar observations were made by consultants in my study, for instance, when asked who would use *tú*, a male respondent from Cali said “digamos un universitario, o sea hablan más con esa confianza [...] en clase social pienso yo que de pronto una media alta o alta” [let’s say a university student, that is, they speak more with that confidence [...] regarding social class, I think that probably middle-high or high class] (30).¹⁰⁶

Observations like these and the relative high frequency of *tú* by lower classes, particularly in Cali, might be evidence of a linguistic change in progress in both varieties. This change could be regarded as a change from above (Labov, 2001) since there seems to be a relatively high level of social consciousness on the speakers’ part. *Tú* appears to be expanding its use and it might eventually take over the functions of other pronouns. Several researchers (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1970; Uber, 1984) have noticed the expansion of *tú* in different varieties of Spanish and other languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960). The tendency is toward an increasing use of the pronoun *tú* at expenses of other forms, in the case of these varieties of Colombian Spanish, *tú* seems to be taken over some of the functions of *vos* whose frequency appears to be decreasing, considering what previous studies have reported.

Future avenues of research include:

- A closer examination of the instances of *mixed-use*, considering all the possible combinations of the pronouns *tú*, *usted* and *vos* to analyze if there are differences in their uses.

¹⁰⁶ Male informant from Univalle, track 3-4

- A more detailed analysis of the data crossing more variables, for instance place of interaction by relationship with the interlocutor.
- Collect naturally occurring data to observe actual use of address form and compare it to the results from the questionnaires and oral interviews.

Finally, I hope this study will contribute and promote discussion on forms of address and on the differences in the varieties of Colombian Spanish.

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APPENDIX A

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMACIÓN PERSONAL

Personal information

Edad [age]: _____ Sexo [sex]: _____

Lugar de nacimiento [*Place of birth*]: _____

Si no nació en la misma ciudad donde vive actualmente, ¿hace cuánto que vive en esta ciudad?

[*If you live in a different city from where you were born, how long have you lived in this city?*]

Barrio donde vive [*Neighborhood where you lived*]: _____

Colegio donde estudió [*High school attended*]: _____

¿Creció en una casa bilingüe? [*Did you grow up in a bilingual home?*]

Sí [yes] _____ No _____ ¿Con qué idioma? [*what language?*] _____

Información sobre tus padres [*Information about your parents*]:

Lugar de nacimiento: Padre [*father*]: _____ Madre [*mother*]: _____
[*Place of birth*]

Ciudad de residencia actual: Padre [*father*]: _____ Madre [*mother*]: _____
[*City of current residence*]

Barrio donde viven: Padre [*father*]: _____ Madre [*mother*]: _____
[*Neighborhood of residence*]

Ocupación: Padre [*father*]: _____ Madre [*mother*]: _____
[*Occupation*]

Máximo nivel de estudios: Padre [*father*]: _____ Madre [*mother*]: _____
[*Highest level of education*]

APPENDIX B

WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

(original in Spanish and translation into English)

Por favor, marque la forma que *usted* utiliza para dirigirse a las siguientes personas y la forma que ellos utilizan cuando se dirigen a Ud.

Encierre "NA" si alguna de las relaciones no aplica, por ejemplo si no tiene hermanos mayores o no conoció a un abuelo. Si conoció a la persona (por ejemplo un abuelo) pero ya murió, diga cómo se dirigía *usted* a esta persona y como él/ella se dirigía a ud.

Si utiliza más de una forma, marque las formas que utiliza y explique en qué situaciones usaría cada una.

Example:	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Su pareja sentimental (<u>Diga</u> si es esposo/a - novio/a)	(T) U V NA	(T) U V NA	
Su mejor amiga	(T) U (V) NA	(T) U V NA	Tú--> pedir favor Vos--> en general

1. En una **reunión familiar** sólo con **familiares** y **amigos muy cercanos**.
¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su padre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su madre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su abuelo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su abuela	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un tío con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un tío con el que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una tía con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una tía con la que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho mayor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo de su edad con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho menor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho mayor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima de su edad con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho menor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Un sobrino	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una sobrina	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su pareja sentimental (DIGA si es esposo/a - novio/a)	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
El padre de su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
La madre de su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su hijo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su hija	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

2. En una **fiesta de familiares y conocidos que NO son muy cercanos a Ud.**
¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Un sobrino	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una sobrina	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un tío con el que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una tía con la que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho mayor que Ud. con el que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo de su edad con el que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho menor que Ud. con el que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho mayor que Ud. con la que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima de su edad con la que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho menor que Ud. con la que NO se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
El padre de su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
La madre de su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor que es buen amigo de su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven que es buen amigo de su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer mayor que es buena amiga de su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer joven que es buena amiga de su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor, desconocido para Ud. que sus padres le presentan y que es buen amigo de ellos	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven, desconocido para Ud. que sus padres le presentan y que es buen amigo de ellos	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Una mujer mayor, desconocida para Ud. que sus padres le presentan y que es buena amiga de ellos	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer joven, desconocida para Ud. que sus padres le presentan y que es buena amiga de ellos	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor, desconocido para Ud., que le conversa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven, desconocido para Ud., que le conversa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer mayor, desconocida para Ud., que le conversa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer menor, desconocida para Ud., que le conversa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

3. En una fiesta **con sus amigos**. ¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su mejor amigo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amiga	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un amigo de sus amigos que le acaban de presentar	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una amiga de sus amigos que le acaban de presentar	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una persona que acaba de conocer y que le atrae mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una persona con la que ha estado saliendo y que le gusta mucho pero que todavía no es su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un compañero de universidad que no es amigo suyo que se acerca a hacerle una pregunta	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una compañera de universidad que no es amiga suya que se acerca a hacerle una pregunta	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

4. En la **biblioteca de la universidad** con sus **amigos** haciendo un trabajo para clase. ¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su mejor amigo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amiga	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un amigo de sus amigos que le acaban de presentar	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una amiga de sus amigos que le acaban de presentar	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una persona que Ud. acaba de conocer y que le atrae mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una persona con la que Ud. ha estado saliendo y que le gusta mucho pero que todavía no es su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un compañero de universidad que no es amigo suyo que se acerca a hacerle una pregunta	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una compañera de universidad que no es amiga suya que se acerca a hacerle una pregunta	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor que trabaja en la biblioteca	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer mayor que trabaja en la biblioteca	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un empleado encargado del aseo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada encargada del aseo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

5. En **su casa** hablando sobre un **problema personal**. ¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su padre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su madre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Un primo mucho mayor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo de su edad con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho menor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho mayor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima de su edad con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho menor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amigo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amiga	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un amigo muy cercano de sus padres	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una amiga muy cercana de sus padres	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica mayor que trabaja hace muchos años con su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica mayor que trabaja hace poco con su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica de su edad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

6. En **su casa** organizando la fiesta de matrimonio de un familiar muy cercano
¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su padre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su madre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho mayor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo de su edad con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho menor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Una prima mucho mayor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima de su edad con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho menor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amigo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amiga	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un amigo muy cercano de sus padres	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una amiga muy cercana de sus padres	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

7. **Si está enojado(a) con estas personas.** ¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada uno de ellos?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su padre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su madre	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hermano menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una hermana menor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su abuelo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su abuela	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un tío con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una tía con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho mayor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo de su edad con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un primo mucho menor que Ud. con el que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho mayor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima de su edad con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una prima mucho menor que Ud. con la que se relaciona mucho	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un sobrino	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una sobrina	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su pareja sentimental	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Su mejor amigo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Su mejor amiga	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor amigo de la familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven amigo de la familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer mayor amiga de la familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer joven amiga de la familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor que Ud. no conoce bien	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven que Ud. no conoce bien	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer mayor que Ud. no conoce bien	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer joven que Ud. no conoce bien	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor suyo que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es mayor	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora suya que es joven	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica mayor que trabaja hace muchos años con su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica mayor que trabaja hace poco con su familia	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una empleada doméstica de su edad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

8. **En general.** ¿Cómo sería el trato entre *usted* y cada una de estas personas?

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Un vecino mucho mayor que <i>usted</i>	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un vecino de su edad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un vecino mucho menor que usted	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una vecina mucho mayor que <i>usted</i>	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una vecina de su edad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una vecina mucho menor que usted	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
El papá de un buen amigo suyo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
La mamá de un buen amigo suyo	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre mayor, desconocido, que le conversa mientras hacen fila en el supermercado	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un hombre joven, desconocido, que le conversa mientras hacen fila en el supermercado	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>Usted a él/ella</u>	<u>Él/ella a usted</u>	<u>Explicación</u>
Una mujer mayor, desconocida, que le conversa mientras hacen fila en el supermercado	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una mujer menor desconocida que le conversa mientras hacen fila en el supermercado	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor mayor durante la clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor joven durante la clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora mayor durante la clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora joven durante la clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un compañero que NO es su amigo durante clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una compañera que NO es su amiga durante clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un buen amigo durante clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una buena amiga durante clase	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un estudiante internacional que está aprendiendo español	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una estudiante internacional que está aprendiendo español	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un profesor extranjero que sabe un poco de español y que está de visita en su universidad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una profesora extranjera que sabe un poco de español y que está de visita en su universidad	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Un amigo extranjero de sus padres que sabe un poco de español y que está de visita en su casa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Una amiga extranjera de sus padres que sabe un poco de español y que está de visita en su casa	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

**FIN DEL CUESTIONARIO
MUCHAS GRACIAS POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN**

Written Questionnaire (translation)

Please circle the form you would use to address the following people and the form they would use to address you.

Circle "NA" if any of the relationships does not apply to you, for example, if you do not have an older brother or did not meet your grandfather. If you knew the person (e.g. your grandfather), but he already died, mark how you addressed this person and how s/he addressed you.

If you use more than one pronoun, circle the forms you use and explain in which situations you would use each one.

Example:	You to him/her	S/he to you	Explanation
Sentimental partner (Specify if husband/wife - boy/girlfriend)	T U V NA	T U V NA	
Best female friend	T U V NA	T U V NA	Tú--> ask a favor Vos--> in general

1. At a **family gathering** only with **relatives** and **close friends**

What form would you use and what form would the following people use with you?

	You to him/her	S/he to you	Explanation
Your father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your grandfather	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your grandmother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close uncle	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant uncle	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close aunt	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant aunt	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A nephew	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A niece	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Sentimental partner (Specify if husband/wife - boy/girlfriend)	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your sentimental partner's father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your sentimental partner's mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your son	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your daughter	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

2. IAt a **party with people who are not your close relatives or close friends.**

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people? (see changes above)

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
A nephew	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A niece	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant uncle	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant aunt	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant male cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant male cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant male cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant female cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant female cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A distant female cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your sentimental partner's father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your sentimental partner's mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old man who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old woman who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young woman who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old man, unknown to you, that your parents introduce to you and who is a good friend of them.	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man, unknown to you, that your parents introduce to you and who is a good friend of them.	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old woman, unknown to you, that your parents introduce to you and who is a good friend of them.	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young woman, unknown to you, that your parents introduce to you and who is a good friend of them.	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old man, unknown to you, who starts a conversation with you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man, unknown to you, who starts a conversation with you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
An old woman, unknown to you, who starts a conversation with you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young woman, unknown to you, who starts a conversation with you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

3. At a party **with friend**.

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people? (see above)

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your best male friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best female friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male friend of your friends whom you just met	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female friend of your friends whom you just met	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A person you just met and whom you like	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A person you have been dating and who you like a lot but who is not your sentimental partner yet	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male classmate who is not your friend who approaches you to ask you a question	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female classmate who is not your friend who approaches you to ask you a question	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of yours who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of yours who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of yours who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of yours who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

4. **At the university library** doing class work with your friends

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people? (see above)

See above	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your best male friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best female friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male friend of your friends who you just met	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female friend of your friends who you just met	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A person you just met and whom you like	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
A person you have been dating and that you like a lot but who is not your sentimental partner yet	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male classmate who is not your friend who approaches you to ask you a question	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female classmate who is not your friend who approaches you to ask you a question	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An older man who works at the library	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An older woman who works at the library	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of you who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of you who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of you who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of you who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A cleaning male worker	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A cleaning female worker	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

5. **At home** talking about your sentimental relationship

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people? (see above)

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Sentimental partner	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best male friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best female friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male friend of your parents	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female friend of your parents	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A maid who is old in age and who has worked with your family for many years	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A maid who is old in age and who started to work with your family not long ago	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young maid	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

6. At home organizing a mass to celebrate the 50th anniversary of your grandparents
 What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people? (see above)

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Sentimental partner	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best male friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best female friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male friend of your parents	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female friend of your parents	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

7. If you are angry

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people?

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Your father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger brother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your older sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your younger sister	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your grandfather	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your grandmother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close uncle	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close aunt	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close male cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
A close female cousin older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A close female cousin younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A nephew	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A niece	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Sentimental partner	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best male friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best female friend	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old man who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old woman who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young woman who is a good friend of your family	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old man who you don't know very well	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man who you don't know very well	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old women who you don't know very well	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young women who you don't know very well	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of you who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor of you who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of you who is old in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor of you who is young in age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A maid who is old in age and who has worked with your family for many years	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A maid who is old in age and who started to work with your family not long ago	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young maid	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

8. In general

What form would you give to and what form would you receive from the following people?(see above)

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
A male neighbor who is older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male neighbor who is of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male neighbor who is younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female neighbor who is older than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female neighbor who is of your same age	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female neighbor who is younger than you	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best friend's father	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
Your best friend's mother	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

	<u>You to him/her</u>	<u>S/he to you</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
An old man, unknown, who talks to you while you wait in line at the supermarket	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young man, unknown, who talks to you while you wait in line in the supermarket	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
An old woman, unknown, who talks to you while you wait in line at the supermarket	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A young woman, unknown, who talks to you while you wait in line in the supermarket	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor who is old in age during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male professor who is young in age during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor who is old in age during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female professor who is young in age during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male classmate who is NOT your friend during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female classmate who is NOT your friend during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A good male friend during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A good female friend during class	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A male international student who is learning Spanish	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A female international student who is learning Spanish	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A foreign male professor who knows a little bit of Spanish and who is a visiting professor at your university	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A foreign female professor who knows a little bit of Spanish and who is a visiting professor at your university	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A foreign male friend of your parents who knows a little bit of Spanish and who is a guest in your house	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	
A foreign female friend of your parents who knows a little bit of Spanish and who is a guest in your house	T U V S NA	T U V S NA	

**END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE
THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION**

APPENDIX C

MODULES FOR ORAL INTERVIEW

Preguntas para entrevistas orales

1. ¿Le parece difícil saber qué forma de tratamiento usar (*tú – vos*)?
[Do you consider it (or do you find it) difficult to know what pronoun to use (*tú – vos*)?]
2. ¿Cómo se siente si una persona que acaba de conocer lo tutea? ¿y si lo trata de *vos*?
[How do you feel if a person you just met addresses you by *tú*? How about *vos*?]
3. ¿Si lo tutean, *usted* tutea? ¿y si le hablan de *vos* / *usted*?
[If you are addressed by *tú*, do you respond with *tú*? How about *vos/usted*?]
4. ¿Existe algún momento o situación en que cambie su forma de tratamiento? Por ejemplo ¿cuando está rodeado de desconocidos o de familia? ¿Y cuando está enojado? Y ¿si cambia de lugar?, por ejemplo, si está en la universidad
[Is there any time or situation when you vary the use of a pronoun? For example, when you are surrounded by strangers or by your family? When you are angry? What about if you change places? For example, if you are at the university]
5. ¿Cómo ve el hecho de que dos hombres se tuteen entre ellos? ¿Y dos mujeres? ¿Y un hombre y una mujer?
[How do you see the fact of two men addressing each other by *tú*? What about two women? And a man and a woman?]
6. ¿Trata de manera diferente a las personas si son hombres o mujeres?
[Do you address people differently depending whether they are men or women?]
7. ¿Varía su tratamiento de acuerdo con la edad de las personas?, ¿si son niños, por ejemplo? ¿y si son de su edad?, ¿y si son mayores?
[Do you vary the way you address people based on their age? For example, if they are children? Or if they are of your same age? What about if they are older?]
8. ¿Y en cuanto al estrato social, cuando habla con una persona de un estrato bajo o alto?
[What about social class? When you talk to people who belong to a higher or lower social economic status than you do?]

9. En general, ¿varía el trato a una persona en presencia de otros, sean conocidos o no? Y ¿si está enojado con una persona? ¿Si le va a pedir un favor?
[In general, do you vary the way you address people when there are others present (strangers or not)? What if you are angry with that person? And if you are going to ask her/him a favor?]
10. ¿Hay momentos en los que *usted* usa más de un pronombre para dirigirse a la misma persona en la misma conversación? Por ejemplo, cuando habla con sus padres, amigos cercanos, etc. ¿En qué situaciones?
[Are there instances where you use more than one pronoun to address the same person in the same conversation? For example, when talking to your parents, close friends, etc. In what situations?]
11. ¿En general cómo le gusta que lo traten, sus familiares / amigos / desconocidos?
[In general how do you like to be addressed by your relatives / friends / strangers?]
12. ¿Tiene hermanos/as mayores? ¿Los trata de igual manera?
[Do you have older brothers? Do you address them all in the same way?]
13. Cuando necesita pedirle un favor a su papá / mamá / hermanos, ¿cómo se dirige a ellos? ¿Los trata igual si les está haciendo una crítica o un halago?
[When you need to ask your father / mother / siblings for a favor, how do you address them? Do you address them in the same way if you are criticizing or praising them?]
14. Si está en la oficina de algún familiar y amigo cercano, ¿varía su forma de tratarlo?
[If you are at a relative's or friend's office, do you change the way to address him/her?]

APPENDIX D

TABLES WITH RESULTS FROM MEDELLIN

	GIVEN	EXPECTED	TOTAL
V	6263 32.5%	6042 32.5%	12305 32.5%
U	8830 45.9%	8365 45.0%	17194 45.4%
T	3315 17.2%	3423 18.4%	6738 17.8%
Mixed	846 4.4%	756 4.1%	1603 4.2%
TOTAL	19254 100.0%	18586 100.0%	37840 100.0%

Table D.1. Overall Pronoun Distribution in Medellin

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
V	3305 31.6%	2958 33.6%	6263 32.5%	3247 32.1%	2795 33.0%	6042 32.5%
U	4571 43.7%	4259 48.4%	8830 45.9%	4389 43.4%	3976 46.9%	8365 45.0%
T	1965 18.8%	1350 15.3%	3315 17.2%	1974 19.5%	1449 17.1%	3423 18.4%
Mixed	611 5.8%	236 2.7%	846 4.4%	497 4.9%	259 3.1%	756 4.1%
TOTAL	10452 100.0%	8802 100.0%	19254 100.0%	10107 100.0%	8479 100.0%	18586 100.0%

Table D.2. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Speaker

	GIVEN				EXPECTED			
	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
V	762 23.9%	2625 33.0%	2608 36.4%	5995 32.8%	784 24.7%	2526 32.3%	2466 37.2%	5776 32.7%
U	1864 58.4%	3738 47.0%	2758 38.5%	8360 45.7%	1723 54.3%	3746 47.8%	2434 36.7%	7903 44.8%
T	464 14.5%	1209 15.2%	1444 20.2%	3117 17.0%	573 18.1%	1321 16.9%	1349 20.3%	3243 18.4%
Mixed	104 3.3%	378 4.8%	350 4.9%	832 4.5%	94 3.0%	238 3.0%	387 5.8%	719 4.1%
TOTAL	3194 100.0%	7950 100.0%	7160 100.0%	18304 100.0%	3174 100.0%	7831 100.0%	6636 100.0%	17641 100.0%

Table D.3. Pronoun Distribution by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN				EXPECTED			
	HOME	PUBLIC	UNIVERSITY	TOTAL	HOME	PUBLIC	UNIVERSITY	TOTAL
V	2517 37.4%	1730 29.5%	1083 31.3%	5330 33.2%	2429 36.9%	1676 29.6%	1039 31.5%	5144 33.1%
U	2027 30.1%	3166 54.1%	1795 51.8%	6988 43.5%	1988 30.2%	2978 52.7%	1705 51.7%	6671 42.9%
T	1871 27.8%	748 12.8%	400 11.6%	3019 18.8%	1875 28.5%	790 14.0%	400 12.1%	3065 19.7%
Mixed	322 4.8%	212 3.6%	184 5.3%	718 4.5%	295 4.5%	209 3.7%	152 4.6%	659 4.2%
TOTAL	6737 100.0%	5856 100.0%	3462 100.0%	16055 100.0%	6587 100.0%	5653 100.0%	3296 100.0%	15536 100.0%

Table D.4. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
HOME	V	1277 35.3%	1240 39.7%	2517 37.4%	1219 34.8%	1210 39.2%	2429 36.9%
	U	972 26.9%	1055 33.8%	2027 30.1%	1023 29.2%	965 31.3%	1988 30.2%
	T	1098 30.4%	773 24.8%	1871 27.8%	1041 29.7%	834 27.1%	1875 28.5%
	Mixed	267 7.4%	55 1.8%	322 4.8%	221 6.3%	74 2.4%	295 4.5%
	TOTAL	3614 100.0%	3123 100.0%	6737 100.0%	3504 100.0%	3083 100.0%	6587 100.0%
PUBLIC	V	892 28.5%	838 30.7%	1730 29.5%	917 30.1%	759 29.1%	1676 29.6%
	U	1667 53.3%	1499 55.0%	3166 54.1%	1569 51.5%	1409 54.1%	2978 52.7%
	T	434 13.9%	314 11.5%	748 12.8%	455 14.9%	335 12.9%	790 14.0%
	Mixed	136 4.3%	76 2.8%	212 3.6%	106 3.5%	103 4.0%	209 3.7%
	TOTAL	3129 100.0%	2727 100.0%	5856 100.0%	3047 100.0%	2606 100.0%	5653 100.0%
UNIVERSITY	V	664 34.2%	419 27.5%	1083 31.3%	634 34.1%	405 28.2%	1039 31.5%
	U	909 46.9%	886 58.2%	1795 51.8%	877 47.2%	828 57.6%	1705 51.7%
	T	251 12.9%	149 9.8%	400 11.6%	244 13.1%	156 10.9%	400 12.1%
	Mixed	116 6.0%	68 4.5%	184 5.3%	104 5.6%	48 3.3%	152 4.6%
	TOTAL	1940 100.0%	1522 100.0%	3462 100.0%	1859 100.0%	1437 100.0%	3296 100.0%

Table D.5. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
HOME	V	352 31.7%	1134 40.5%	945 37.8%	2431 37.9%	379 34.1%	1058 37.9%	915 38.9%	2352 37.6%
	U	454 40.9%	852 30.5%	617 24.7%	1923 30.0%	412 37.1%	908 32.5%	541 23.0%	1861 29.7%
	T	244 22.0%	686 24.5%	807 32.3%	1737 27.1%	269 24.2%	744 26.6%	746 31.7%	1759 28.1%
	Mixed	61 5.5%	125 4.5%	131 5.2%	317 4.9%	52 4.7%	82 2.9%	153 6.5%	287 4.6%
	TOTAL	1111 100.0%	2797 100.0%	2500 100.0%	6408 100.0%	1112 100.0%	2792 100.0%	2355 100.0%	6259 100.0%
PUBLIC	V	196 19.4%	659 27.3%	782 37.2%	1637 29.6%	210 21.1%	652 27.5%	718 36.8%	1580 29.7%
	U	663 65.6%	1380 57.2%	925 44.0%	2968 53.7%	593 59.5%	1344 56.6%	848 43.5%	2785 52.3%
	T	131 13.0%	282 11.7%	297 14.1%	710 12.8%	175 17.6%	317 13.3%	265 13.6%	757 14.2%
	Mixed	21 2.1%	93 3.9%	97 4.6%	211 3.8%	18 1.8%	62 2.6%	119 6.1%	199 3.7%
	TOTAL	1011 100.0%	2414 100.0%	2101 100.0%	5526 100.0%	996 100.0%	2375 100.0%	20831950 100.0%	5321 100.0%
UNIVERSITY	V	125 22.3%	420 29.2%	490 37.5%	1035 31.3%	106 19.1%	418 29.9%	459 38.7%	983 31.3%
	U	373 66.6%	786 54.6%	548 42.0%	1707 51.7%	361 64.9%	792 56.7%	484 40.8%	1637 52.1%
	T	46 8.2%	148 10.3%	190 14.6%	384 11.6%	72 12.9%	138 9.9%	173 14.6%	383 12.2%
	Mixed	16 2.9%	85 5.9%	77 5.9%	178 5.4%	17 3.1%	50 3.6%	70 5.9%	137 4.4%
	TOTAL	560 100.0%	1439 100.0%	1305 100.0%	3304 100.0%	556 100.0%	1398 100.0%	1186 100.0%	3140 100.0%

Table D.6. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN						EXPECTED					
	FAMILY	FRIEND	CLASS MATE	PROF	STRANG	TOTAL	FAMILY	FRIEND	CLASS MATE	PROF	STRANG	TOTAL
V	2716 37.1%	2196 33.3%	380 41.7%	481 22.0%	490 21.8%	6263 32.5%	2599 36.5%	2139 33.7%	363 41.7%	456 21.7%	485 22.5%	6042 32.5%
U	2361 32.3%	3116 47.2%	375 41.2%	1477 67.5%	1501 66.9%	8830 45.9%	2272 31.9%	2915 46.0%	363 41.7%	1387 66.1%	1428 66.3%	8365 45.0%
T	1887 25.8%	1012 15.3%	97 10.6%	141 6.4%	178 7.9%	3315 17.2%	1933 27.1%	1045 16.5%	97 11.1%	171 8.1%	177 8.2%	3423 18.4%
Mixed	348 4.8%	275 4.2%	59 6.5%	88 4.0%	76 3.4%	846 4.4%	319 4.5%	240 3.8%	48 5.5%	85 4.0%	64 3.0%	756 4.1%
TOTAL	7312 100.0%	6599 100.0%	911 100.0%	2187 100.0%	2245 100.0%	19254 100.0%	7123 100.0%	6339 100.0%	871 100.0%	2099 100.0%	2154 100.0%	18586 100.0%

Table D.7. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
FAMILY	V	1345 34.2%	1371 40.6%	2716 37.1%	1306 34.3%	1293 39.0%	2599 36.5%
	U	1216 30.9%	1145 33.9%	2361 32.3%	1212 31.8%	1060 32.0%	2272 31.9%
	T	1091 27.7%	796 23.6%	1887 25.8%	1056 27.7%	877 26.5%	1933 27.1%
	Mixed	285 7.2%	63 1.9%	348 4.8%	234 6.1%	85 2.6%	319 4.5%
	TOTAL	3937 100.0%	3375 100.0%	7312 100.0%	3808 100.0%	3315 100.0%	7123 100.0%
FRIEND	V	1160 32.5%	1036 34.2%	2196 33.3%	1150 33.2%	989 34.4%	2139 33.7%
	U	1612 45.1%	1504 49.7%	3116 47.2%	1529 44.2%	1386 48.1%	2915 46.0%
	T	605 16.9%	407 13.5%	1012 15.3%	636 18.4%	409 14.2%	1045 16.5%
	Mixed	196 5.5%	79 2.6%	275 4.2%	145 4.2%	95 3.3%	240 3.8%
	TOTAL	3573 100.0%	3026 100.0%	6599 100.0%	3460 100.0%	2879 100.0%	6339 100.0%
CLASSMATE	V	227 44.8%	153 37.9%	380 41.7%	231 47.5%	132 34.3%	363 41.7%
	U	177 34.9%	198 49.0%	375 41.2%	168 34.6%	195 50.6%	363 41.7%
	T	68 13.4%	29 7.2%	97 10.6%	59 12.1%	38 9.9%	97 11.1%
	Mixed	35 6.9%	24 5.9%	59 6.5%	28 5.8%	20 5.2%	48 5.5%
	TOTAL	507 100.0%	404 100.0%	911 100.0%	486 100.0%	385 100.0%	871 100.0%
PROFESSOR	V	290 24.0%	191 19.5%	481 22.0%	274 23.5%	182 19.5%	456 21.7%
	U	765 63.4%	712 72.7%	1477 67.5%	721 61.9%	666 71.3%	1387 66.1%
	T	107 8.9%	34 3.5%	141 6.4%	119 10.2%	52 5.6%	171 8.1%
	Mixed	45 3.7%	43 4.4%	88 4.0%	51 4.4%	34 3.6%	85 4.0%
	TOTAL	1207 100.0%	980 100.0%	2187 100.0%	1165 100.0%	934 100.0%	2099 100.0%
STRANGER	V	283 23.0%	207 20.4%	490 21.8%	286 24.1%	199 20.6%	485 22.5%
	U	801 65.2%	700 68.8%	1501 66.9%	759 63.9%	669 69.3%	1428 66.3%
	T	94 7.7%	84 8.3%	178 7.9%	104 8.8%	73 7.6%	177 8.2%
	Mixed	50 4.1%	26 2.6%	76 3.4%	39 3.3%	25 2.6%	64 3.0%
	TOTAL	1228 100.0%	1017 100.0%	2245 100.0%	1188 100.0%	966 100.0%	2154 100.0%

Table D.8. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor by Sex of Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
FAMILY	V	351 28.8%	1213 40.4%	1067 39.0%	2631 37.8%	375 30.8%	1122 37.7%	1023 39.7%	2520 37.2%
	U	548 45.0%	941 31.3%	751 27.4%	2240 32.2%	501 41.1%	994 33.4%	634 24.6%	2129 31.4%
	T	253 20.8%	708 23.6%	788 28.8%	1749 25.1%	285 23.4%	768 25.8%	763 29.6%	1816 26.8%
	Mixed	66 5.4%	142 4.7%	133 4.9%	341 4.9%	58 4.8%	93 3.1%	157 6.1%	308 4.5%
	TOTAL	1218 100.0%	3004 100.0%	2739 100.0%	6961 100.0%	1219 100.0%	2977 100.0%	2577 100.0%	6773 100.0%
FRIEND	V	280 25.7%	915 33.5%	894 36.5%	2089 33.3%	285 26.5%	898 33.4%	850 37.8%	2033 33.8%
	U	629 57.7%	1341 49.2%	975 39.8%	2945 47.0%	571 53.2%	1308 48.6%	869 38.7%	2748 45.7%
	T	154 14.1%	340 12.5%	466 19.0%	960 15.3%	192 17.9%	396 14.7%	403 17.9%	991 16.5%
	Mixed	28 2.6%	132 4.8%	114 4.7%	274 4.4%	26 2.4%	87 3.2%	126 5.6%	239 4.0%
	TOTAL	1091 100.0%	2728 100.0%	2449 100.0%	6268 100.0%	1074 100.0%	2689 100.0%	2248 100.0%	6011 100.0%
CLASSMATE	V	46 31.5%	150 39.3%	169 50.0%	365 42.1%	36 25.0%	150 39.9%	160 52.1%	346 41.8%
	U	81 55.5%	170 44.5%	102 30.2%	353 40.8%	79 54.9%	175 46.5%	90 29.3%	344 41.6%
	T	11 7.5%	33 8.6%	49 14.5%	93 10.7%	20 13.9%	34 9.0%	39 12.7%	93 11.2%
	Mixed	8 5.5%	29 7.6%	18 5.3%	55 6.4%	9 6.3%	17 4.5%	18 5.9%	44 5.3%
	TOTAL	146 100.0%	382 100.0%	338 100.0%	866 100.0%	144 100.0%	376 100.0%	307 100.0%	827 100.0%
PROF	V	34 9.4%	165 18.2%	260 32.1%	459 22.1%	33 9.1%	162 18.3%	234 31.5%	429 21.5%
	U	315 87.3%	639 70.3%	439 54.3%	1393 67.0%	298 82.5%	628 70.8%	393 52.9%	1319 66.2%
	T	12 3.3%	64 7.0%	65 8.0%	141 6.8%	29 8.0%	71 8.0%	71 9.6%	171 8.6%
	Mixed	0 .0%	41 4.5%	45 5.6%	86 4.1%	1 0.3%	26 2.9%	45 6.1%	72 3.6%
	TOTAL	361 100.0%	909 100.0%	809 100.0%	2079 100.0%	361 100.0%	887 100.0%	743 100.0%	1991 100.0%
STRANGER	V	51 13.5%	182 19.6%	218 26.4%	451 21.2%	55 14.6%	194 21.5%	199 26.1%	448 22.0%
	U	291 77.0%	647 69.8%	491 59.5%	1429 67.1%	274 72.9%	641 71.1%	448 58.9%	1363 66.8%
	T	34 9.0%	64 6.9%	76 9.2%	174 8.2%	47 12.5%	52 5.8%	73 9.6%	172 8.4%
	Mixed	2 .5%	34 3.7%	40 4.8%	76 3.6%	0 .0%	15 1.7%	41 5.4%	56 2.7%
	TOTAL	378 100.0%	927 100.0%	825 100.0%	2130 100.0%	376 100.0%	902 100.0%	761 100.0%	2039 100.0%

Table D.9. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor by Social Class of Speaker

	GIVEN							EXPECTED						
	FATHER	MOTHE R	BROTHE R	SISTER	GRAND FATHE R	GRAND MOTHE R	TOTAL	FATHE R	MOTHE R	BROTHE R	SISTER	GRAND FATHER	GRAND MOTHE R	TOTAL
V	128 28.1%	124 26.1%	223 42.1%	161 38.8%	29 20.6%	37 20.1%	702 31.9%	103 23.3%	107 23.2%	229 44.5%	168 41.4%	28 20.6%	35 19.4%	670 31.3%
U	158 34.6%	148 31.2%	154 29.1%	101 24.3%	68 48.2%	90 48.9%	719 32.7%	142 32.1%	131 28.4%	145 28.2%	99 24.4%	70 51.5%	95 52.8%	682 31.9%
T	140 30.7%	168 35.4%	126 23.8%	125 30.1%	37 26.2%	51 27.7%	647 29.4%	164 37.1%	189 41.0%	123 23.9%	122 30.0%	32 23.5%	45 25.0%	675 31.5%
Mixed	30 6.6%	35 7.4%	27 5.1%	28 6.7%	7 5.0%	6 3.3%	133 6.0%	33 7.5%	34 7.4%	18 3.5%	17 4.2%	6 4.4%	5 2.8%	113 5.3%
TOTAL	456 100%	475 100%	530 100%	415 100%	141 100%	184 100%	2201 100%	442 100%	461 100%	515 100%	406 100%	136 100%	180 100%	2140 100%

Table D.10. Pronoun Distribution by Nuclear Family

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
GRANDPARENTS	V	31 16.5%	35 25.5%	66 20.3%	33 18.0%	30 22.6%	63 19.9%
	U	84 44.7%	74 54.0%	158 48.6%	90 49.2%	75 56.4%	165 52.2%
	T	61 32.4%	27 19.7%	88 27.1%	50 27.3%	27 20.3%	77 24.4%
	Mixed	12 6.4%	1 .7%	13 4.0%	10 5.5%	1 .8%	11 3.5%
	TOTAL	188 100.0%	137 100.0%	325 100.0%	183 100.0%	133 100.0%	316 100.0%
PARENTS	V	118 23.0%	134 32.1%	252 27.1%	96 19.3%	114 28.1%	210 23.3%
	U	153 29.8%	153 36.6%	306 32.9%	143 28.8%	130 32.0%	273 30.2%
	T	191 37.2%	117 28.0%	308 33.1%	207 41.6%	146 36.0%	353 39.1%
	Mixed	51 9.9%	14 3.3%	65 7.0%	51 10.3%	16 3.9%	67 7.4%
	TOTAL	513 100.0%	418 100.0%	931 100.0%	497 100.0%	406 100.0%	903 100.0%
SIBLINGS	V	196 39.9%	188 41.4%	384 40.6%	186 39.6%	211 46.8%	397 43.1%
	U	114 23.2%	141 31.1%	255 27.0%	137 29.1%	107 23.7%	244 26.5%
	T	135 27.5%	116 25.6%	251 26.6%	118 25.1%	127 28.2%	245 26.6%
	Mixed	46 9.4%	9 2.0%	55 5.8%	29 6.2%	6 1.3%	35 3.8%
	TOTAL	491 100.0%	454 100.0%	945 100.0%	470 100.0%	451 100.0%	921 100.0%

Table D.11. Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Sex of Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
GRANDPARENTS	V	6 10.2%	26 21.1%	31 24.2%	63 20.3%	6 10.0%	30 24.6%	27 22.5%	63 20.9%
	U	44 74.6%	59 48.0%	44 34.4%	147 47.4%	43 71.7%	66 54.1%	44 36.7%	153 50.7%
	T	6 10.2%	32 26.0%	49 38.3%	87 28.1%	8 13.3%	24 19.7%	43 35.8%	75 24.8%
	Mixed	3 5.1%	6 4.9%	4 3.1%	13 4.2%	3 5.0%	2 1.6%	6 5.0%	11 3.6%
	TOTAL	59 100.0%	123 100.0%	128 100.0%	310 100.0%	60 100.0%	122 100.0%	120 100.0%	302 100.0%
PARENTS	V	34 23.0%	120 30.5%	93 27.2%	247 28.0%	38 25.3%	93 23.9%	75 23.7%	206 24.1%
	U	68 45.9%	128 32.6%	82 24.0%	278 31.5%	58 38.7%	122 31.4%	68 21.5%	248 29.0%
	T	31 20.9%	113 28.8%	149 43.6%	293 33.2%	44 29.3%	142 36.5%	150 47.5%	336 39.3%
	Mixed	15 10.1%	32 8.1%	18 5.3%	65 7.4%	10 6.7%	32 8.2%	23 7.3%	65 7.6%
	TOTAL	148 100.0%	393 100.0%	342 100.0%	883 100.0%	150 100.0%	389 100.0%	316 100.0%	855 100.0%
SIBLINGS	V	60 35.9%	173 48.5%	139 37.0%	372 41.3%	66 39.5%	177 49.4%	148 42.0%	391 44.6%
	U	61 36.5%	76 21.3%	112 29.8%	249 27.7%	56 33.5%	90 25.1%	79 22.4%	225 25.7%
	T	41 24.6%	84 23.5%	99 26.3%	224 24.9%	42 25.1%	83 23.2%	101 28.7%	226 25.8%
	Mixed	5 3.0%	24 6.7%	26 6.9%	55 6.1%	3 1.8%	8 2.2%	24 6.8%	35 4.0%
	TOTAL	167 100.0%	357 100.0%	376 100.0%	900 100.0%	167 100.0%	358 100.0%	352 100.0%	877 100.0%

Table D.12. Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Social Class of Speaker

	GIVE				EXPECTED			
	OLDER	SAME	YOUNGER	TOTAL	OLDER	SAME	YOUNGER	TOTAL
V	2177 24.3%	3223 40.1%	863 38.2%	6263 32.5%	2073 24.0%	3143 40.7%	826 37.5%	6042 32.5%
U	5151 57.5%	2989 37.2%	690 30.5%	8830 45.9%	4761 55.0%	2865 37.1%	739 33.5%	8365 45.0%
T	1285 14.3%	1429 17.8%	601 26.6%	3315 17.2%	1482 17.1%	1384 17.9%	557 25.3%	3423 18.4%
Mixed	351 3.9%	390 4.9%	105 4.6%	846 4.4%	336 3.9%	337 4.4%	83 3.8%	756 4.1%
TOTAL	8964 100.0%	8031 100.0%	2259 100.0%	19254 100.0%	8652 100.0%	7729 100.0%	2205 100.0%	18586 100.0%

Table D.13. Pronoun Distribution by Generation

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
OLDER	V	1056 21.7%	1121 27.3%	2177 24.3%	1007 21.4%	1066 27.0%	2073 24.0%
	U	2701 55.5%	2450 59.7%	5151 57.5%	2545 54.1%	2216 56.1%	4761 55.0%
	T	845 17.4%	440 10.7%	1285 14.3%	932 19.8%	550 13.9%	1482 17.1%
	Mixed	261 5.4%	90 2.2%	351 3.9%	220 4.7%	116 2.9%	336 3.9%
	TOTAL	4863 100.0%	4101 100.0%	8964 100.0%	4704 100.0%	3948 100.0%	8652 100.0%
SAME	V	1797 41.1%	1426 39.0%	3223 40.1%	1802 42.6%	1341 38.4%	3143 40.7%
	U	1523 34.8%	1466 40.1%	2989 37.2%	1447 34.2%	1418 40.6%	2865 37.1%
	T	791 18.1%	638 17.5%	1429 17.8%	769 18.2%	615 17.6%	1384 17.9%
	Mixed	266 6.1%	124 3.4%	390 4.9%	217 5.1%	120 3.4%	337 4.4%
	TOTAL	4377 100.0%	3654 100.0%	8031 100.0%	4235 100.0%	3494 100.0%	7729 100.0%
YOUNGER	V	452 37.3%	411 39.3%	863 38.2%	438 37.5%	388 37.4%	826 37.5%
	U	347 28.6%	343 32.8%	690 30.5%	397 34.0%	342 33.0%	739 33.5%
	T	329 27.1%	272 26.0%	601 26.6%	273 23.4%	284 27.4%	557 25.3%
	Mixed	84 6.9%	21 2.0%	105 4.6%	60 5.1%	23 2.2%	83 3.8%
	TOTAL	1212 100.0%	1047 100.0%	2259 100.0%	1168 100.0%	1037 100.0%	2205 100.0%

Table D.14. Pronoun Distribution by Generation and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
OLDER	V	204 14.0%	876 23.8%	1020 30.0%	2100 24.6%	232 16.0%	819 22.6%	954 30.2%	2005 24.4%
	U	1074 73.8%	2193 59.6%	1596 47.0%	4863 57.0%	963 66.5%	2129 58.8%	1392 44.1%	4484 54.5%
	T	141 9.7%	447 12.2%	634 18.7%	1222 14.3%	221 15.3%	571 15.8%	627 19.9%	1419 17.3%
	Mixed	37 2.5%	163 4.4%	149 4.4%	349 4.1%	32 2.2%	102 2.8%	183 5.8%	317 3.9%
	TOTAL	1456 100.0%	3679 100.0%	3399 100.0%	8534 100.0%	1448 100.0%	3621 100.0%	3156 100.0%	8225 100.0%
SAME	V	453 33.7%	1359 40.6%	1262 42.9%	3074 40.3%	442 33.2%	1347 40.9%	1191 44.0%	2980 40.6%
	U	617 45.9%	1281 38.3%	931 31.6%	2829 37.1%	579 43.5%	1298 39.4%	848 31.3%	2725 37.2%
	T	224 16.7%	533 15.9%	588 20.0%	1345 17.6%	262 19.7%	532 16.2%	511 18.9%	1305 17.8%
	Mixed	50 3.7%	171 5.1%	161 5.5%	382 5.0%	48 3.6%	115 3.5%	158 5.8%	321 4.4%
	TOTAL	1344 100.0%	3344 100.0%	2942 100.0%	7630 100.0%	1331 100.0%	3292 100.0%	2708 100.0%	7331 100.0%
YOUNGER	V	105 26.6%	390 42.1%	326 39.8%	821 38.4%	110 27.8%	360 39.2%	321 41.6%	791 37.9%
	U	173 43.9%	264 28.5%	231 28.2%	668 31.2%	181 45.8%	319 34.7%	194 25.1%	694 33.3%
	T	99 25.1%	229 24.7%	222 27.1%	550 25.7%	90 22.8%	218 23.7%	211 27.3%	519 24.9%
	Mixed	17 4.3%	44 4.7%	40 4.9%	101 4.7%	14 3.5%	21 2.3%	46 6.0%	81 3.9%
	TOTAL	394 100.0%	927 100.0%	819 100.0%	2140 100.0%	395 100.0%	918 100.0%	772 100.0%	2085 100.0%

Table D.15. Pronoun Distribution by Generation and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	DIFFERENT	SAME	TOTAL	DIFFERENT	SAME	TOTAL
V	3238 32.0%	3025 33.1%	6263 32.5%	3141 32.2%	2901 32.9%	6042 32.5%
U	4443 43.9%	4387 48.0%	8830 45.9%	4164 42.7%	4201 47.6%	8365 45.0%
T	1995 19.7%	1320 14.4%	3315 17.2%	2043 20.9%	1380 15.6%	3423 18.4%
Mixed	440 4.3%	406 4.4%	846 4.4%	415 4.3%	341 3.9%	756 4.1%
TOTAL	10116 100.0%	9138 100.0%	19254 100.0%	9763 100.0%	8823 100.0%	18586 100.0%

Table D.16. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Interlocutor

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
DIFFERENT	V	1764 32.0%	1474 32.0%	3238 32.0%	1747 32.8%	1394 31.5%	3141 32.2%
	U	2326 42.2%	2117 46.0%	4443 43.9%	2204 41.3%	1960 44.2%	4164 42.7%
	T	1101 20.0%	894 19.4%	1995 19.7%	1114 20.9%	929 21.0%	2043 20.9%
	Mixed	319 5.8%	121 2.6%	440 4.3%	268 5.0%	147 3.3%	415 4.3%
	TOTAL	5510 100.0%	4606 100.0%	10116 100.0%	5333 100.0%	4430 100.0%	9763 100.0%
SAME	V	1541 31.2%	1484 35.4%	3025 33.1%	1500 31.4%	1401 34.6%	2901 32.9%
	U	2245 45.4%	2142 51.0%	4387 48.0%	2185 45.8%	2016 49.8%	4201 47.6%
	T	864 17.5%	456 10.9%	1320 14.4%	860 18.0%	520 12.8%	1380 15.6%
	Mixed	292 5.9%	114 2.7%	406 4.4%	229 4.8%	112 2.8%	341 3.9%
	TOTAL	4942 100.0%	4196 100.0%	9138 100.0%	4774 100.0%	4049 100.0%	8823 100.0%

Table D.17. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Interlocutor and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
DIFFERENT	V	402 23.9%	1338 31.9%	1357 36.4%	3097 32.2%	418 25.1%	1304 31.5%	1274 36.9%	2996 32.4%
	U	953 56.7%	1901 45.3%	1351 36.2%	4205 43.8%	862 51.7%	1875 45.3%	1197 34.7%	3934 42.5%
	T	271 16.1%	765 18.2%	839 22.5%	1875 19.5%	336 20.1%	825 19.9%	774 22.4%	1935 20.9%
	Mixed	55 3.3%	196 4.7%	181 4.9%	432 4.5%	52 3.1%	133 3.2%	209 6.1%	394 4.3%
	TOTAL	1681 100.0%	4200 100.0%	3728 100.0%	9609 100.0%	1668 100.0%	4137 100.0%	3454 100.0%	9259 100.0%
SAME	V	360 23.8%	1287 34.3%	1251 36.5%	2898 33.3%	366 24.3%	1222 33.1%	1192 37.5%	2780 33.2%
	U	911 60.2%	1837 49.0%	1407 41.0%	4155 47.8%	861 57.2%	1871 50.6%	1237 38.9%	3969 47.4%
	T	193 12.8%	444 11.8%	605 17.6%	1242 14.3%	237 15.7%	496 13.4%	575 18.1%	1308 15.6%
	Mixed	49 3.2%	182 4.9%	169 4.9%	400 4.6%	42 2.8%	105 2.8%	178 5.6%	325 3.9%
	TOTAL	1513 100.0%	3750 100.0%	3432 100.0%	8695 100.0%	1506 100.0%	3694 100.0%	3182 100.0%	8382 100.0%

Table D.18. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of Interlocutor and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	NON-PRIV	PRIVATE	TOTAL	NON-PRIV	PRIVATE	TOTAL
V	4643 32.9%	908 40.9%	5551 34.0%	4500 32.9%	868 40.2%	5368 33.9%
U	6268 44.4%	642 28.9%	6910 42.3%	5975 43.7%	638 29.6%	6613 41.8%
T	2613 18.5%	555 25.0%	3168 19.4%	2648 19.4%	550 25.5%	3198 20.2%
Mixed	602 4.3%	113 5.1%	715 4.4%	552 4.0%	103 4.8%	655 4.1%
TOTAL	14126 100.0%	2218 100.0%	16344 100.0%	13675 100.0%	2159 100.0%	15834 100.0%

Table D.19. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
NON-PRIVATE	V	2458 32.3%	2185 33.5%	4643 32.9%	2431 33.0%	2069 32.8%	4500 32.9%
	U	3160 41.6%	3108 47.7%	6268 44.4%	3070 41.6%	2905 46.1%	5975 43.7%
	T	1557 20.5%	1056 16.2%	2613 18.5%	1520 20.6%	1128 17.9%	2648 19.4%
	Mixed	430 5.7%	172 2.6%	602 4.3%	350 4.7%	202 3.2%	552 4.0%
	TOTAL	7605 100.0%	6521 100.0%	14126 100.0%	7371 100.0%	6304 100.0%	13675 100.0%
PRIVATE	V	486 40.6%	422 41.4%	908 40.9%	461 39.7%	407 40.8%	868 40.2%
	U	299 25.0%	343 33.6%	642 28.9%	322 27.7%	316 31.7%	638 29.6%
	T	319 26.6%	236 23.1%	555 25.0%	302 26.0%	248 24.9%	550 25.5%
	Mixed	94 7.8%	19 1.9%	113 5.1%	77 6.6%	26 2.6%	103 4.8%
	TOTAL	1198 100.0%	1020 100.0%	2218 100.0%	1162 100.0%	997 100.0%	2159 100.0%

Table D.20. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
NON-PRIVATE	V	568 23.7%	1901 32.6%	1976 38.3%	4445 33.2%	582 24.5%	1844 32.0%	1867 38.8%	4293 33.1%
	U	1387 57.9%	2719 46.6%	1795 34.8%	5901 44.0%	1274 53.6%	2716 47.1%	1626 33.8%	5616 43.4%
	T	359 15.0%	948 16.2%	1156 22.4%	2463 18.4%	452 19.0%	1027 17.8%	1038 21.6%	2517 19.4%
	Mixed	82 3.4%	270 4.6%	238 4.6%	590 4.4%	71 3.0%	174 3.0%	281 5.8%	526 4.1%
	TOTAL	2396 100.0%	5838 100.0%	5165 100.0%	13399 100.0%	2379 100.0%	5761 100.0%	4812 100.0%	12952 100.0%
PRIVATE	V	129 36.4%	396 42.6%	345 41.9%	870 41.3%	139 39.4%	369 39.8%	328 42.7%	836 40.8%
	U	126 35.6%	271 29.2%	216 26.2%	613 29.1%	115 32.6%	291 31.4%	196 25.5%	602 29.4%
	T	80 22.6%	225 24.2%	206 25.0%	511 24.3%	81 22.9%	243 26.2%	184 24.0%	508 24.8%
	Mixed	19 5.4%	37 4.0%	56 6.8%	112 5.3%	18 5.1%	24 2.6%	60 7.8%	102 5.0%
	TOTAL	354 100.0%	929 100.0%	823 100.0%	2106 100.0%	353 100.0%	927 100.0%	768 100.0%	2048 100.0%

Table D.21. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
V	712 24.5%	4743 35.8%	5455 33.7%	674 24.5%	4584 35.6%	5258 33.6%
U	1920 66.0%	5107 38.5%	7027 43.4%	1752 63.7%	4883 37.9%	6635 42.5%
T	147 5.1%	2825 21.3%	2972 18.4%	225 8.2%	2847 22.1%	3072 19.7%
Mixed	131 4.5%	591 4.5%	722 4.5%	101 3.7%	560 4.3%	661 4.2%
TOTAL	2910 100.0%	13266 100.0%	16176 100.0%	2752 100.0%	12874 100.0%	15626 100.0%

Table D.22. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
NEGATIVE	V	361 21.9%	351 27.8%	712 24.5%	355 22.6%	319 27.1%	674 24.5%
	U	1112 67.4%	808 64.1%	1920 66.0%	997 63.3%	755 64.1%	1752 63.7%
	T	89 5.4%	58 4.6%	147 5.1%	152 9.7%	73 6.2%	225 8.2%
	Mixed	87 5.3%	44 3.5%	131 4.5%	70 4.4%	31 2.6%	101 3.7%
	TOTAL	1649 100.0%	1261 100.0%	2910 100.0%	1574 100.0%	1178 100.0%	2752 100.0%
POSITIVE	V	2468 34.8%	2275 36.9%	4743 35.8%	2426 35.2%	2158 36.1%	4584 35.6%
	U	2543 35.8%	2564 41.6%	5107 38.5%	2507 36.4%	2376 39.7%	4883 37.9%
	T	1649 23.2%	1176 19.1%	2825 21.3%	1598 23.2%	1249 20.9%	2847 22.1%
	Mixed	440 6.2%	151 2.4%	591 4.5%	361 5.2%	199 3.3%	560 4.3%
	TOTAL	7100 100.0%	6166 100.0%	13266 100.0%	6892 100.0%	5982 100.0%	12874 100.0%

Table D.23. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
NEGATIVE	V	65 14.6%	328 27.7%	287 24.5%	680 24.3%	63 14.3%	313 27.4%	271 25.7%	647 24.5%
	U	351 79.1%	748 63.2%	747 63.7%	1846 66.0%	334 75.6%	739 64.7%	612 58.0%	1685 63.8%
	T	25 5.6%	36 3.0%	82 7.0%	143 5.1%	40 9.0%	51 4.5%	127 12.0%	218 8.3%
	Mixed	3 .7%	71 6.0%	56 4.8%	130 4.6%	5 1.1%	40 3.5%	46 4.4%	91 3.4%
	TOTAL	444 100.0%	1183 100.0%	1172 100.0%	2799 100.0%	442 100.0%	1143 100.0%	1056 100.0%	2641 100.0%
POSITIVE	V	628 27.9%	1974 35.9%	1957 40.5%	4559 36.3%	647 29.0%	1895 34.8%	1854 41.1%	4396 36.1%
	U	1140 50.7%	2231 40.6%	1421 29.4%	4792 38.1%	1034 46.3%	2253 41.4%	1271 28.2%	4558 37.4%
	T	392 17.4%	1050 19.1%	1195 24.7%	2637 21.0%	474 21.2%	1129 20.7%	1078 23.9%	2681 22.0%
	Mixed	89 4.0%	237 4.3%	259 5.4%	585 4.7%	78 3.5%	166 3.0%	303 6.7%	547 4.5%
	TOTAL	2249 100.0%	5492 100.0%	4832 100.0%	12573 100.0%	2233 100.0%	5443 100.0%	4506 100.0%	12182 100.0%

Table D.24. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness and by Social Class of the speaker

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TABLES WITH RESULTS FROM CALI

	GIVEN	EXPECTED	TOTAL
V	5150 28.0%	5022 27.5%	10172 27.7%
U	9196 50.0%	9041 49.5%	18237 49.7%
T	3056 16.6%	3153 17.3%	6209 16.9%
Mixed	987 5.4%	1067 5.8%	2054 5.6%
TOTAL	18389 100%	18283 100%	36672 100%

Table E.1. Overall Pronoun Distribution in Medellin

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
V	2092 24.3%	3058 31.3%	5150 28.0%	2015 23.6%	3007 30.9%	5022 27.5%
U	4582 53.1%	4614 47.3%	9196 50.0%	4337 50.8%	4704 48.3%	9041 49.5%
T	1369 15.9%	1687 17.3%	3056 16.6%	1514 17.7%	1639 16.8%	3153 17.2%
Mixed	581 6.7%	406 4.2%	987 5.4%	674 7.9%	393 4.0%	1067 5.8%
TOTAL	8624 100%	9765 100%	18389 100%	8540 100%	9743 100%	18283 100%

Table E.2. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Speaker

	GIVEN				EXPECTED			
	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
V	471 18.5%	3058 28.0%	1314 33.8%	4843 27.9%	456 18.0%	3062 28.2%	1206 31.3%	4724 27.4%
U	1418 55.7%	5389 49.3%	1860 47.8%	8667 49.9%	1370 53.9%	5263 48.4%	1887 48.9%	8520 49.4%
T	408 16.0%	1822 16.7%	649 16.7%	2879 16.6%	456 18.0%	1827 16.8%	686 17.8%	2969 17.2%
Mixed	247 9.7%	658 6.0%	67 1.7%	972 5.6%	258 10.2%	711 6.5%	79 2.0%	1048 6.1%
TOTAL	2544 100%	10927 100%	3890 100%	17361 100.00	2540 100%	10863 100%	3858 100%	17261 100%

Table E.3. Pronoun Distribution by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN				EXPECTED			
	HOME	PUBLIC	UNIVERSITY	TOTAL	HOME	PUBLIC	UNIVERSITY	TOTAL
V	2304 37.1%	1336 23.9%	799 23.1%	4439 29.1%	2220 35.7%	1297 23.4%	789 23.1%	4306 28.4%
U	2040 32.8%	3216 57.5%	1997 57.7%	7253 47.5%	2082 33.5%	3140 56.7%	1947 57.0%	7169 47.3%
T	1416 22.8%	848 15.2%	493 14.2%	2757 18.1%	1443 23.2%	880 15.9%	497 14.6%	2820 18.6%
Mixed	452 7.3%	207194 3.5%	171 4.9%	817 5.4%	476 7.7%	221 4.0%	180 5.3%	877 5.8%
TOTAL	6212 100%	5594 100%	5594 100%	15266 100%	6221 100	5538 100%	3413 100%	15172 100%

Table E.4. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
HOME	V	997 34.2%	1307 39.7%	2304 37.1%	952 32.8%	1268 38.2%	2220 35.7%
	U	892 30.6%	1148 34.9%	2040 32.8%	879 30.3%	1203 36.2%	2082 33.5%
	T	728 24.9%	688 20.9%	1416 22.8%	747 25.8%	696 21.0%	1443 23.2%
	Mixed	302 10.3%	150 4.6%	452 7.3%	322 11.1%	154 4.6%	476 7.7%
	TOTAL	2919 100%	3293 100%	6212 100%	2900 100.00	3321 100%	6221 100%
PUBLIC	V	507 19.8%	829 27.3%	1336 23.9%	476 18.8%	821 27.3%	1297 23.4%
	U	1643 64.2%	1573 51.8%	3216 57.5%	1532 60.4%	1608 53.6%	3140 56.7%
	T	307 12.0%	541 17.8%	848 15.2%	393 15.5%	487 16.2%	880 15.9%
	Mixed	101 3.9%	93 3.1%	194 3.5%	135 5.3%	86 2.9%	221 4.0%
	TOTAL	2558 100%	3036 100%	5594 100%	2536 100%	3002 100%	5538 100%
UNIVERSITY	V	327 20.0%	472 25.9%	799 23.1%	298 18.6%	491 27.2%	789 23.1%
	U	1014 61.9%	983 54.0%	1997 57.7%	979 61.0%	968 53.6%	1947 57.0%
	T	202 12.3%	291 16.0%	493 14.2%	219 13.6%	278 15.4%	497 14.6%
	Mixed	95 5.8%	76 4.2%	171 4.9%	110 6.8%	70 3.9%	180 5.3%
	TOTAL	1638 100%	1822 100%	3460 100%	1606 100%	1807 100%	3413 100%

Table E.5. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
HOME	V	221 27.4%	1331 35.5%	597 45.1%	2149 36.6%	201 24.3%	1318 35.1%	553 42.1%	2072 35.2%
	U	292 36.2%	1276 34.1%	383 28.9%	1951 33.2%	304 36.8%	1289 34.4%	399 30.4%	1992 33.8%
	T	179 22.2%	849 22.7%	305 23.0%	1333 22.7%	204 24.7%	848 22.6%	308 23.5%	1360 23.1%
	Mixed	115 14.3%	290 7.7%	40 3.0%	445 7.6%	118 14.3%	295 7.9%	53 4.0%	466 7.9%
	TOTAL	807 100.0%	3746 100.0%	1325 100.0%	5878 100.0%	827 100.0%	3750 100.0%	1313 100.0%	5890 100.0%
PUBLIC	V	112 15.1%	825 24.7%	327 27.4%	1264 24.0%	117 16.2%	798 24.1%	305 25.7%	1220 23.4%
	U	467 62.9%	1903 57.0%	658 55.2%	3028 57.4%	430 59.6%	1881 56.8%	656 55.4%	2967 56.8%
	T	124 16.7%	471 14.1%	197 16.5%	792 15.0%	138 19.1%	466 14.1%	213 18.0%	817 15.6%
	Mixed	40 5.4%	140 4.2%	11 0.9%	191 3.6%	37 5.1%	169 5.1%	11 .9%	217 4.2%
	TOTAL	743 100.0%	3339 100.0%	1193 100.0%	5275 100.0%	722 100.0%	3314 100.0%	1185 100.0%	5221 100.0%
UNIVERSITY	V	77 14.8%	471 23.3%	210 29.0%	758 23.2%	71 13.8%	495 24.9%	192 26.9%	758 23.5%
	U	331 63.8%	1129 55.8%	413 57.1%	1873 57.3%	328 63.8%	1060 53.2%	423 59.2%	1811 56.3%
	T	73 14.1%	304 15.0%	88 12.2%	465 14.2%	77 15.0%	306 15.4%	88 12.3%	471 14.6%
	Mixed	38 7.3%	120 5.9%	12 1.7%	170 5.2%	38 7.4%	130 6.5%	11 1.5%	179 5.6%
	TOTAL	519 100.0%	2024 100.0%	723 100.0%	3266 100.0%	514 100%	1991 100%	714 100%	3219 100%

Table E.6. Pronoun Distribution by Place of Interaction and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN						EXPECTED					
	FAMILY	FRIEND	CLASS MATE	PROF	STRANG	TOTAL	FAMILY	FRIEND	CLASS MATE	PROF	STRANG	TOTAL
V	2460 36.0%	1744 27.6%	300 33.0%	263 12.3%	383 17.5%	5150 28.0%	2385 34.8%	1737 27.8%	287 32.1%	252 11.9%	361 16.6%	5022 27.5%
U	2490 36.4%	3162 50.1%	380 41.8%	1675 78.3%	1489 68.0%	9196 50.0%	2526 36.9%	3061 49.0%	381 42.6%	1606 75.7%	1467 67.4%	9041 49.5%
T	1425 20.8%	1055 16.7%	183 20.1%	132 6.2%	261 11.9%	3056 16.6%	1439 21.0%	1068 17.1%	179 20.0%	188 8.9%	279 12.8%	3153 17.2%
Mixed	462 6.8%	353 5.6%	47 5.2%	68 3.2%	57 2.6%	987 5.4%	498 7.3%	376 6.0%	47 5.3%	76 3.6%	70 3.2%	1067 5.8%
TOTAL	6837 100.0%	6314 100.0%	910 100.0%	2138 100.0%	2190 100.0%	18389 100.0%	6848 100.0%	6242 100.0%	894 100.0%	2122 100.0%	2177 100.0%	18283 100.0%

Table E.7. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
FAMILY	V	1028 31.7%	1432 39.8%	2460 36.0%	1002 31.1%	1383 38.2%	2385 34.8%
	U	1195 36.8%	1295 36.0%	2490 36.4%	1160 36.0%	1366 37.7%	2526 36.9%
	T	725 22.4%	700 19.5%	1425 20.8%	738 22.9%	701 19.3%	1439 21.0%
	Mixed	295 9.1%	167 4.6%	462 6.8%	324 10.0%	174 4.8%	498 7.3%
	TOTAL	3243 100.0%	3594 100.0%	6837 100.0%	3224 100.0%	3624 100.0%	6848 100.0%
FRIEND	V	726 24.8%	1018 30.1%	1744 27.6%	706 24.4%	1031 30.8%	1737 27.8%
	U	1556 53.1%	1606 47.4%	3162 50.1%	1428 49.3%	1633 48.8%	3061 49.0%
	T	445 15.2%	610 18.0%	1055 16.7%	525 18.1%	543 16.2%	1068 17.1%
	Mixed	202 6.9%	151 4.5%	353 5.6%	235 8.1%	141 4.2%	376 6.0%
	TOTAL	2929 100.0%	3385 100.0%	6314 100.0%	2894 100.0%	3348 100.0%	6242 100.0%
CLASSMATE	V	122 28.3%	178 37.2%	300 33.0%	111 26.4%	176 37.2%	287 32.1%
	U	189 43.9%	191 39.9%	380 41.8%	186 44.2%	195 41.2%	381 42.6%
	T	94 21.8%	89 18.6%	183 20.1%	96 22.8%	83 17.5%	179 20.0%
	Mixed	26 6.0%	21 4.4%	47 5.2%	28 6.7%	19 4.0%	47 5.3%
	TOTAL	431 100.0%	479 100.0%	910 100.0%	421 100.0%	473 100.0%	894 100.0%
PROFESSOR	V	76 7.6%	187 16.4%	263 12.3%	68 6.9%	184 16.2%	252 11.9%
	U	860 86.1%	815 71.6%	1675 78.3%	819 82.9%	787 69.4%	1606 75.7%
	T	32 3.2%	100 8.8%	132 6.2%	59 6.0%	129 11.4%	188 8.9%
	Mixed	31 3.1%	37 3.2%	68 3.2%	42 4.3%	34 3.0%	76 3.6%
	TOTAL	999 100.0%	1139 100.0%	2138 100.0%	988 100.0%	1134 100.0%	2122 100.0%
STRANGER	V	140 13.7%	243 20.8%	383 17.5%	128 12.6%	233 20.0%	361 16.6%
	U	782 76.5%	707 60.5%	1489 68.0%	744 73.4%	723 62.1%	1467 67.4%
	T	73 7.1%	188 16.1%	261 11.9%	96 9.5%	183 15.7%	279 12.8%
	Mixed	27 2.6%	30 2.6%	57 2.6%	45 4.4%	25 2.1%	70 3.2%
	TOTAL	1022 100.0%	1168 100.0%	2190 100.0%	1013 100.0%	1164 100.0%	2177 100.0%

Table E.8. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor by Sex of Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
FAMILY	V	211 22.4%	1452 35.7%	630 43.5%	2293 35.6%	204 21.3%	1437 35.3%	583 40.6%	2224 34.4%
	U	383 40.7%	1496 36.8%	483 33.4%	2362 36.6%	371 38.8%	1533 37.6%	499 34.7%	2403 37.2%
	T	199 21.2%	840 20.7%	301 20.8%	1340 20.8%	220 23.0%	818 20.1%	313 21.8%	1351 20.9%
	Mixed	147 15.6%	275 6.8%	33 2.3%	455 7.1%	162 16.9%	284 7.0%	41 2.9%	487 7.5%
	TOTAL	940 100.0%	4063 100.0%	1447 100.0%	6450 100.0%	957 100.0%	4072 100.0%	1436 100.0%	6465 100.0%
FRIEND	V	198 23.0%	1019 27.1%	433 32.2%	1650 27.6%	187 22.0%	1042 28.0%	412 31.0%	1641 27.8%
	U	472 54.8%	1851 49.2%	661 49.2%	2984 50.0%	465 54.8%	1777 47.8%	648 48.7%	2890 49.0%
	T	120 13.9%	639 17.0%	232 17.3%	991 16.6%	130 15.3%	624 16.8%	247 18.6%	1001 17.0%
	Mixed	71 8.2%	256 6.8%	18 1.3%	345 5.8%	67 7.9%	277 7.4%	24 1.8%	368 6.2%
	TOTAL	861 100.0%	3765 100.0%	1344 100.0%	5970 100.0%	849 100.0%	3720 100.0%	1331 100.0%	5900 100.0%
CLASSMATE	V	26 19.3%	199 37.3%	64 33.5%	289 33.6%	25 19.1%	195 37.0%	58 31.2%	278 32.9%
	U	66 48.9%	191 35.8%	91 47.6%	348 40.5%	68 51.9%	192 36.4%	87 46.8%	347 41.1%
	T	33 24.4%	112 21.0%	31 16.2%	176 20.5%	30 22.9%	105 19.9%	37 19.9%	172 20.4%
	Mixed	10 7.4%	32 6.0%	5 2.6%	47 5.5%	8 6.1%	35 6.6%	4 2.2%	47 5.6%
	TOTAL	135 100.0%	534 100.0%	191 100.0%	860 100.0%	131 100.0%	527 100.0%	186 100.0%	844 100.0%
PROF	V	8 2.7%	157 12.4%	79 17.6%	244 12.1%	11 3.7%	164 13.1%	69 15.4%	244 12.2%
	U	259 87.2%	983 77.4%	332 74.1%	1574 78.1%	243 82.4%	910 72.5%	339 75.7%	1492 74.6%
	T	21 7.1%	80 6.3%	28 6.3%	129 6.4%	33 11.2%	122 9.7%	32 7.1%	187 9.4%
	Mixed	9 3.0%	50 3.9%	9 2.0%	68 3.4%	8 2.7%	60 4.8%	8 1.8%	76 3.8%
	TOTAL	297 100.0%	1270 100.0%	448 100.0%	2015 100.0%	295 100.0%	1256 100.0%	448 100.0%	1999 100.0%
STRANGER	V	28 9.0%	231 17.8%	108 23.5%	367 17.8%	29 9.4%	224 17.4%	84 18.4%	337 16.4%
	U	238 76.5%	868 67.0%	293 63.7%	1399 67.7%	223 72.4%	851 66.1%	314 68.7%	1388 67.6%
	T	35 11.3%	151 11.7%	57 12.4%	243 11.8%	43 14.0%	158 12.3%	57 12.5%	258 12.6%
	Mixed	10 3.2%	45 3.5%	2 .4%	57 2.8%	13 4.2%	55 4.3%	2 .4%	70 3.4%
	TOTAL	311 100.0%	1295 100.0%	460 100.0%	2066 100.0%	308 100.0%	1288 100.0%	457 100.0%	2053 100.0%

Table E.9. Pronoun Distribution by Relationship with the Interlocutor by Social Class of Speaker

	GIVE				EXPECTED			
	GRAND PARENTS	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	TOTAL	GRAND PARENTS	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	TOTAL
V	45 15.3%	262 28.7%	388 42.2%	695 32.7%	43 14.3%	236 25.9%	383 41.0%	662 30.8%
U	184 62.6%	342 37.4%	291 31.6%	817 38.4%	184 61.1%	362 39.7%	311 33.3%	857 39.9%
T	52 17.7%	213 23.3%	162 17.6%	427 20.1%	55 18.3%	206 22.6%	153 16.4%	414 19.3%
Mixed	13 4.4%	97 10.6%	79 8.6%	189 8.9%	19 6.3%	108 11.8%	87 9.3%	214 10.0%
TOTAL	294 100.0%	914 100.0%	920 100.0%	2128 100.0%	301 100.0%	912 100.0%	934 100.0%	2147 100.0%

Table E.10. Pronoun Distribution by Nuclear Family

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
GRANDPARENTS	V	18 12.8%	27 17.6%	45 15.3%	16 11.3%	27 16.9%	43 14.3%
	U	92 65.2%	92 60.1%	184 62.6%	93 66.0%	91 56.9%	184 61.1%
	T	25 17.7%	27 17.6%	52 17.7%	24 17.0%	31 19.4%	55 18.3%
	Mixed	6 4.3%	7 4.6%	13 4.4%	8 5.7%	11 6.9%	19 6.3%
	TOTAL	141 100.0%	153 100.0%	294 100.0%	141 100.0%	160 100.0%	301 100.0%
PARENTS	V	108 25.1%	154 31.9%	262 28.7%	87 20.4%	149 30.7%	236 25.9%
	U	168 39.0%	174 36.0%	342 37.4%	167 39.1%	195 40.2%	362 39.7%
	T	94 21.8%	119 24.6%	213 23.3%	106 24.8%	100 20.6%	206 22.6%
	Mixed	61 14.2%	36 7.5%	97 10.6%	67 15.7%	41 8.5%	108 11.8%
	TOTAL	431 100.0%	483 100.0%	914 100.0%	427 100.0%	485 100.0%	912 100.0%
SIBLINGS	V	161 38.3%	227 45.4%	388 42.2%	157 37.6%	226 43.8%	383 41.0%
	U	129 30.7%	162 32.4%	291 31.6%	126 30.1%	185 35.9%	311 33.3%
	T	76 18.1%	86 17.2%	162 17.6%	71 17.0%	82 15.9%	153 16.4%
	Mixed	54 12.9%	25 5.0%	79 8.6%	64 15.3%	23 4.5%	87 9.3%
	TOTAL	420 100.0%	500 100.0%	920 100.0%	418 100.0%	516 100.0%	934 100.0%

Table E.11 Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Sex of Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
GRANDPARENTS	V	1 2.3%	29 16.9%	11 18.6%	41 14.9%	4 8.5%	28 15.9%	8 13.6%	40 14.2%
	U	33 75.0%	98 57.0%	41 69.5%	172 62.5%	27 57.4%	104 59.1%	40 67.8%	171 60.6%
	T	8 18.2%	34 19.8%	7 11.9%	49 17.8%	10 21.3%	31 17.6%	11 18.6%	52 18.4%
	Mixed	2 4.5%	11 6.4%	0 .0%	13 4.7%	6 12.8%	13 7.4%	0 .0%	19 6.7%
	TOTAL	44 100.0%	172 100.0%	59 100.0%	275 100.0%	47 100.0%	176 100.0%	59 100.0%	282 100.0%
PARENTS	V	16 11.9	171 31.5%	65 34.2%	252 29.1%	14 10.1%	165 30.3%	52 28.3%	231 26.6%
	U	68 50.4%	187 34.5%	73 38.4%	328 37.8%	72 52.2%	203 37.2%	72 39.1%	347 40.0%
	T	23 17.0%	125 23.1%	46 24.2%	194 22.4%	25 18.1%	113 20.7%	48 26.1%	186 21.5%
	Mixed	28 20.7%	59 10.9%	6 3.2%	93 10.7%	27 19.6%	64 11.7%	12 6.5%	103 11.9%
	TOTAL	135 100.0%	542 100.0%	190 100.0%	867 100.0%	138 100.0%	545 100.0%	184 100.0%	867 100.0%
SIBLINGS	V	36 25.9%	240 44.4%	93 48.7%	369 42.4%	31 21.8%	243 44.0%	87 45.8%	361 40.8%
	U	37 26.6%	178 33.0%	62 32.5%	277 31.8%	40 28.2%	190 34.4%	68 35.8%	298 33.7%
	T	26 18.7%	89 16.5%	30 15.7%	145 16.7%	25 17.6%	85 15.4%	28 14.7%	138 15.6%
	Mixed	40 28.8%	33 6.1%	6 3.1%	79 9.1%	46 32.4%	34 6.2%	7 3.7%	87 9.8%
	TOTAL	139 100.0%	540 100.0%	191 100.0%	870 100.0%	142 100.0%	552 100.0%	190 100.0%	884 100.0%

Table E.12 Distribution of Pronouns given by Nuclear Family and by Social Class of Speaker

	GIVE				EXPECTED			
	OLDER	SAME	YOUNGER	TOTAL	OLDER	SAME	YOUNGER	TOTAL
V	1737 20.2%	2639 34.1%	774 38.0%	5150 28.0%	1702 19.8%	2587 33.8%	733 36.0%	5022 27.5%
U	5428 63.0%	3078 39.8%	690 33.8%	9196 50.0%	5254 61.2%	3040 39.7%	747 36.7%	9041 49.5%
T	1086 12.6%	1516 19.6%	454 22.3%	3056 16.6%	1196 13.9%	1527 19.9%	430 21.1%	3153 17.2%
Mixed	361 4.2%	505 6.5%	121 5.9%	987 5.4%	432 5.0%	509 6.6%	126 6.2%	1067 5.8%
TOTAL	8612 100.0%	7738 100.0%	2039 100.0%	18389 100.0%	8584 100.0%	7663 100.0%	2036 100.0%	18283 100.0%

Table E.13. Pronoun Distribution by Generation

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
OLDER	V	646 16.0%	1091 23.9%	1737 20.2%	622 15.5%	1080 23.6%	1702 19.8%
	U	2740 67.8%	2688 58.8%	5428 63.0%	2570 64.1%	2684 58.7%	5254 61.2%
	T	459 11.4%	627 13.7%	1086 12.6%	558 13.9%	638 14.0%	1196 13.9%
	Mixed	196 4.9%	165 3.6%	361 4.2%	261 6.5%	171 3.7%	432 5.0%
	TOTAL	4041 100.0%	4571 100.0%	8612 100.0%	4011 100.0%	4573 100.0%	8584 100.0%
SAME	V	1116 30.7%	1523 37.2%	2639 34.1%	1081 30.1%	1506 37.0%	2587 33.8%
	U	1548 42.5%	1530 37.3%	3078 39.8%	1460 40.6%	1580 38.8%	3040 39.7%
	T	670 18.4%	846 20.6%	1516 19.6%	725 20.2%	802 19.7%	1527 19.9%
	Mixed	306 8.4%	199 4.9%	505 6.5%	329 9.2%	180 4.4%	509 6.6%
	TOTAL	3640 100.0%	4098 100.0%	7738 100.0%	3595 100.0%	4068 100.0%	7663 100.0%
YOUNGER	V	330 35.0%	444 40.5%	774 38.0%	312 33.4%	421 38.2%	733 36.0%
	U	294 31.2%	396 36.1%	690 33.8%	307 32.9%	440 39.9%	747 36.7%
	T	240 25.5%	214 19.5%	454 22.3%	231 24.7%	199 18.1%	430 21.1%
	Mixed	79 8.4%	42 3.8%	121 5.9%	84 9.0%	42 3.8%	126 6.2%
	TOTAL	943 100.0%	1096 100.0%	2039 100.0%	934 100.0%	1102 100.0%	2036 100.0%

Table E.14. Pronoun Distribution by Generation and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
OLDER	V	115 9.6%	1007 19.7%	498 27.3%	1620 19.9%	121 10.1%	1024 20.1%	445 24.7%	1590 19.6%
	U	838 69.8%	3208 62.9%	1076 59.0%	5122 63.0%	792 65.9%	3092 60.7%	1072 59.4%	4956 61.2%
	T	147 12.2%	651 12.8%	229 12.6%	1027 12.6%	180 15.0%	697 13.7%	255 14.1%	1132 14.0%
	Mixed	101 8.4%	233 4.6%	21 1.2%	355 4.4%	109 9.1%	280 5.5%	33 1.8%	422 5.2%
	TOTAL	1201 100.0%	5099 100.0%	1824 100.0%	8124 100.0%	1202 100.0%	5093 100.0%	1805 100.0%	8100 100.0%
SAME	V	282 26.2%	1603 34.7%	610 37.7%	2495 34.1%	272 25.5%	1606 35.2%	569 35.5%	2447 33.8%
	U	487 45.2%	1766 38.3%	645 39.9%	2898 39.6%	478 44.8%	1721 37.7%	661 41.2%	2860 39.5%
	T	208 19.3%	887 19.2%	326 20.1%	1421 19.4%	219 20.5%	871 19.1%	338 21.1%	1428 19.7%
	Mixed	101 9.4%	358 7.8%	37 2.3%	496 6.8%	99 9.3%	364 8.0%	37 2.3%	500 6.9%
	TOTAL	1078 100.0%	4614 100.0%	1618 100.0%	7310 100.0%	1068 100.0%	4562 100.0%	1605 100.0%	7235 100.0%
YOUNGER	V	74 27.9%	448 36.9%	206 46.0%	728 37.8%	63 23.3%	432 35.8%	192 42.9%	687 35.7%
	U	93 35.1%	415 34.2%	139 31.0%	647 33.6%	100 37.0%	450 37.3%	154 34.4%	704 36.6%
	T	53 20.0%	284 23.4%	94 21.0%	431 22.4%	57 21.1%	259 21.4%	93 20.8%	409 21.2%
	Mixed	45 17.0%	67 5.5%	9 2.0%	121 6.3%	50 18.5%	67 5.5%	9 2.0%	126 6.5%
	TOTAL	265 100.0%	1214 100.0%	448 100.0%	1927 100.0%	270 100.0%	1208 100.0%	448 100.0%	1926 100.0%

Table E.15. Pronoun Distribution by Generation and By Social Class of the Speaker.

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	DIFFERENT	SAME	TOTAL	DIFFERENT	SAME	TOTAL
V	2571 26.5%	2579 29.7%	5150 28.0%	2528 26.2%	2494 28.9%	5022 27.5%
U	4660 48.0%	4536 52.2%	9196 50.0%	4588 47.6%	4453 51.6%	9041 49.5%
T	1911 19.7%	1145 13.2%	3056 16.6%	1938 20.1%	1215 14.1%	3153 17.2%
Mixed	559 5.8%	428 4.9%	987 5.4%	594 6.2%	473 5.5%	1067 5.8%
TOTAL	9701 100.0%	8688 100.0%	18389 100.0%	9648 100.0%	8635 100.0%	18283 100.0%

Table E.16. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Interlocutor

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
DIFFERENT	V	1141 25.0%	1430 27.8%	2571 26.5%	1101 24.4%	1427 27.8%	2528 26.2%
	U	2332 51.2%	2328 45.2%	4660 48.0%	2199 48.8%	2389 46.5%	4588 47.6%
	T	781 17.1%	1130 22.0%	1911 19.7%	855 19.0%	1083 21.1%	1938 20.1%
	Mixed	302 6.6%	257 5.0%	559 5.8%	353 7.8%	241 4.7%	594 6.2%
	TOTAL	4556 100.0%	5145 100.0%	9701 100.0%	4508 100.0%	5140 100.0%	9648 100.0%
SAME	V	951 23.4%	1628 35.2%	2579 29.7%	914 22.7%	1580 34.3%	2494 28.9%
	U	2250 55.3%	2286 49.5%	4536 52.2%	2138 53.0%	2315 50.3%	4453 51.6%
	T	588 14.5%	557 12.1%	1145 13.2%	659 16.3%	556 12.1%	1215 14.1%
	Mixed	279 6.9%	149 3.2%	428 4.9%	321 8.0%	152 3.3%	473 5.5%
	TOTAL	4068 100.0%	4620 100.0%	8688 100.0%	4032 100.0%	4603 100.0%	8635 100.0%

Table E.17. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of the Interlocutor and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
DIFFERENT	V	241 17.8%	1542 26.7%	651 31.9%	2434 26.6%	233 17.2%	1570 27.4%	590 29.2%	2393 26.3%
	U	722 53.2%	2714 47.1%	955 46.8%	4391 47.9%	704 51.9%	2652 46.3%	966 47.7%	4322 47.4%
	T	258 19.0%	1136 19.7%	395 19.4%	1789 19.5%	276 20.4%	1115 19.4%	423 20.9%	1814 19.9%
	Mixed	136 10.0%	376 6.5%	38 1.9%	550 6.0%	143 10.5%	396 6.9%	45 2.2%	584 6.4%
	TOTAL	1357 100.0%	5768 100.0%	2039 100.0%	9164 100.0%	1356 100.0%	5733 100.0%	2024 100.0%	9113 100.0%
SAME	V	230 19.4%	1516 29.4%	663 35.8%	2409 29.4%	223 18.8%	1492 29.1%	616 33.6%	2331 28.6%
	U	696 58.6%	2675 51.9%	905 48.9%	4276 52.2%	666 56.3%	2611 50.9%	921 50.2%	4198 51.5%
	T	150 12.6%	686 13.3%	254 13.7%	1090 13.3%	180 15.2%	712 13.9%	263 14.3%	1155 14.2%
	Mixed	111 9.4%	282 5.5%	29 1.6%	422 5.1%	115 9.7%	315 6.1%	34 1.9%	464 5.7%
	TOTAL	1187 100.0%	5159 100.0%	1851 100.0%	8197 100.0%	1184 100.0%	5130 100.0%	1834 100.0%	8148 100.0%

Table E.18. Pronoun Distribution by Sex of Interlocutor and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	NON-PRIV	PRIVATE	TOTAL	NON-PRIV	PRIVATE	TOTAL
V	3762 27.9%	778 37.7%	4540 29.2%	3668 27.4%	742 36.0%	4410 28.6%
U	6557 48.6%	694 33.6%	7251 46.6%	6447 48.2%	713 34.6%	7160 46.4%
T	2498 18.5%	410 19.9%	2908 18.7%	2538 19.0%	418 20.3%	2956 19.1%
Mixed	673 5.0%	181 8.8%	854 5.5%	729 5.4%	188 9.1%	917 5.9%
TOTAL	13490 100.0%	2063 100.0%	15553 100.0%	13382 100.0%	2061 100.0%	15443 100.0%

Table E.19. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
NON-PRIVATE	V	1564 25.0%	2198 30.4%	3762 27.9%	1476 23.9%	2192 30.5%	3668 27.4%
	U	3198 51.1%	3359 46.5%	6557 48.6%	3036 49.1%	3411 47.4%	6447 48.2%
	T	1109 17.7%	1389 19.2%	2498 18.5%	1216 19.7%	1322 18.4%	2538 19.0%
	Mixed	392 6.3%	281 3.9%	673 5.0%	458 7.4%	271 3.8%	729 5.4%
	TOTAL	6263 100.0%	7227 100.0%	13490 100.0%	6186 100.0%	7196 100.0%	13382 100.0%
PRIVATE	V	338 35.1%	440 40.0%	778 37.7%	321 33.4%	421 38.3%	742 36.0%
	U	285 29.6%	409 37.1%	694 33.6%	284 29.6%	429 39.0%	713 34.6%
	T	205 21.3%	205 18.6%	410 19.9%	216 22.5%	202 18.4%	418 20.3%
	Mixed	134 13.9%	47 4.3%	181 8.8%	140 14.6%	48 4.4%	188 9.1%
	TOTAL	962 100.0%	1101 100.0%	2063 100.0%	961 100.0%	1100 100.0%	2061 100.0%

Table E.20. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
NON-PRIVATE	V	366 19.9%	2211 27.6%	954 33.2%	3531 27.7%	348 19.1%	2223 27.9%	883 31.0%	3454 27.3%
	U	989 53.8%	3866 48.2%	1338 46.6%	6193 48.6%	962 52.7%	3765 47.3%	1348 47.3%	6075 48.1%
	T	331 18.0%	1483 18.5%	533 18.5%	2347 18.4%	360 19.7%	1462 18.4%	564 19.8%	2386 18.9%
	Mixed	154 8.4%	461 5.7%	49 1.7%	664 5.2%	156 8.5%	505 6.3%	55 1.9%	716 5.7%
	TOTAL	1840 100.0%	8021 100.0%	2874 100.0%	12735 100.0%	1826 100.0%	7955 100.0%	2850 100.0%	12631 100.0%
PRIVATE	V	70 26.2%	454 36.1%	204 47.8%	728 37.3%	65 24.3%	440 34.8%	189 44.9%	694 35.5%
	U	92 34.5%	443 35.2%	123 28.8%	658 33.7%	97 36.3%	455 36.0%	127 30.2%	679 34.8%
	T	53 19.9%	249 19.8%	85 19.9%	387 19.8%	55 20.6%	255 20.2%	84 20.0%	394 20.2%
	Mixed	52 19.5%	112 8.9%	15 3.5%	179 9.2%	50 18.7%	115 9.1%	21 5.0%	186 9.5%
	TOTAL	267 100.0%	1258 100.0%	427 100.0%	1952 100.0%	267 100.0%	1265 100.0%	421 100.0%	1953 100.0%

Table E.21. Pronoun Distribution by Topic of Discourse and by Social Class of the Speaker

	GIVEN			EXPECTED		
	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
V	610 21.5%	3971 31.8%	4581 29.9%	612 21.5%	3863 31.1%	4475 29.3%
U	1945 68.6%	5288 42.3%	7233 47.1%	1881 66.2%	5241 42.1%	7122 46.6%
T	148 5.2%	2538 20.3%	2686 17.5%	197 6.9%	2564 20.6%	2761 18.1%
Mixed	133 4.7%	710 5.7%	843 5.5%	150 5.3%	772 6.2%	922 6.0%
TOTAL	2836 100.0%	12507 100.0%	15343 100.0%	2840 100.0%	12440 100.0%	15280 100.0%

Table E.22. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness

		GIVEN			EXPECTED		
		FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
NEGATIVE	V	190 13.6%	420 29.2%	610 21.5%	218 15.6%	394 27.2%	612 21.5%
	U	1099 78.6%	846 58.9%	1945 68.6%	1017 73.0%	864 59.7%	1881 66.2%
	T	55 3.9%	93 6.5%	148 5.2%	82 5.9%	115 7.9%	197 6.9%
	Mixed	55 3.9%	78 5.4%	133 4.7%	76 5.5%	74 5.1%	150 5.3%
	TOTAL	1399 100.0%	1437 100.0%	2836 100.0%	1393 100.0%	1447 100.0%	2840 100.0%
POSITIVE	V	1665 28.8%	2306 34.3%	3971 31.8%	1569 27.3%	2294 34.2%	3863 31.1%
	U	2517 43.5%	2771 41.3%	5288 42.3%	2396 41.7%	2845 42.5%	5241 42.1%
	T	1172 20.2%	1366 20.3%	2538 20.3%	1276 22.2%	1288 19.2%	2564 20.6%
	Mixed	437 7.5%	273 4.1%	710 5.7%	500 8.7%	272 4.1%	772 6.2%
	TOTAL	5791 100.0%	6716 100.0%	12507 100.0%	5741 100.0%	6699 100.0%	12440 100.0%

Table E.23. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness and by Sex of the Speaker

		GIVEN				EXPECTED			
		LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	TOTAL
NEGATIVE	V	35 8.0%	393 23.8%	156 26.5%	584 21.8%	43 9.6%	399 24.3%	134 22.8%	576 21.5%
	U	337 77.1%	1080 65.5%	399 67.7%	1816 67.9%	311 69.6%	1043 63.5%	412 70.2%	1766 66.0%
	T	24 5.5%	90 5.5%	31 5.3%	145 5.4%	41 9.2%	110 6.7%	38 6.5%	189 7.1%
	Mixed	41 9.4%	85 5.2%	3 .5%	129 4.8%	52 11.6%	91 5.5%	3 .5%	146 5.5%
	TOTAL	437 100.0%	1648 100.0%	589 100.0%	2674 100.0%	447 100.0%	1643 100.0%	587 100.0%	2677 100.0%
POSITIVE	V	368 22.2%	2341 31.3%	1016 38.1%	3725 31.5%	349 21.1%	2327 31.2%	958 36.3%	3634 30.9%
	U	786 47.3%	3177 42.4%	1050 39.3%	5013 42.4%	765 46.2%	3148 42.2%	1051 39.8%	4964 42.2%
	T	337 20.3%	1496 20.0%	545 20.4%	2378 20.1%	370 22.3%	1468 19.7%	560 21.2%	2398 20.4%
	Mixed	170 10.2%	471 6.3%	58 2.2%	699 5.9%	172 10.4%	514 6.9%	71 2.7%	757 6.4%
	TOTAL	1661 100.0%	7485 100.0%	2669 100.0%	11815 100.0%	1656 100.0%	7457 100.0%	2640 100.0%	11753 100.0%

Table E.24. Pronoun Distribution by Emotional closeness and by Social Class of the speaker