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EXPLORING THE CONFLUENCE OF *CONFIANZA* AND NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN HONDURAN *VOSEO*: A SOCIOPRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the dynamics of language variation and the process of language change from a Speaker-based approach (cp. Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968) through the analysis of a linguistic feature that has received much scholarly attention, namely, Spanish pronominal forms of address (see PRESEEA project), in an understudied variety: Honduran Spanish. Previous studies, as sparse as they are, have proposed that the system of singular forms in this variety comprises a set of three forms for familiar/informal address—*vos*, *tú*, and *usted*—and a sole polite/formal form, *usted* (Castro, 2000; Hernández Torres, 2013; Melgares, 2014). In order to empirically explore this system and detect any changes in progress within it, a model typical of address research in Spanish was adopted by examining pronoun use between interlocutors in specific types of relationships (e.g. parent-child or between friends). This investigation, however, takes this model further by also analyzing the attitudes Honduran speakers exhibit toward the forms in connection to their Honduran identity, while adopting Billig’s (1995) theory of ‘banal nationalism’—the (re)production of national identity through daily social practices—, and as a corollary, their spontaneous pronoun production, following Terkourafi’s (2001; 2004) frame-based approach. Thereupon, this dissertation goes beyond the typical model of describing the innovative form as more frequent in specific types of interactions (once dominated by another form) by delving into how language variation leads to change as it is taking place in the everyday interactions of speakers, guided by pressures of discourse, societal structure, and identity reproduction, thus, providing a richer picture of the language change process.

With the main goal of explaining the prevalence of *vos* in Honduran Spanish—provided that the general tendency in the language is the expansion of *tú* (e.g. Fox, 1969; Lastra de Suárez, 1972; Millán, 2011; Penny, 1991) and that *tú* is prescriptively promulgated as the ‘proper/correct’ form and not *vos* by the Honduran education system and religion—, this investigation was carefully designed by integrating a methodology typical of address research (cp. PRESEEA) with both quantitative and qualitative techniques informed by various subfields of linguistics, including variationist sociolinguistics, politeness research, and sociocultural linguistics. Accordingly, data were gathered through two main research tasks, a written sociolinguistic questionnaire and group semi-directed interviews, from a sample of native speakers of the urban variety of Honduran Spanish. Collected data from the sociolinguistic questionnaire were analyzed inferentially through a combination of Chi-squared and Fisher’s exact tests, and a logistic regression in R. Attitudinal and naturalistic data were analyzed qualitatively by organizing them into themes (i.e. Thematic Analysis: King & Horrocks, 2010) and by examining spontaneous pronoun use in relation to the extralinguistic features of the interactions (Terkourafi, 2001; 2004).

Results from the qualitative analysis of the interview data revealed that *vos* is widely accepted as the norm and that no social stigma is associated with it, as it is used in everyday interactions under the level of conscious awareness, that is, banally reproducing Honduran national identity. What is unacceptable is the use of *tú*, which is ascribed to a foreign identity; thus, any use of *tú* by Honduran speakers is perceived as either spurious or performance of foreignness. *Usted* is as acceptable as *vos* is, mainly utilized to express distance, deference, or respect. Furthermore, it was shown that *vos* can be actively manipulated in interaction to portray non-conservative identity, and likewise, *usted* can be manipulated to portray

conservative identity. These findings were supported by the results of the quantitative analysis, which provide conclusive evidence that certain extralinguistic factors mediate pronoun selection, including, gender match between speaker and addressee (although no independent gender of speaker or of addressee effects were detected), age of speaker and of addressee, and degree of *confianza* between interlocutors, in addition to other features particular to the interactional context, such as the presence of third parties and the setting. Consequently, the statistically significant preference of *vos* by younger generations in conjunction with its acceptance as the norm and with its function as a marker of national identity evidence the socially unobstructed change in the pronominal system of Honduran Spanish as *vos* becomes even more greatly rooted in the Honduran way of life. This change appears to have originated in the family context, specifically in parent-child relationships, where a high degree of *confianza* (i.e. profound *confianza*) is shared, but also seems to affect relationships inside and outside of the family domain in which moderate *confianza* (i.e. superficial *confianza*) is shared—where it is expressed through reciprocal *vos* among younger interlocutors but through reciprocal *usted* among older interlocutors. In sum, these findings demonstrate that *vos* has prevailed in Honduran Spanish since its first attestations in the region during Colonial times as it has developed into a banal symbol of Honduran national identity.

*Soli Deo Gloria*

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. Introduction

This doctoral dissertation probes the general notion that Central America is a unified dialectal region within the larger Latin American variety of Spanish. Even though it cannot be denied that the region shares certain phonetic, morphosyntactic, and lexical features (cp. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992; Lipski, 1998), it should not be disregarded that each of these commonalities is highly nuanced across the region's various varieties, which oftentimes present distinct variability. As Lipski (1998) notes, there is "vast regional differentiation of Central American Spanish [...] with considerable internal variation" (p. 15). In order to uncover and explain said internal variation, regional, linguistic studies with sound methodologies and well-established theoretical frameworks must be conducted, as suggested by Quesada Pacheco (2002). To that end, this dissertation takes a novel approach to morphosyntactic variation based on the exploration of one of the most important morphosyntactic features used to classify Spanish varieties, namely, pronominal forms of address (see PRESEEA<sup>1</sup>), in an understudied variety: Honduran Spanish.

This investigation centers on the variation of the three singular, second person pronouns—*vos*, *tú*, and *usted*—found in Honduran Spanish, paying special attention to *vos*

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<sup>1</sup> PRESEEA stands for *Proyecto para el Estudio Sociolingüístico del Español de España y de América* (Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Peninsular and Latin American Spanish).

and its verb desinences (i.e. *voseo*<sup>2</sup>), and the potential constraints on this variation presented by three extralinguistic factors: age, gender, and degree of *confianza*.<sup>3</sup> The Honduran variety provides an ideal sociolinguistic and cultural context for this type of study. All three pronouns are found in the variety and tend to be used in different domains, where, generally speaking, neither is equivalent to the others sociopragmatically nor morphosyntactically.<sup>4</sup> More specifically, the two ‘familiar’ pronouns are used more frequently in separate norms: *vos* in the spoken/quotidian norm and *tú* in the written/academic and foreign/global norms, creating a dichotomy between a familiar, possibly less academic form, *vos*, and a familiar, possibly more academic, yet foreign/global form, *tú*.<sup>5</sup> *Usted* is used in any context as long as respect or deference is indexed (Benavides, 2003; Hernández Torres, 2013; Melgares, 2014; van Wijk, 1990).

Traditionally, address research has focused on describing usage patterns of address forms between two interlocutors in specific types of relationships: asymmetrical/vertical (e.g. parent-child) and symmetrical/horizontal (e.g. between friends). This investigation, however, analyzes not only speakers’ patterns of use of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* as reported by them, but also their spontaneous production of the forms and their attitudes toward them and toward identity. More generally, it investigates the interplay between the role of the speaker (and also, crucially, the hearer) and the social psychology of a community (i.e. the Honduran nation) in language change (§1.3 offers the justification for implementing this alternative

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<sup>2</sup> *Voseo* is a linguistic feature with a long sociopragmatic history that has led to its presence and diversification in Latin American Spanish and its absence in Peninsular Spanish (see §1.1).

<sup>3</sup> *Confianza* is a complex concept that is usually translated to English as ‘intimacy,’ ‘trust,’ and ‘closeness.’ See §2.2.4 for a discussion.

<sup>4</sup> This investigation centers solely on their sociopragmatic variation.

<sup>5</sup> By foreign/global it is meant herein linguistic features that are (thought to be) common to all Spanish varieties, such as those typically taught in beginning level Spanish courses (e.g. *tú* but not *vos*).

approach).<sup>6</sup> Following theoretical work in pragmatics and sociolinguistics, it is hypothesized here that the correlation between sociodemographic factors, particularly, relative age difference and degree of *confianza* between interlocutors is constrained by perceptions of national solidarity/identity. These perceptions also illuminate a change in progress within the Honduran Spanish pronominal system, originally suggested in a pilot study (Melgares, 2014): the incursion of *vos* into some of the sociopragmatic domains conventionally reserved for *usted*—for instance, the use of reciprocal *vos* in relationships that have been characterized by the use of asymmetrical *usted-vos*, such as parent-child relationships. Consequently, this dissertation will inform theoretical principles of language change by providing evidence for analyzing a linguistic process as a result of identity reproduction.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. §1.1 presents an account of the evolution of pronominal forms of address in Spanish, centering on *vos*, from a sociopragmatic perspective, from their use in Latin to their use in Modern Spanish. §1.2 provides a brief description of *vos* as a linguistic feature of Latin American Spanish, including its current geographic distribution and prior research concerning all three forms in the principal *voseante* ('*vos*-using') regions, devoting a section to the existing studies previously conducted in Honduras. §1.3 offers the overarching research question guiding the present investigation and a justification for conducting it by detailing its significance in relation to its contributions to various subfields of linguistics. §1.4 describes several developments in Honduras's modern sociopolitical history, centering on those that directly affected the city

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<sup>6</sup> Social psychology, as used herein, refers to the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and behaviors that are influenced by the social surroundings of an individual (i.e. the actual, implied, or imagined presence of others) (Allport, 1985).

of San Pedro Sula, where the present research was conducted, with the objective of reviewing possible sociohistorical underpinnings of the usage patterns of and attitudes toward address forms in the variety. §1.5 outlines the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

### **1.1. Evolution of Pronominal Address Forms in Spanish: A Sociopragmatic Perspective**

Forms of address in Spanish have undergone multiple sociohistorical changes since Vulgar Latin and its descendants became widely spoken in the Iberian Peninsula (see Table 2 at the end of this section for a summary of the following historical account). It is a well-known fact that Latin was the official language of the Roman Empire, which had acquired political control over Iberia by 218 B.C. With political control came cultural and linguistic influence on the various ethnic groups therein, leading to the widespread use of Latin and eventually to the inception of its daughter languages (i.e. Romance languages), one of them being Spanish. These languages inherited from their mother language two second person subject pronouns: singular *TŪ* and plural *VŌS*. It is from the plural pronoun that present-day *vos* derived in Spanish, as well as *vous* in French, *vus* in Romansch, *voi* in Italian, Sardinian, and Romanian, and *vós* in Portuguese (cp. Ostler, 2005; Penny, 1991;2001).

Many centuries before the consolidation of Castilian (Spanish) and its spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and after considerable sociopragmatic changes, plural *vos*



acquired singular usage.<sup>7,8</sup> Brown and Gilman (1960) explain that by the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., *vos* was already used (in Vulgar Latin) to address the emperor singularly as a deferential form. At that time, there were two emperors, one in Rome and in one Constantinople. Nonetheless, both emperors were unified in the administration of the empire, reflected in their use of *NŌS* ('we') to refer to themselves as representatives of the power and leadership of the entire empire (Carricaburo, 2004). Consequently, "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" (Brown & Gillman, 1960, p. 255).<sup>9</sup> Carricaburo (2004) explains that eventually this phenomenon not only spread geographically throughout the empire, but also sociopragmatically insomuch that *vos* was used to address singularly any interlocutor of higher status or more power (in addition to its plural use). This resulted in the following pronominal system (in Table 1), still present in modern French, but only characteristic of Old Spanish (Penny, 1991; 2001):

<b>Table 1. Imperial Forms of Address (4<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries)</b>		
	<b>Non-Deferential</b>	<b>Deferential</b>
<b>Singular</b>	<i>TŪ</i>	<i>VŌS</i>
<b>Plural</b>	<i>VŌS</i>	<i>VŌS</i>

<sup>7</sup> Castilian Spanish, as the standard, dominant language spoken in the Iberian Peninsula originated in the north-central region from a variety spoken in the city of Toledo and its surroundings (Kingdom of Castile) around the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This variety eventually spread south during the last stages of the Reconquista, the fall of the Islamic state to the Christian kingdoms of the north, from approximately 710 to 1492 (Ostler, 2005; Penny, 2001). Although, many used to claim that the first evidence of written Spanish appeared in the *Glosas Emilianenses*, dating as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century, this language is now considered to be closer to Navarro-Aragonese than to Spanish (Lapesa, 1981, p. 162).

<sup>8</sup> This development is shared among the Romance languages. In this respect, the pronouns that derived from Latin *VŌS* in the languages mentioned above also developed singular reference.

<sup>9</sup> Brown and Levinson (1987) question this explanation on account of the wide attestation of this phenomenon in nonrelated languages. Alternatively, they propose that this phenomenon is motivated by the avoidance of face-threatening utterances through direct linguistic reference insomuch as the plural form is more indirect and less specific (cp. Helmbrecht, 2005). See §2.2.2 for a review of Brown and Levinson's theory of linguistic politeness as it relates to pronominal address.

According to Carricaburo (2004), by the 7<sup>th</sup> century, *voseo* (in Romance) was conditioned by two sociolinguistic variables: pragmaticity and sentimentalism. Citing Páez Urdaneta (1981), Carricaburo explains, “pragmaticity involves the speaker’s intention to impose a ‘command’ or to ask for a ‘favor,’ and sentimentalism involves the affective ‘distance’ between the addresser and the addressee” (2004; my translation). Throughout the following centuries, between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (Romance > Old Spanish), with social stratification changes in the Peninsula—resulting in a three-part pyramid with the royalty, nobles, and knights at the top, the clergy at the center, and the artisans, farmers, and merchants at the bottom—the functions of the address forms also changed. On the vertical axis, *vos* was no longer used to address an individual of higher status/more power, but rather by someone of higher status to address someone of lower status to indicate a power differential as an out-group address form. On the horizontal axis, *tú* was used as an in-group address form to signal intimacy and informality when addressing an interlocutor of the same social standing and *vos* was used only with its pragmatic value, to ask for a favor or to impose a command (Carricaburo, 2004).<sup>10</sup>

Between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Early Modern Spanish period, conquests of the New World were underway and, as expected, the conquistadors not only brought with them a new culture, a new religion, and a new array of diseases, but also a new language, and with it, the new pronominal system described above. The conquistadors, of self-appointed ‘higher’ social status due to their association with Spanish imperial power, used *vos* to address the ‘lower’ class—the natives and mixed-race individuals who learned or spoke Spanish.

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<sup>10</sup> Carricaburo (2004) seems to understand vertical axis as different social strata and horizontal axis as the same social stratum.

Meanwhile in the Peninsula, Carricaburo ([cp. 1997; 1999] 2004) explains, because of new social changes in which the bourgeoisie acquired a better social ranking than the nobility, *voseo* temporarily acquired new prestige and was extensively used in singular form to express solidarity and intimacy, causing it to ‘wear out’ and lose ground to *tú*. Furthermore, *vos* became the exclusive plural form of address of solidarity and intimacy,<sup>11</sup> and eventually the phrase *vuestra(s) merced(es)* (‘your mercy(ies)’),<sup>12</sup> which after multiple phonetic changes reduced to *usted(es)*,<sup>13</sup> was used as the pronoun of deference in both singular and plural forms. According to Carricaburo,

[t]he changes produced in European Spanish did not reach the entire American continent. *Tú* was introduced in the continent via two radiating axes, the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, but the rest of the American continent, called *voseante* America, continued using *vos* for the second person singular, while *ustedes* covered both plural forms of intimacy and respect. ([cp. 1997; 1999] 2004; my translation and emphases)

Perhaps the impetus behind this incipient distinction between Peninsular Spanish and New World Spanish was the isolation of the peripheral regions of the colonies from the motherland (Benavides, 2003; Carricaburo, 1999; 2004; Granda, 1995; Micheau, 1991). This is not only evident in the aforementioned panorama described of American Spanish, but also

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<sup>11</sup> This development is not shared among all Romance languages. In this respect, French *vous*, Romansch *vus*, Portuguese *vós*, and Italian *voi*, for example, when used singularly, solely denote deference. It must be noted that Portuguese *vós* has become essentially extinct in quotidian use (it is mainly found in special contexts such as liturgical ceremonies) (Bermejo, 2012; Cook, 2013), and that *voi* is used as the familiar, plural form in Standard Italian, but as a polite, singular form in certain southern dialects (cp. Braun, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> De Jonge and Nieuwenhuijsen (2012) state that the address phrase *vuestra merced* first appeared as a respectful form in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which heavily competed with *vos* for respectful address, consequently influencing *vos*’s loss of respectful connotation.

<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in Portuguese *você(s)* developed from *vossa(s) mercê(s)* (‘your mercy[ies]’) (Cook, 2013).

in the fact that the familiar, second person plural pronoun *vosotros* (*vos + otros*, ‘you + others’) did not take root in the American continent—not even in the viceroyalties.<sup>14, 15</sup>

The changes in the Peninsula continued and eventually led to the unavoidable disappearance of *vos*. According to León (1998), during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, *vos* slowly lost prestige, being used mainly to insult, scorn, or scold. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *vos* had completely disappeared from the Peninsula. This was not the case in the New World, where *vos* continued evolving throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in different regions of Latin America, leading up to its current distribution, described in the following section.

<b>Period (Cent. A.D.)</b>	<b>Vertical Dimension<sup>16</sup></b>	<b>Horizontal Dimension</b>
IV to V (Vulgar Latin)	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of greater authority <i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor of equal authority	<i>Tú</i> : to address interlocutors in all other contexts
	<i>Vos</i> : to address more than one interlocutor	
VI to VII (Romance)	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of greater authority <i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor of equal authority	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively distant <i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively proximal
	<i>Vos</i> : to address more than one interlocutor or, situationally, an interlocutor from whom a favor is expected	
VIII to XII (Romance/Old Spanish)	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of greater authority or of knightly virtue <i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor of equal authority	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively distant <i>Tú</i> : to address a family member/relative or who is affectively proximal in general
	<i>Vos</i> : to address more than one interlocutor or, situationally, an interlocutor from whom a favor is expected	

<sup>14</sup> De Jonge and Nieuwenhuijsen (2012) assert that the modifier, *otros*, was added to *vos* in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and came to be used more and more frequently from then on until it was fully grammaticalized by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>15</sup> Moreno de Alba (2010) claims that the use of *vosotros* in Latin America abruptly and considerably diminished in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and gradually continued on its path to disappearance after that period.

<sup>16</sup> The vertical and horizontal sociopragmatic dimensions in Table 2 are roughly equivalent to Brown and Gillman’s (1960) ‘power semantic’ and ‘solidarity semantic,’ respectively (more on this in §2.2.1).

<b>Table 2 (Cont.)</b>		
<b>Period (Cent. A.D.)</b>	<b>Vertical Dimension</b>	<b>Horizontal Dimension</b>
XIII to XIV (Old Spanish)	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of lower social status	<i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively proximal (informal, familiar, and solidary)
	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor from whom a favor is expected <i>Vos</i> and <i>Vosotros</i> : to address more than one interlocutor	
XV (Early Modern Spanish)	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of lower social status	<i>Tú</i> and <i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively proximal (informal, familiar, and solidary)
	<i>Vos</i> and <i>Vosotros</i> : to address more than one interlocutor	
XVI to XVII (Early Modern Spanish)	<i>Usted(es)</i> : to address one or more interlocutors of greater authority	<i>Usted(es)</i> : to address one or more interlocutors who are affectively distant
	<i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor of lower social status (in the New World)	<i>Tú</i> : to address an interlocutor who is affectively proximal (informal, familiar, and solidary) <i>Vos</i> : to address an interlocutor being scolded or insulted
<i>Vos</i> and <i>Vosotros</i> : to address more than one interlocutor with whom trust is shared		
XVIII (Modern Spanish)	<i>Vos</i> : disappears from all contexts in the Iberian Peninsula, but maintains some sociopragmatic paradigms from the XV to XVII centuries in certain regions of the New World, such as Honduras	

Synthesis based on the historical accounts by Carricaburo (1999; 2004), León (1998), Páez Urdaneta (1981), and Penny (1991, 2001).

## 1.2. *Voseo*: A Linguistic Feature of Latin American Spanish

As a consequence of their evolution, Spanish forms of address presently show wide dialectal variation, a phenomenon that has caught much scholarly attention over the last few decades, making it one of the most studied linguistic variables in Latin American Spanish. Most studies, mainly variationist and/or dialectological in nature, try to specify the different factors, both linguistic and extralinguistic, that may constrain the use of one form over the

other(s). Importantly, most of the research, some of which has been impressionistic, has focused on certain dialectal regions, such as Argentina, Chile, and Costa Rica, but has greatly ignored others, such as Honduras. Accordingly, the present study contributes to this recently growing body of research on understudied varieties of Spanish by exploring the pronominal system of address of Honduran Spanish not only within a sociolinguistic/dialectological research framework, but also from a pragmatic approach.

As mentioned previously, Honduran Spanish provides an ideal context for the sociolinguistic study of forms of address in that *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* tend to be used in different domains (Hernández Torres, 2013; Melgares, 2014; van Wijk, 1990). Nevertheless, *vos* is the most widely used form of familiar address, and appears to be extending its use into domains traditionally reserved for polite/deferential *usted* (Melgares, 2014). The present study centers on the current uses of *vos* in relation to *tú* and *usted*, which due to its inclusion within the literature of forms of address in Latin America, allows for the possibility of cross-dialectal comparisons. The following sections summarize previous research that has been conducted on the cross-dialectal distribution of address forms in Latin America (§1.2.1) and the pronominal systems that are representative of various *voseante* regions (§1.2.2), including a comprehensive review of the research available on address forms in Honduran Spanish.

### **1.2.1. General distribution of *vos***

As a result of the evolution detailed above, pronominal forms of address are currently one of the linguistic features in which European Spanish differs from Latin American

Spanish. *Voseo* is nonexistent in Spain,<sup>17</sup> but in Latin America, there are regions that are either exclusively *tuteante* (i.e. use only *tú* for second person singular reference), exclusively *voseante*, or ‘hybrid’ inasmuch as both *tuteo* and *voseo* are found in the same discourse.<sup>18</sup> As mentioned above, because of sociocultural, economic, political, and geographic reasons, the regions where *voseo* persists did not participate in the diachronic changes that took place in the Iberian Peninsula (Benavides, 2003; Carricaburo, 1999; 2004; Granda, 1995; Micheau, 1991). In fact, “the [Latin American] regions where *tuteo* predominates today [the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru, in particular] always maintained contact with the Peninsula and followed the linguistic changes that developed there, including the changes with *voseo*” (Benavides, 2003, p. 614; my translation and emphasis).<sup>19</sup> The regions where *voseo* is still present are predominantly found in Central America and the Río de la Plata (*Porteño*) region.<sup>20</sup> These regions, because of their own sociohistorical development and geographic separation, consequently developed distinct sociopragmatic usage patterns of *vos*.

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<sup>17</sup> Although, with the influx of immigrants that Spain has recently experienced from various Latin American regions, including *voseante* regions, *vos* is again present in the Peninsula; however, it is only present in the speech of the immigrant communities and not in the speech of Spaniards (see, for example, Barrancos, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> *Usted(es)* is found in both Spain and Latin America; therefore, its use is not a feature that distinguishes both regions as the use of *vos* is.

<sup>19</sup> Páez Urdaneta (1981) points out that a second reason for the loss of *voseo* in certain Spanish American regions was the hierarchization of their societies in that, among Spaniards, a clear distinction developed between the elite and those inferior to them. The egalitarian sentiment that characterized virtually all Spaniards arriving to and being born (i.e. *criollos*, ‘creoles’) in the New World during the first 50 years of colonization, eventually disappeared, leading to the adoption of linguistic norms from the Peninsula by the elite (cp. Benavides, 2003, pp. 616-617).

<sup>20</sup> The twenty-one countries where Spanish is the (de facto) official language include Spain, **Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, Guatemala**, Cuba, **Bolivia, Honduras, Paraguay, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama**, Equatorial Guinea, **Mexico, Argentina, Chile**, Dominican Republic, **Nicaragua, Uruguay**, and Puerto Rico (countries where *vos* is used, even minimally, are bolded). Lipski (1998) claims that of the countries or regions where Spanish is spoken, only in Spain, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, *vos* is not found, since it is present in the southernmost region of Mexico. However, he did not include a fifth country in this list, Equatorial Guinea, which follows the peninsular norm.

From a morphosyntactic point of view, there are three types of *voseo* (cp. Carricaburo, 1997; 2004): pronominal, verbal, and authentic. Pronominal *voseo*, or the use of the pronoun *vos* with the verbal desinence of *tú* (e.g. *vos comes*, ‘you-*vos* eat-*tú*’), is typical of Tucumán and Santiago del Estero, Argentina. Verbal *voseo*, or use of the pronoun *tú* with the verbal desinence of *vos* (e.g. *tú comés*, ‘you-*tú* eat-*vos*’), is typical of Uruguay and Chile. Authentic *voseo*, or use of *vos* with its respective verbal desinence (e.g. *vos comés*, ‘you-*vos* eat-*vos*’), is typical of most of Argentina, the eastern region of Colombia, and Central America. Furthermore, both verbal and authentic *voseo* can be divided into three subtypes by verb inflection:

(I) diphthongized *voseo*, which conserves the forms *cantáis*, *cantéis*, *coméis*, *comáis* and *partís*, *partáis*; (II) Argentinian *voseo*, which is monophthongized in the open vowel of the diphthong [e.g. *cantás*, *cantés*, *comés*, *comás* and *partís*, *partás*]; and (III) Chilean *voseo*, which conserves some diphthongized forms, but monophthongizes others in the close vowel [e.g. *cantáis*, *cantís*, *comís*, *comáis* and *partís*, *partáis*]. (Carricaburo, 2004; my translation, emphases, and examples)

Table 3 below synthesizes the above classification, showing the mood alternation indicative/subjunctive of the present tense, as presented by Carricaburo (2004):

<b>Verb Class</b>	<b>Type I</b>	<b>Type II</b>	<b>Type III</b>
<b>-ar</b>	-áis/-éis	-ás/-és	-áis/-ís
<b>-er</b>	-éis/-áis	-és/-ás	-ís/-áis
<b>-ir</b>	-ís/-áis	-ís/-ás	-ís/-áis

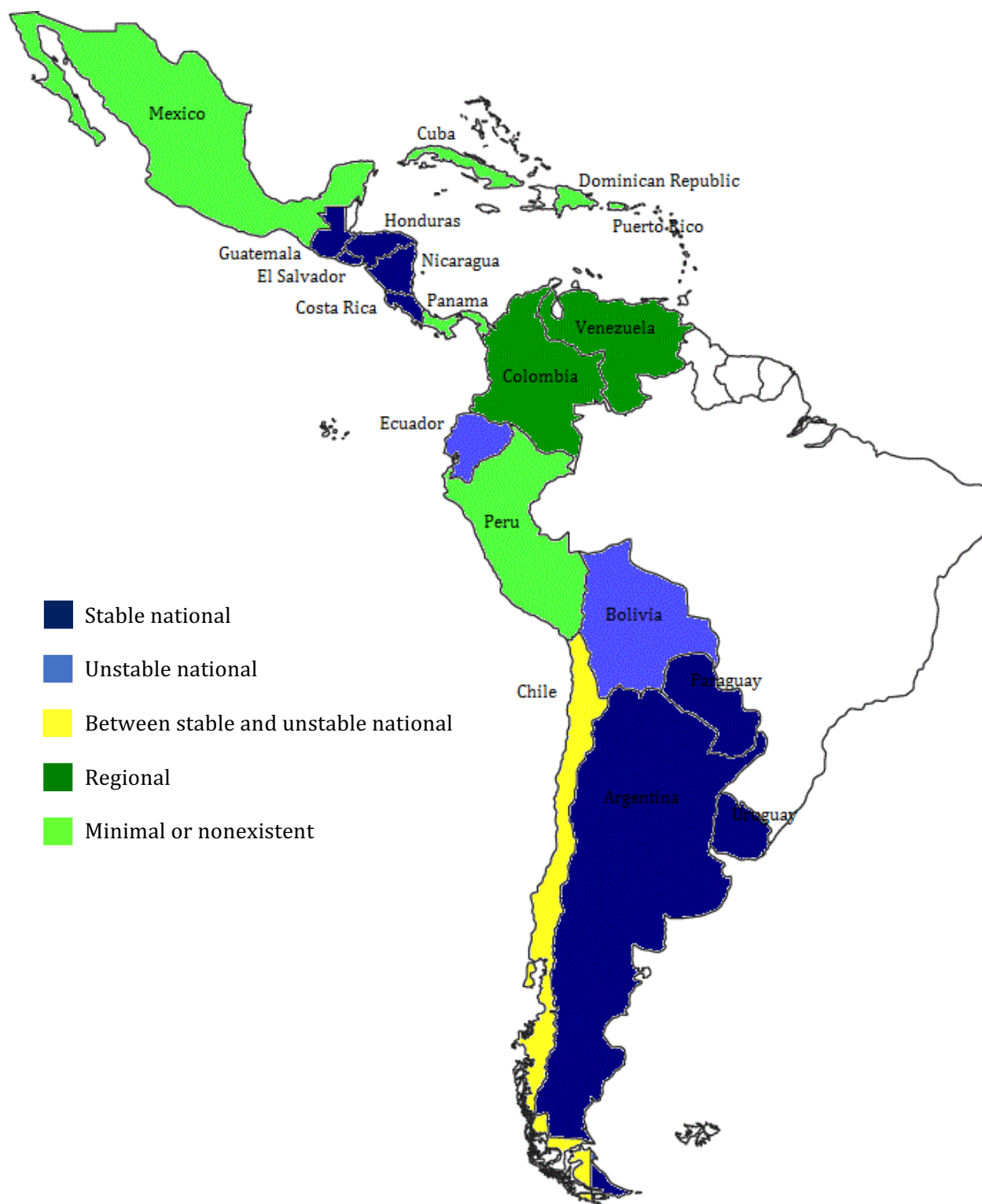


From the point of view of scope, there are two types of *voseo* (cp. Benavides, 2003; Páez Urdaneta, 1981): (1) regional *voseo*, where *tuteo* predominates and where *voseo* exists, but only in remote regions or is altogether absent; and (2) national *voseo*, where *voseo* is the dominant form of address in the whole or greater portion of the country. The latter type can be stable, as it competes minimally with *tuteo* and is used by all socioeconomic strata, or it can be unstable, as it competes with *tuteo* and is on its way to intensification, diminution, or disappearance. From this perspective, Benavides (2003) claims that regional *voseo* is found in Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, whereas stable national *voseo* is present in Argentina, Uruguay (possibly Paraguay as well), and Central America (excluding Panama) and unstable national *voseo* is present in Bolivia and Ecuador.<sup>21, 22</sup> Figure 1 below depicts the distribution presented here.

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<sup>21</sup> As can be noted, Chile does not appear in the previous classification. This is so because Chile is a special case. Even though Benavides (2003) classifies it as being somewhere between a stable and an unstable nationally *voseante* region, it is questionable that this in fact represents the Chilean linguistic reality. The perception toward *voseo* in Chile is quite distinct from that found in the rest of Latin America. The use of the pronoun *vos*, independent from its verb forms, is very much stigmatized, as it is perceived as an unsophisticated way of addressing an interlocutor, meanwhile its verb forms are extensively used without different sociolinguistic connotations from *tuteo* (Lipski, 1998). It is common for Chileans not to realize that verbal *voseo* actually is a form of *voseo* due to the pronoun *tú* that frequently accompanies it.

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that *voseo* is no longer used in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, and that Benavides (2003) excludes Spain, Peru, and Equatorial Guinea from this list for unknown reasons.

**Figure 1. Scope and Distribution of Vos**

Even though countries where *voseo* is not currently used or is used minimally, such as Mexico, Peru, and Spain, have been the focus of linguistic studies in the past, the strong and stable presence of *voseo* in Latin America cannot be ignored.<sup>23</sup> Although this linguistic phenomenon is profoundly complex and varies regionally, it is an important feature of the speech of most Spanish-speakers. To comprehend better the particularities of *voseo*, it is imperative that more studies be conducted in understudied varieties, especially considering indexical and pragmatic motivations behind address form use, as is the case of the present dissertation.

What follows reviews the most recent studies that have centered on *vos* in certain Latin American regions. It should be mentioned that other investigations, mainly morphosyntactic (e.g. Baquero Velásquez & Westphal Montt, 2014; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1976; 1979; Granda, 1978; Morris, 1996; Rojas Blanco, 2003; Rona, 1961), and other classifications/distributions from both a diachronic perspective (e.g. Granda, 1994; 2001; Páez Urdaneta, 1981) and a synchronic perspective (e.g. Fernández, 2003; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1995) have been offered.<sup>24</sup> However, recall here that the present study focuses on the sociopragmatic uses of address forms in Honduran Spanish. For this reason, the distribution that is presented in the following section does not include references to morphosyntactic studies, and is based, therefore, on Benavides's (2003) distribution, which incorporates Páez Urdaneta's (1981) diachronic account and distribution (detailed above). This distribution was selected for presentation purposes, since it offers a geographical

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<sup>23</sup> Lipski (1998) states that even in Mexico, *voseo* is observed in the regions that border Guatemala and in Peru, in the bordering areas with Ecuador and Bolivia.

<sup>24</sup> These lists of references are not meant to be exhaustive.

account based on the scope of use of *vos*. Implementing other classifications/distributions, such as those of Fontanella de Weinberg (1995) or Fernández (2003), which are based on pronominal systems, for instance, would inevitably entail a description of every region where *voseo* is present (even minimally), provided that a given dialectal region might employ more than one system. This would be impractical for the purposes of this dissertation, and for this reason, the following section compiles studies that provide the most current descriptions of each dialectal region where *voseo* is nationally stable, with the addition of the special case of Chilean Spanish (see footnote 21).

### **1.2.2. Variation in usage patterns of *vos* in Latin America**

To provide a complete panorama of the pronominal address systems in Latin America, it is necessary to describe briefly the current usage patterns of *vos* with respect to *tú* and *usted* in different *voseante* regions. To describe every region where *vos* is present would be impractical, thus this section focuses only on the regions where *voseo* is national and stable, following Páez Urdaneta's (1981) and Benavides's (2003) classifications. Accordingly, this section provides an overview of the Río de la Plata region comprised of Argentina and Uruguay where *vos* is part of the norm (§1.2.2.1), followed by the special case of Chile (§1.2.2.2), and concludes with the Central American region (§1.2.2.3). The case of Honduran Spanish, the variety of interest for this investigation, is discussed in §1.2.2.4. §1.2.2.5 synthesizes the description presented in this section.

### 1.2.2.1. Río de la Plata

Argentina is largely perceived as the *voseante* country *par excellence* because it is where the use of *vos* is the most widespread (Rojas, 1998), and where it belongs to the national standard, observed in any context—formal or informal, and oral or written—, recognized by *La Academia Argentina de Letras* ('The Argentine Academy of Letters') since 1982. *Vos* is used in different contexts and varying registers by members of all social strata (Kapović, 2007), and is also the standard of the written word (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1987); *tú* and *usted* are very minimally used. According to Kapović (2007), *vos* has been gradually taking over the domains of *usted* since the 1960s; a shift that, according to Carricaburo (1997), was driven by leftist politics promoting equality in society, especially between authorities (politicians) and the people. Furthermore, Rojas (1998) claims that Argentina is perhaps the only country that presents all three types of *voseo*—pronominal, verbal, and authentic, as referred to earlier. However, according to Hotta (2002), pronominal *voseo* is slowly declining in regions where it has been reported (e.g. Santiago del Estero) *à-vis* the national standard (i.e. authentic *voseo*). In provinces that border Chile, it is common to find verbal *voseo*; however, this type of *voseo* is stigmatized and is perceived as characteristic of rural speech.

Like Argentina, Uruguay is part of the Río de la Plata region and is considered a *voseante* country, where *vos* is spoken by members of all social strata (Kapović, 2007), but unlike its neighbor, *tú* has been demonstrated to be a strong competitor alongside *vos* (Carricaburo, 1997; Kapović, 2007; Weyers, 2009; 2013). According to Weyers ([cp. 2009] 2013), the traditional pronominal system in Uruguay is tripartite: "(1) *vos* denotes intimacy,

that is, lack of social distance between interlocutors; (2) *tú* is used for close relationships that maintain some type of distance; and (3) *usted* is the pronoun of deferential social distance, associated with social hierarchy distinctions” ([cp. Carricaburo, 1997, pp. 30-32] p. 176; emphases in original). This system allows multiple pronominal/verbal combinations to emerge in different social interactions since both ‘pure’ and ‘mixed’ (i.e. authentic vs. verbal/pronominal *voseo*) forms are possible. Weyers (2013) reports that verbal *voseo* has been associated with the speech of older speakers and of upper class speakers; however, in his study from 2009, he found that no speakers under 40 used *tú* in any combination. In fact, it appears to be that *vos* is becoming the standard form of address, following the general *porteño* (Río de la Plata) norm established in Argentina, as it has started to appear in grammar textbooks alongside *tú* as “accepted and standard in Uruguay” (Weyers, 2013, p. 177). Furthermore, varieties once described as categorically *tuteante*, such as border Spanish in Rivera (bordering Brazil), have recently seen the incorporation of *voseo* in quotidian speech (Carvalho, 2010).

#### **1.2.2.2. Chile**

Chilean Spanish constitutes a special case with respect to pronominal forms of address because of their history in the region and because they exhibit characteristics of both national, unstable *voseo* and regional *voseo* (Benavides, 2003). According to Torrejón (1986), *vos* had been the universal form of address in Chile from the colonization period until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it became stigmatized, in accordance with the commentaries made by the influential grammarian, Andrés Bello, who described it as vulgar and incorrect. As a

consequence, *tú* gradually replaced *vos*, though not completely, through a standardization process. Interestingly, as Torrejón notes, by the end of the 1970s, Chile had started to experience a resurgence of *vos* led by the educated youth due to several factors: (1) the weakening of the boundaries between social classes, (2) the militant rebellion against the behavioral norms imposed by their social class, and (3) the weakening of the prescriptive barriers *vos* faced in grammar teaching. Torrejón claims that the pronoun itself is still stigmatized, thus the form of *voseo* mostly present in Chile is verbal in nature often accompanied by *tú* instead of *vos*. He concludes that verbal *voseo* is widely used in Chile among the youth and increasingly among older adults, in turn, driving the simplification of a complex pronominal system to one that is much more egalitarian. Torrejón (2010a; 2010b) has recently stated that *vos* continues to be used by young speakers as a rebellious form against older generations and authority in general, and is now spreading throughout society.

The observations made by Torrejón (1986; 2010a; 2010b) have been corroborated in other recent studies. Stevenson (2007) states that the pronoun *vos* is still stigmatized today, but that it may be experiencing an increase in use among young men; verbal *voseo* is contingent upon the social factors of age and gender. Based on the results of a survey and recordings of daily interactions conducted in Santiago—where the resurgence of verbal *voseo* is claimed to have originated—, Bishop and Michnowicz (2010) claim that verbal *voseo* is taking over the functions once reserved for *tú* as it is strongly present in the speech of both young and adult speakers. However, among adult speakers there is a clear social divide between educated speakers, among whom verbal *voseo* is practically nonexistent, and

working-class speakers, who use it frequently.<sup>25</sup> They also claim that gender seems to play an important role in the use of *voseo* since men statistically favor it overall, whereas women disfavor it. Therefore, according to the investigators, “what once was a highly stigmatized form on the verge of extinction in the upper and middle classes is now being promoted and widely used by young male speakers of the professional class” (p. 426). Similarly, Rivadeneira and Clua (2011), report that in spontaneous speech, gender and age are significant factors in determining pronominal use: men and young adults tend to use *vos* more than women and older adults do.<sup>26</sup> In addition, they report that register and geographic region are also significant factors: *vos* tends to be used more in informal register and among speakers of the central region of the country than in formal register and among speakers of the north and the south. It will be evident in the following section that these usage patterns, especially with respect to age and gender, are not exclusive to Chilean Spanish.

### **1.2.2.3. Central America**

The Central American region, because of its history, presents multiple linguistic features that are shared among the countries that comprise it; one of these features is the widespread use of *vos*. All five countries—Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica—seceded from the Spanish Crown in 1821 and formed their own unified State called *Provincias Unidas de Centroamerica* (‘United Provinces of Central America’)—a

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<sup>25</sup> Bishop and Michnowicz (2010) divided their participants among three social class groups: working class, professional class, and middle class.

<sup>26</sup> Rivadeneira and Clua (2011), analyzed data collected from Chilean radio shows comprised of live conversations.



relatively logical consequence of the region's independence after conforming one captaincy under Spanish rule, the *Capitanía General de Guatemala* ('General Captaincy of Guatemala;' see map in Figure 2 below). According to Kapović (2007), this fact is of import with respect to the expansive use of *vos* in the region since all of the territories that once belonged to the captaincy are presently *voseante*, including the Mexican States of Chiapas and Tabasco, which during the colonial period were also part of the captaincy. Panama and Belize, countries that did not belong to the captaincy, are mostly *tuteante*. Therefore, *voseo* is to this day a unifying linguistic feature of this region, pointing to its long shared sociopolitical history. However, its linguistic uses are by no means uniform, as each of the countries exhibits distinct usage patterns (see Table 5 in §1.2.2.5 for a synthesis).

**Figure 2. Map of Central America<sup>27</sup>**



<sup>27</sup> Source: Part of the Blank World Map Project for use on [www.wikivoyage.org](http://www.wikivoyage.org).

Guatemala has been described as a country with a tripartite pronominal system (Lipski, 1998; Moser, 2010a; Pinkerton, 1986; Úbeda, 2013), where *vos* and *usted* are the most preponderant forms and *tú* is used in very specific domains as a formally intermediate form between *usted* and *vos*. Pinkerton (1986) explains that either *usted* or *tú* is used in conversation among women, and between women and men; *vos* is also used among women, especially among young educated women, but to a much lesser extent. Among men either *usted* or *vos* is used, never *tú*. Pinkerton also asserts that *tú* is used to show familiarity, while *vos* is used to show solidarity. Even though at times Pinkerton uses the terms ‘familiar’ and ‘solidary’ interchangeably to describe the use of *vos* or *tú*, it appears that for her there is a distinction between familiar *tú* and solidary *vos*. She states, “*tuteo* is less formal [than *ustedeo*] but not quite intimate and conveys that the relationship is not quite that of equals [...] *voseo* implies full egalitarianism, solidarity or camaraderie” (Pinkerton, 1986, p. 694). Thus, *tú* can be interpreted as an intermediary between formal *usted* and very informal *vos*. She also concludes that gender is so strongly correlated to pronoun use, that a man addressing another man using *tú* is seen as effeminate. What this means is that *voseo* is not gender exclusive, but rather gender preferential, whereas *tuteo* is gender exclusive, indexing femininity when used by either a man or a woman. Similar claims have been made by Carricaburo (1997), Kapović (2007), and Moser (2010a).<sup>28</sup> However, Úbeda (2013) found contradictory patterns in that her participants reported using *tú* mainly within romantic couples and in parent-child relationships. According to the researcher, these are the only domains in which the tripartite system is used, as *vos* and *usted* are also found in these same

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<sup>28</sup> Femininity has been attributed to *tú* in some varieties of Colombian Spanish as well (Jang, 2005; Millán, 2011).

domains. Use of *usted* appears to be mainly constrained by age and social distance. Úbeda states that *usted* is preferred to address older interlocutors (even friends) and strangers. Kapović (2007) provides an assessment that perhaps clarifies this discrepancy. He states that romantic couples use *vos* reciprocally, but that in the presence of a third party, women switch to *tú*. In fact, he claims that the tripartite system only exists in the speech of women, since men either use *vos* or *usted*.

Like Guatemala, it has been said that a tripartite pronominal system is found in El Salvador (Lipski, 1998; Kapović, 2007). *Vos* and *usted* are the preferred forms of address, depending on the register and degree of intimacy/deference, and *tú* is used as an intermediate form that signals camaraderie and friendship without the same level of *confianza* that *vos* requires (Kapović, 2007). However, according to Quintanilla Aguilar (2009) and Quesada Pacheco and Rivera Orellana (2013), *tú* is not used orally in El Salvador, but only in certain contexts such as advertising, written correspondence, religious texts, and interactions with strangers. Furthermore, in television programs, both *vos* and *tú* are in covariation, frequently mixed in the same utterance (i.e. verbal *voseo*). According to Quintanilla Aguilar (2009), these usage patterns are explained by the fact that *vos* and *usted(es)* are not taught in school, but are replaced by *tú* and *vosotros*—a fact shared by all Central American countries—and by the attitudes Salvadorans exhibit toward pronoun use. According to the researcher’s informants, *vos* is not viewed as incorrect or uneducated; however, *tú* is appropriate when used in the media. Quintanilla Aguilar (2009) concludes “it is possible that in El Salvador *tú* has undergone a modification in its meaning, and is viewed as formal, given the contexts in which it is used” (p. 372).

Unlike the previous two countries, Nicaragua is described as a region characterized by a bipartite system (Christiansen, 2014; Díaz & López, 2013; Lipski, 1998; 2004). According to Christiansen (2014), at first glance, the Nicaraguan pronominal system is quite simple: *vos* is the main form that expresses solidarity and *usted* is the form that expresses deference but that can also express solidarity in certain contexts. This is corroborated by Díaz and López (2013) who state that in the familial domain (e.g. between spouses, among siblings, older family members with younger members) and among friends, *vos* is mostly used. *Usted* is preferred in the familial domain only when younger members address older ones, and in some cases between spouses, and in other social contexts, when addressing an older interlocutor or to show respect. These findings are consistent with other studies such as Carricaburo (1997), Quesada Pacheco (2002), and Lipski (2004). Nonetheless, according to Lipski (2004), Nicaraguans have earned the reputation of being overly familiar, or *confianzudos*, for being more prone to using *vos* with strangers than other Central Americans. With respect to *tú*, Carricaburo (1997) states that its use is limited to written contexts, and does not appear in oral speech. However, Matus Lazo (1998) claims that *tú* is used in Nicaraguan Spanish, but to a much lesser extent: it might be used “sporadically by a government official or by some intellectuals” (p. 85; my translation). He concludes,

Nicaragua can be defined as a country of national *voseo*, that is, by the use of *vos* throughout the entirety of our territory. Its degree of generalized use is prevalent, not only among family members, but also in other wider domains, in which the interlocutors are of both sexes regardless of age, and belong to the same social class or lower. (Matus Lazo, 1998, p. 85; my translation; emphases added)

It has also been claimed that Costa Rica presents a bipartite system like Nicaragua (Kapović, 2007; Lipski, 1998). According to Cabal (2012), Costa Rica currently displays a system in which both *vos* and *usted* covary, with the recent addition of *tú* to oral speech. It appears that the addition of *tú* has been a fairly recent development, since as early as the 1990s the oral use of the pronoun was still perceived as pedantic and corny, but was prestigious when writing even the most intimate thoughts (Solano Rojas, 1994). Thomas (2008) notes that all three pronouns are in constant competition, as *usted* can be used to denote solidarity and intimacy, similarly to *tú* and *vos*, in addition to its usual use as the deferent form. Cabal (2012) states that the general rule seems to be that “in those situations when *vos* is always appropriate, *usted* is always appropriate too, but not the other way around” (p. 7). In his study of the metalinguistic reflections on the use of each of these three variants, Thomas (2008) observed that all three pronouns can be used in the same type of relationship and in the same context; this covariation was corroborated by Cabal (2012), among others. Importantly, several studies have reported high frequencies of use of both *usted* and *vos*, and minimal, some even insignificant, frequencies of *tú* (Castillo Venegas, 2013; Quesada Pacheco, 1981; and Vega González, 1995; 2005); nonetheless, other studies have found an increase in the use of *tú* (Moser, 2010b; Quesada Pacheco, 2010; Thomas, 2008).<sup>29</sup> It must be pointed out that, in fact, *tú* is taking over the domain of *vos* in spoken language, but that *vos* is taking over the domain of *tú* in written language (Quesada Pacheco, 2010, p. 668).

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<sup>29</sup> According to Cabal (2012), the addition of *tú* to oral speech has been controversial. Kapović (2007) also mentions that this phenomenon has sparked the interest of Costa Ricans, leading to public discussion and a series of letters in national newspapers in which the population expresses its pride in using *vos* and its disgust with the use of *tú*.

#### **1.2.2.4. Pronominal address in Honduran Spanish: A tripartite system?**

Very little is known about the morphosyntactic features of Honduran Spanish. Hernández Torres (2013) comments that the existing material is either too general or too punctual, describing phenomena that are in actuality general, pan-Hispanic tendencies. That being said, this section discusses the research available for Honduran Spanish that has centered on pronominal forms of address.

Previous research describing general usage patterns of the three pronouns has been discrepant. Some studies, such as Castro (2000) and Kapović (2007), have characterized Honduran Spanish as having a tripartite system, like Guatemala and El Salvador, in which *tú* may function as an intermediate form between familiar *vos* and polite *usted*. Other studies, such as Hernández Torres (2013) and Melgares (2014), have determined that even though *tú* does figure in the metalinguistic reports of pronoun use by Hondurans, its use is minimal and insignificant, especially in oral speech, and therefore, the opposition is between *vos* and *usted*. Perhaps this discrepancy lies on the fact that *tú* is used in Honduran Spanish; however, its use is contingent upon the context. *Tú* is used in written documents, from informal publications to personal correspondence (in which it alternates with *vos*), in specific religious/liturgical practices (e.g. when speaking to God in prayer), and some other oral contexts, such as television programs (in which it also alternates with *vos*, specifically in informal shows geared toward the youth) (cp. Benavides, 2003; Castro, 2000). Thus, if these contexts are taken into consideration, Honduran Spanish does display a tripartite system; nevertheless, colloquial, daily spoken language is mainly bipartite.

What most studies are in agreement with is the fact that Honduras is a region where *voseo* predominates (Benavides, 2003; Castro, 2000; Kapović, 2007; Lipski, 1998; Melgares, 2014; van Wijk, 1990;). van Wijk (1990) states that *voseo* “is completely generalized among the working classes (urban and rural) as much as among the semi-educated groups, and is even used in the informal, educated speech of those of social distinction” (pp. 114 – 115; my translation). Benavides (2003), Kapović (2007), and Lipski (1998) explain that *vos* is used in oral speech as the exclusive pronoun that expresses solidarity and/or intimacy (i.e. *confianza*) and that *tú* is very rarely used. Furthermore, in a recent study that served as the pilot for this dissertation research, Melgares (2014) determined that *vos* is the most widely used pronoun in Honduras followed by *usted*. The study examined the usage patterns of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* of Honduran adolescents and the extralinguistic factors—relative authority (i.e. power differential), group membership (i.e. in-group: friends/classmates vs. out-group: acquaintances/students from other schools), socioeconomic status, gender, type of relationship, and age/genealogic distance—that may constrain the observed patterns.<sup>30</sup> Melgares found that *vos* was reported as the most frequently used form (57.7%) followed by *usted* (39.7%). Consistent with previous accounts (e.g. Benavides, 2003; Lipski, 1998), the adolescents reported using *vos* in spoken language as the virtually exclusive pronoun for expressing solidarity and/or intimacy. *Usted* was reported as being used to express respect and/or social distance in formal and informal contexts and sometimes intimacy in familiar

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<sup>30</sup> Melgares (2014) analyzed the address form use of 100 adolescents (ages 14-17) via an online questionnaire, used as a basis for data collection in the present study (see §3.3.2).

contexts.<sup>31</sup> *Tú* was reported as being used very rarely in oral speech (2.60%). Interestingly, these findings were inconsistent with one of the only studies of this kind in Honduran Spanish. Hernández Torres (2013) found higher frequencies of *usted* (59.18% in the family context and 78.96% in other contexts) than *vos* in almost all types of relationships. However, it must be mentioned that the representativeness of the results he offers is questionable given that they are based on data collected in multiple regions of the country, both rural and urban, by surveying only four participants per region. Nonetheless, this discrepancy and apparent shift from *usted* to *vos* is what initially motivated the present research.

With respect to the extralinguistic factors investigated, Melgares (2014) found that neither group membership, nor socioeconomic status, nor gender is significant in pronoun selection. Age/genealogic distance emerged as the most significant factor (cp. Benavides, 2003) followed by relative authority and type of relationship. *Usted* is categorically the most frequently used form when addressing an older individual or someone of higher authority, especially outside of the family context, such as a doctor or a teacher. *Vos* is categorically the most frequently used form when addressing a younger/same-age interlocutor or someone of equal or lesser authority. It appeared that age is a more significant factor than relative authority is, as older individuals of lower authority, such as a maid or a gardener, are addressed with *usted*. However, within the family context, *vos* is also a viable form to use when addressing an older interlocutor, depending on the type of relationship between the addresser and the addressee. There appears to be a continuum among older interlocutors,

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<sup>31</sup> The presence of *usted* in intimate/familiar contexts suggests a similar pragmatic function as an 'intimate/familiar *usted*', as reported for Nicaraguan (cp. Díaz & López, 2013) and Costa Rican (cp. Cabal, 2012) Spanish. Castro (2000) also reports this function of *usted* for Honduran Spanish (see Table 4).



starting with parents, followed by uncles/aunts, and finally by grandparents, where reciprocal *vos* is most likely used (64.7%) within parent-child relationships, followed by asymmetrical *usted-vos* within uncle/aunt-nephew/niece relationships and within grandparent-grandchild relationships. Nonetheless, the participants reported addressing their uncles/aunts and their grandparents with *vos* at frequencies of 40.1% and 20.4%, respectively. These findings further suggest a possible change in progress in Honduran Spanish, which served as further impetus for this dissertation investigation.

Castro (2000) provides the most (and only) comprehensive analysis to date of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish, centering on the pragmatic functions of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* as reported by her informants in a written questionnaire and in interviews, and observable in their naturalistic interactions in diverse contexts with several types of interlocutors (e.g. family context, among friends, among strangers, etc.).<sup>32, 33</sup> The main objective of her study was to explain the shifting between forms that is observed in the variety by determining general usage patterns of each pronoun and examining the pragmatic values with which they are employed. Consistent with studies within the framework of interactional sociolinguistics, which assume that pronoun choice is actively negotiated during discourse (cp. Ostermann, 2003), Castro (2000) concluded that it is difficult to isolate a single factor determining pronoun choice at any given moment. Nevertheless, she explains that pronoun shifting occurs as a product of different pragmatic factors present in the

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<sup>32</sup> Although, Castro (2000) speaks of semantic values when in actuality she is referring to pragmatic functions.

<sup>33</sup> Castro's (2000) data come from a total of 347 questionnaires and recorded interviews with 30 informants. Her naturalistic data come from interactions between the 30 informants from the interviews and other individuals. Her study, even though published in 2000 in book form, was the basis of her 1991 doctoral dissertation.

communicative context connected to different affective meanings. Consequently, depending on the affective connection between the speaker and the interlocutor(s), the speaker might choose one pronoun over the others to:

(1) encode emotional meanings (i.e. anger, empathy, dislike, rejection, love, and tenderness); (2) aggravate or soften the illocutionary force of speech acts, such as, commands, insults, criticism, questions, requests and offenses; and, (3) protect the speaker's face when performing speech acts like apologizing, congratulating, making an offer, or complementing. (Castro, 2000, p. 94)

Furthermore, pronoun choice is contingent upon several factors, including: social characteristics of the interlocutors (e.g. age, gender, socioeconomic class, etc.), type of relationship, topic of conversation, differences in power, situational context, and affective/pragmatic meanings of the forms (Castro, 2000, p. 94). The following subsections discuss the pragmatic functions with which each pronoun is used in Honduran Spanish, synthesized in Table 4, based on Castro's (2000, pp. 22-72) description of pronominal address in the variety.

<i>Tú</i>	<i>Vos</i>	<i>Usted</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Written form of <i>vos</i></li> <li>• Sophistication</li> <li>• Intermediate</li> <li>• Accommodation</li> <li>• Hypercorrection</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Solidarity</li> <li>• <i>Confianza</i></li> <li>• Undue <i>confianza</i></li> <li>• Offense</li> <li>• Aggression</li> <li>• Anger</li> <li>• Intimacy and <i>cariño</i></li> <li>• Derogation</li> <li>• Impersonal manner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distance</li> <li>• Respect</li> <li>• Status/power distinction</li> <li>• Deference</li> <li>• Sarcasm</li> <li>• Anger</li> <li>• Intimacy</li> <li>• <i>Cariño</i></li> <li>• Persuasion</li> </ul>

Modified and synthesized from Castro, 2000, pp. 22-72

#### 1.2.2.4.1. Tú

The functions of *tú* are limited in Honduran Spanish compared to those of *vos* and *usted*, evident in Table 4 above. Its functions are mainly dictated by a prescriptive ideology that deems *tú* the proper grammatical address form, or in Bourdieuan terms, the legitimate address form, enforced by its inclusion in grammar courses (and not *vos*) and its presence in religious texts and ceremonies—as Bourdieu (1991) asserts, the school system and religion are two powerful institutions for the inculcation of legitimate language.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, *tú* and its morphology covaries with *vos* in written communication among interlocutors that otherwise would exclusively address each other with *vos* in spoken conversation, assuming that written code upholds the requirements of standard language ([cp. Haugen, 1972; van Marle, 1997] Subačius, 2001).<sup>35</sup> Moreover, because Hondurans seldom know the ‘correct’

<sup>34</sup> In addition to *tú*, grammar courses also include the morphology of *vosotros*, only used in Peninsular Spanish. Interestingly, because in Honduras *vosotros* is only seen in religious texts, such as the Reina-Valera Bible, and legal documents, it is taught in school as a formal/polite address form, when in fact, it functions as a familiar/informal plural form *vis-à-vis* formal/polite *ustedes* in Peninsular Spanish.

<sup>35</sup> For instance, Haugen (1972) asserts that “[i]t is significant and probably crucial requirement for a standard language that it be written” (p. 246).

spelling of *voseo*, it is common for them to use authentic *tuteo* (i.e. *tú* and its verb desinences) or pronominal *voseo* in writing—in fact, Hondurans frequently misspell even the pronoun itself, writing *voz* (‘voice’) instead of *vos*.<sup>36</sup> Based on this reality, Castro (2000) concludes that *tú* may function as the written form of *vos*.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, Castro identifies three other functions of *tú* that also stem from the ideology surrounding standard/legitimate Spanish described above. Even though she lists and describes each function separately, the boundaries distinguishing them are blurry; hence, discerning one from the other in use might be a challenging task. These three functions include *tú* of sophistication, of accommodation, and of hypercorrection. The motivation behind these uses is the desire to portray a certain image to the interlocutor(s): that of a competent, educated Spanish speaker. In this sense, speakers might use *tú* to accommodate to a foreigner, since foreigners are expected to use *tú* (more on this in §5.2.2), or to appear sophisticated and educated, which may lead to hypercorrection, or the use of *tú* morphology in conjunction with other grammatical structures that are not features of the Honduran variety, such as the use of Present Perfect for culminated past events (e.g. *Has tomado el taxi*, ‘You have taken the taxi,’ instead of *Tomaste el taxi*, ‘You took the taxi’) or the use of Simple Future in colloquial speech when the Periphrastic Future is normally used (e.g. *Ya verás*, ‘You’ll see,’ instead of *Ya vas a ver*, ‘You are going to see’).

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<sup>36</sup> It must also be mentioned that with advances in technology and the use of Spell Check and Autocorrect, typed *voseo* is automatically converted to *tuteo*, since computer programs, like Microsoft Word and smartphone applications like WhatsApp, do not recognize *voseo*. This further reinforces the illegitimacy of *voseo* and leads to confusion about its proper spelling and the perpetuation of *tuteo* belonging to written, standard Spanish.

<sup>37</sup> This is true for very informal writing, mainly written conversation. Authentic *tuteo* is used in informal publications, such as magazine and newspaper articles, and other forms of written discourse directed to the masses.

Importantly, Castro explains that using *tú* to appear sophisticated has been historically regarded as spurious, superficial, artificial, and condescending. In fact, there is a popular expression that derives from spurious *tuteo*, namely *tutis*, which has been extended to denounce someone for displaying superficiality, arrogance, and condescension in general.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Castro only observed the use of *tú* of hypercorrection when her informants knew they were being recorded, when interacting with her in an interview setting (mainly strangers to her), or with coworkers in a professional setting while discussing work-related topics only, who in all other contexts used *vos* or *usted* spontaneously. This hypercorrected *tuteo* is linked to a fifth function of *tú*, that of *tú* as an intermediate form in formality/familiarity between extremely familiar *vos* and polite *usted*. Again, this function was only observed in the interview and professional settings. Overall, Castro's findings suggest that for Hondurans using *tú* generally carries a negative connotation, and thus, is used minimally, except when interacting in a professional setting and/or with foreigners or Hondurans who live abroad.

#### 1.2.2.4.2. Vos

Even though in Honduras the ideology surrounding familiar/informal address is one where *tú* is perceived to be the standard/legitimate form and *vos* to be a nonstandard/illegitimate form, *vos* has persisted as the predominant form for familiar/informal address in spoken language. According to Castro (2000), *vos* may

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<sup>38</sup> For example, someone might exclaim ¡Ay, *tutis!* to someone who is inappropriately acting snobbishly.

accomplish various pragmatic functions, some of which may be challenging to discern from the others. Generally, its main functions are to express solidarity, *confianza*, hostile attitude, and impersonality. With respect to the first two functions, Castro distinguishes between the concepts of solidarity and *confianza* in a way that is uncommon in address research.<sup>39</sup> For Castro, solidarity entails a deeply rooted relationship characterized by friendship, like-mindedness, and shared interests. She concludes that *vos* of solidarity is used among friends, siblings, and between parents and their children as long as these relationships exhibit the characteristics mentioned here that are assumed for friendships but that may or may not exist between siblings and between parents and their children.<sup>40</sup> *Confianza* seems to be different from solidarity in the degree of friendship that exists between interlocutors, although the difference is not entirely clear as Castro presents it.<sup>41</sup> For Castro, *confianza* entails a lesser degree of friendship than solidarity does. Thus, *vos* of *confianza* is used in close relationships that do not subsume solidarity (i.e. friendship, like-mindedness, and shared interests) but that are defined by familiarity, or some degree of acquaintance, such as coworkers, for instance. She explains that *confianza* can be unduly expressed to an

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<sup>39</sup> §2.2.4 in discusses the concept of *confianza* as it has been employed in address research and §5.1.3.1 describes how *confianza* is understood in Honduran culture.

<sup>40</sup> Castro (2000) notes that parent-child relationships are mostly asymmetrical; however, reciprocal *vos* of solidarity is used in single-parent families composed of a mother and her children, mainly. She attributes this to working class speakers who have developed a ‘stronger’ sense of solidarity with their mothers, due to the absence of their fathers. Consequently, they use *vos* with their mothers, but *usted* (of distance) with their fathers. This generalization, however, does not explain the use of reciprocal *vos* that some of her participants reported/exhibited with both parents, who were also members of social classes other than the working class—Castro divided her participants in three social class groups: lower, working, and middle (she does not mention the criteria she used for this division). Castro supports her claims with the results of the descriptive (percentage) analysis of the questionnaires in which only 18.2% reported using *vos* with their fathers and 25.4% with their mothers, suggesting that gender also has an effect on pronoun choice. As was reported in this section, Melgares’s (2014) findings contradict Castro’s claims as he found that in the family context *vos* is preferred to address either parent.

<sup>41</sup> Castro (2000) admits finding it difficult to define the concept of *confianza*.

interlocutor in distant relationships (e.g. strangers, recent acquaintances) or when there is a power/authority differential that does not warrant asymmetrical address (e.g. teacher-student relationships, in which the teacher addresses the student with *vos* but receives *usted*). Importantly, undue *confianza* always carries a negative connotation, presenting the speaker as *confianzudo* (i.e. overly familiar to the point of disrespect).

*Vos* can also be used to express offense, aggression, anger, and derogation when it is used in contexts where *usted* is typically used or expected. Consequently, addressees perceive it as crude and disrespectful. For example, between strangers, *vos* (of undue *confianza*) can purposefully or inadvertently offend the addressee, or *vos* of offense/anger/aggression can be used to insult and even be concomitant with physical aggression. Sometimes expressing these types of emotions requires a switch in pronouns. For instance, a parent who initially addresses his/her child with *usted* to express love and intimacy (more on this later) may switch to *vos* to scold and demonstrate anger over some manifestation of negative behavior. Additionally, a speaker who holds (social) power/authority over the addressee might switch from reciprocal *usted* to asymmetrical *vos* with the intention of derogating or clearly demarcating the power differential between them.<sup>42</sup> Castro, recognizes that several of these functions might overlap in any given instance—for example, in a situation where strangers use *vos* when insulting each other, it can be used to express anger, aggression, and offense. The general notion is that since *vos* does not encode deference or respect, it can be used in an impolite manner. In this sense,

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<sup>42</sup> Castro (2000) explains that *vos* of derogation is mainly used in the work setting, where the social norms dictate that both employers and employees must use reciprocal *usted*. Hence, when an employer uses *vos* to address an employee, it is seen as a humiliating act, ergo, offensive.

using *usted* to offend or show aggression, for instance, would be counterintuitive; however, *usted* can be used to show anger (more on this later).

Castro mentions two additional functions of *vos*: intimacy and *cariño*, and impersonal manner. With respect to the first function, romantic couples (engaged or married) and friends can use *vos* to express intimacy and *cariño* ('love/affection').<sup>43</sup> This function is evoked when attempting to underscore the love and affection that defines the relationship, evident in the temporary switch from habitual *usted* (of intimacy) to *vos* while explicitly saying 'I love you' or engaging in a sexual relationship (as reported by her informants). With respect to the second function, *vos* can be used to particularize or generalize a statement in the same way that impersonal 'you' is used in English when giving instructions, for example. Because *usted* can also be used in this way, Castro was intrigued by the cases in which the speaker switched from habitual *usted* to impersonal *vos*. She claims that those kinds of switches particularize a topic that, to the speaker, is positive for everyone, while at the same time produce a lasting impact on the addressee(s) regarding the topic of conversation. Furthermore, a speaker might switch to *vos* to gain the attention of the listener, to invoke solidarity, or to assume the role of instructor, granting him/her authority on the topic at hand.

#### 1.2.2.4.3. Usted

Like *vos*, *usted* subsumes a multiplicity of pragmatic functions in Honduran Spanish. Unlike *vos*, however, it does not suffer from the prescriptive characterization of an

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<sup>43</sup> Castro (2000) mentions that this function of *vos* seems to be restricted to the working class.



illegitimate, nonstandard form. It appears in grammar instruction of conjugations alongside the third person singular pronouns *él* ('he') and *ella* ('she'), and is present, albeit not as ubiquitously as *tú* is, in religious liturgy—for instance, some address God in prayer with *usted* and not *tú*, but never *vos*.<sup>44</sup> Hence, *usted*'s pragmatic functions are not reserved only to spoken language. *Usted* is used both in written and spoken communication/conversation as what is generally perceived as a pronoun of either social distance, due to minimal or lack of familiarity, or deference/respect, due to specific social attributes of the addressee that command the linguistic expression (and behavioral expression in general) of deference/respect. Nonetheless, as Castro (2000) notes, the functions of *usted* are much more nuanced than the singular and all-encompassing politeness that is typically ascribed to it.

According to Castro, *usted* of distance is the default form when addressing a stranger or when establishing first acquaintance with someone under normal circumstances (that is, in the absence of confrontation or dispute). Importantly, the addressee must be perceived as an adult to receive *usted*, otherwise, if he/she is a child or a teenager, *vos* is used.<sup>45</sup> She ascribes the use of reciprocal *usted* between strangers/first acquaintances to a cultural notion of equality that stems from Catholic teachings inasmuch that because everyone is equal, everyone deserves respect.<sup>46</sup> In this sense, *usted* of distance might overlap with *usted*

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<sup>44</sup> Recall here from §1.1 that *usted* derived from the address phrase *vuestra merced* ('Your mercy'), which requires a third person verb desinence.

<sup>45</sup> Castro (2000) does not qualify the age range of the child that warrants receiving *vos*, but as will be explained later, the addressee must be an older child (preadolescent) to receive *vos*, since young children (i.e. infants and toddlers) tend to be addressed with *usted*.

<sup>46</sup> On the contrary, an alternative assessment of this aspect of Honduran culture could be that the equality of all human beings would entail the use of reciprocal *vos* as a form of solidarity. It is plausible that any changes in the pronominal system in favor of *vos* could indicate a shift in the underlying notion of equality from requiring the expression of respect to requiring the expression of egalitarianism/solidarity.

of respect and of deference. Even though Castro does not offer a clear interpretation of the concepts of respect and deference, she distinguishes between these two pragmatic functions based on their scope. *Usted* of deference is applicable to any situation where there is a clear power differential and where it is important to stress that difference in social power; ergo, the use of *usted* to address an authority figure, such as an employer or a teacher, for example, constitutes an instance of deference. *Usted* of respect can be used reciprocally or asymmetrically in any context, both private and public, where certain exchanges have been conventionalized in the culture—such as the asymmetrical (grand)parent-(grand)child interactions in which the (grand)child addresses the (grand)parent with *usted* but receives *vos*—or where other interactions allow for pronoun choice—such as interactions between coworkers or friends. Additionally, Castro interprets reciprocal *usted* as a form befitting relationships where there are differences in social status and power in the public domain (e.g. when addressing a doctor, a nun, or a waiter). By using *usted* reciprocally, both interlocutors avoid making any presuppositions regarding the authority/power one might have over the other.<sup>47</sup> The question that arises from the distinction among these four functions is, how can one be discerned from the others? For instance, when establishing first acquaintance with a priest, one might use *usted* to accomplish all four pragmatic functions; therefore, determining the type of *usted* used in any given instance would be arbitrary.

Two other functions that are difficult to differentiate are intimacy and *cariño*, both of which Castro grouped together in one function for *vos*, but separates for *usted*.<sup>48</sup> Castro

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<sup>47</sup> Alternatively, each interlocutor mitigates any threats to his/her own face and the addressee's face, appearing respectful and polite (see §2.2 for a discussion about the concepts of face and politeness).

<sup>48</sup> Recall that *cariño* refers to the expression of affection and love.

ascribes *usted* of intimacy to romantic couples, married and unmarried, and to friendships. According to the researcher, in these types of relationships, *usted* can function as a form to express intimacy, solidarity, friendship, and respect. For example, one of her female speakers addresses all of her friends, male and female, with *vos*, but addresses her best friend (female) with *usted*. Importantly, unmarried romantic couples tend to use reciprocal *vos* more than married couples do. The pattern she observed was one where couples who are at the dating stage in their relationship prefer using *vos* (although some use *usted*) but once engaged or married they switch to *usted*; in fact, men tend to switch more frequently than women do.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Castro offers three possible explanations for this phenomenon: (1) wives are seen as respectable in Honduran culture, compared to lovers or mistresses (and even girlfriends who are known to engage in sexual relations with their boyfriends); thus, when a woman gets married, she deserves to be addressed with *usted* not only by the public, but also by her husband; (2) since *vos* is usually used to express anger and aggression, *usted* might be used to prevent arguments and fights;<sup>51</sup> and (3) the notion of intimacy might be different for men and women as a result of the process of social integration each gender experiences, in which

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<sup>49</sup> Fernández (2003) comments on this trend,

Having lived in Honduras for five years, I am in the position to confirm the existence and wide validity of [the use of *usted* as an expression of special intimacy], that has nuances so subtle that escape those who speak a different Spanish variety. A niece-in-law of mine, born and raised in that country, has recently gotten engaged to a young man whom she knows since she was a little girl and whom she always addressed using *vos*, until they started dating, from that moment on *usted* replaced *vos*, or better yet, impeded that *vos* would take the domain of the new [type of] intimacy that courtship entails. (p. 9; my translation and emphases added)

<sup>50</sup> Castro (2000) points out that differences in address in romantic couples can lead to misunderstandings, since for men, *usted* signals intimacy, but for women, it signals distance and even anger. Additionally, Castro explains that social class constrains these perceptions since most of the women who preferred using *vos* with their partners belonged to the working class, whereas those who belonged to the middle class preferred *usted*. Therefore, misunderstandings tend to occur between men and women of the working class.

<sup>51</sup> Castro (2000) reports that all of her participants agreed that whenever they fight with their partners using *vos* the altercation can easily escalate to physical violence; however, when they fight using *usted*, the fight rarely reaches that level of aggression.

men separate definitively from their mothers to develop their sexual identity and women do not, resulting in men placing a metaphorical barrier between themselves and their wives ([cp. Hancock, 1989] Castro, 2000, pp. 66-67). *Usted* of *cariño* is used as part of Honduran 'baby talk' mostly directed to young children or (small) animals,<sup>52</sup> but also among adults, mainly romantic couples, in situations of extreme intimacy to express love and affection. Therefore, for Castro, *cariño* as expressed through *usted* is an instance of extreme intimacy, different from the use of *vos* to express *cariño*, which does not entail extreme intimacy. Even though Castro does not report the use of *usted* of *cariño* between parents and their adult children, it is important to note that parents who still use 'baby talk' with their adult children use *usted*, as well as when performing other speech acts, such as giving advice, or when showing concern.

Lastly, Castro lists three other pragmatic functions accomplished with *usted*: sarcasm, anger, and persuasion. Briefly, *usted* of sarcasm operates in response to *vos* of undue *confianza* (described earlier) to claim an imaginary higher social status over the speaker by appearing more educated and polite when offended by the unwarranted expression of *confianza* the addressee received. *Usted* of anger operates in contrast to the *vos* preferred by the working class to express intimacy and *cariño*, when interacting with friends and intimate partners (as opposed to the *usted* of intimacy and *usted* of *cariño* preferred by the middle class), insomuch that switching from habitual *vos* to *usted* signals anger, just as it can signal

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<sup>52</sup> Melgares (2014) found that this may not be the case anymore, at least for adolescents, since reciprocal *vos* is greatly preferred in young child-adolescent interactions. This is also suggestive of a change in progress, in addition to what has been previously mentioned.

sarcasm. Finally, *usted* of persuasion is used when attempting to persuade an interlocutor to do something (i.e. when performing requests).<sup>53</sup>

In summary, very little has been empirically confirmed regarding pronominal forms of address in Honduran Spanish. Different investigations provide discrepant accounts; however, recent work by Castro (2000), Hernández Torres (2013), and Melgares (2014) offers useful directions for future research. Necessarily, any research regarding forms of address must not only focus on the extralinguistic factors that constrain the observable variation, but also examine the pragmatic functions that each form subsumes in interaction to obtain a deeper understanding of how and why forms of address are used the way they are, and of any changes that might be taking place in the address system. Importantly, this section explored this last point in detail by reviewing the existing research on pronominal forms of address in Honduran Spanish, providing a necessary background of the usage patterns of *vos* in relation to *tú* and *usted*, and of sociopragmatic explanations that have been offered for such patterns within which the current uses of *vos* and possible changes in its social and pragmatic values will be investigated.

#### **1.2.2.5. Summary of research on voseo**

The research on pronominal address, and more specifically *voseo*, since the 1970s demonstrates the expansive presence of this linguistic phenomenon in Latin America, where it is found in approximately 84% of the region. For several reasons, including geographical

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<sup>53</sup> In this sense, it is used as a negative politeness strategy (see §2.2) to mitigate the imposition or the force of the speech act, including not only requests, but also criticisms, threats, and even insults.

and social factors, *vos* exhibits wide dialectal variation not only in sociolinguistic usage, but also in its morphosyntax. Consequently, throughout its evolution over the centuries, its social and pragmatic values have become highly nuanced both intra and interdialectally. The research discussed in the previous sections has provided meticulous descriptions of the pronominal formulations in various varieties where *vos* is present at a national level, demonstrating the complexities of address phenomena, and in turn, revealing the necessity for the in-depth analysis of address forms and their sociopragmatic values in the linguistic behavior of the speech communities that employ them, devoting special attention to *vos* as a feature of Latin American Spanish: from varieties where it is prestigious as part of the written standard to varieties where it only belongs to the oral norm, but not the written, and even others where it is notably stigmatized.

The Central American (supra)dialect to which Honduran Spanish belongs, serves as a perfect example of the complexities of pronominal address mentioned above, and therefore, provides the prime context for thorough, comparative studies. In the terse comparison presented above, it is evident that the alluded division between tripartite (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras) and bipartite (Nicaragua and Costa Rica) systems (cp. Lipski, 1998) must be taken *cum grano salis*, as is illustrated in Table 5 below.

<b>Table 5. Current Paradigms of Pronominal Address in Central American Varieties</b>			
	<b>Familiar</b>	<b>Intermediate</b>	<b>Polite</b>
<b>Guatemala</b>	<i>Vos</i> (men, women) <i>Tú</i> (women; between women and men)	<i>Tú</i> (women; between women and men)	<i>Usted</i>
<b>El Salvador</b>	<i>Vos</i>	<i>Tú</i>	<i>Tú</i> (some contexts) <i>Usted</i>
<b>Honduras</b>	<i>Vos</i> <i>Tú</i> (mainly written) <i>Usted</i> (some contexts)	<i>Tú</i> (very minimally)	<i>Usted</i>
<b>Nicaragua</b>	<i>Vos</i> <i>Usted</i> (some contexts)		<i>Usted</i>
<b>Costa Rica</b>	<i>Vos</i> <i>Tú</i> } Covary <i>Usted</i> }		<i>Usted</i>

Each region displays distinct usage patterns of pronominal forms constrained by social and pragmatic factors that weigh differently in each variety. In addition, as has been expressed by other researchers—e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: Chile), Castro (2000: Honduras), Christiansen (2014: Nicaragua), Millán (2011: Colombia), and Quintanilla Aguilar (2009: El Salvador)—address form use varies situationally, connected to identity formation, maintenance, and performance, making it challenging to assign a specific value, be it social or pragmatic, to each form. Therefore, a multilayered study accomplished by examining speaker perceptions and attitudes toward the forms, toward their variety, and toward language in general, and speaker manipulation of said forms (either conscious or unconscious) for specific (non)communicative purposes, in addition to their general paradigmatic formulation, will undoubtedly provide a complete account of all of the kinds of

factors that underpin observable variation (and possible change). This is the main goal of the present dissertation, which is further discussed in the following section.

### **1.3. Justification of the Study and General Research Question**

As was mentioned earlier, this dissertation studies the extensively investigated topic of second person pronominal forms of address in Spanish from a novel perspective. It explores the variation and possible change in the address system of Honduran Spanish through the examination of how *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* are constrained by extralinguistic factors conventionally included in sociolinguistic address research and, crucially, through the analysis of the interplay between the social and pragmatic values ascribed to these forms and the attitudes toward them (and the variety in general). Consequently, this dissertation goes beyond the typical model of describing the innovative form as more frequent in specific types of interactions (once dominated by another form) by delving into how language variation leads to change as it is taking place in the everyday interactions of speakers, guided by pressures of discourse, societal structure, and identity reproduction. Therefore, a study combining patterns of language use, as perceived and used by the speaker, with the speakers' metalinguistic knowledge of patterns of their language, provides a richer picture of the language change process and is innovative in the field of sociolinguistics.

This dissertation is designed within the broader theoretical framework of address research, incorporating research theories and methodologies found in the fields of (variationist) sociolinguistics, dialectology, and politeness research, in order to answer the



following overarching research question: why is *voseo* still so prevalent in Honduran Spanish? This question is especially relevant provided that it has not yet been dealt with in address research regarding this variety—as was alluded to above, research on pronominal address in Honduran Spanish has mainly been concerned with determining its general formulation without accounting for why speakers use the forms the way they do—and given the prescriptive forces acting against *vos* in favor of *tú* (see §1.2.2.4) and the observation made by many scholars about the expansion of *tú* in Spanish, taking over the functions of other pronouns (e.g. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1970; Fox, 1969; Lastra de Suárez, 1972; Millán, 2011; Penny, 1991; Uber, 1984; 2011). Accordingly, it is expected for Honduran Spanish to have followed this tendency; however, the use of *vos* is still widespread, as reported in previous studies (Benavides, 2003; Castro, 2000; Hernández Torres, 2013; van Wijk, 1990). In an attempt to answer the above overarching question, this dissertation seeks to accomplish the following research objectives: (1) empirically corroborate the general formulation of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish with respect to different extralinguistic factors that may constrain form selection; (2) empirically determine the role of *vos* in the sociolinguistic behavior of the Honduran community; and (3) empirically detect and explain any change in progress in the sociopragmatic patterns of use of *vos vis-à-vis tú* and *usted*.

The study centers on the Honduran variety for two reasons: (1) it is an understudied variety spoken by 8.5 million speakers, of which little is known morphosyntactically (cp. Hernández Torres, 2013); and (2) it provides the ideal sociolinguistic context for the type of study undertaken here in which very distinct social values are ascribed to each of the three forms, thus, performing very specific pragmatic functions (Castro, 2000; Hernández Torres,

2013; Melgares, 2014; van Wijk, 1990). Accordingly, the study of the underpinnings of pronominal address variation in this variety offers significant contributions to various subfields of linguistics: (1) in address research, it fills the gap of systematic research conducted in the Central American region, especially concerning its understudied varieties where the presence of *vos* is expansive, and additionally, proposes a culturally sensitive approach to the study of *confianza* as a linguistic concept; (2) in sociolinguistics, it not only offers an empirical study of language variation and change, but crucially, it puts forth an innovative approach to morphosyntactic variation that incorporates the necessary investigation of the effects of the social psychology of the community, more specifically, of the connection between linguistic variables and identity on said variation that may lead to change; (3) in dialectology it advances the development of a more current and nuanced linguistic typology of the Central American region, which has been the focus of less dialectological, sociolinguistic, and historical research; (4) in sociocultural linguistics, it provides evidence of the role linguistic elements can have in the (re)production of national identity, supported by the widespread use of *vos*; and (5) in politeness research, it incorporates and tests relevant tenets of politeness theory (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech, 2014) and traditional conceptualizations of sociopragmatic dimensions (e.g. Brown & Gilman, 1960) to further cross-cultural understandings of politeness phenomena in face-to-face communication. In sum, by examining the variation that exists in Honduran Spanish with respect to pronominal forms of address and incorporating a variety of research methodologies, this investigation addresses the necessity for an integrated approach to the study of the sociolinguistic dynamics of language variation and change.

#### **1.4. The City of San Pedro Sula: Prime Site for the Study of Address Variation**

In the tradition of many sociolinguistic studies, this section offers a sociohistorical description of the research site with the objective of establishing the sociological background against which the obtained data will be analyzed. The city of San Pedro Sula was selected as the research site for several reasons: (1) it is the second largest city in Honduras, strategically located due to its proximity to several touristic, cultural, and governmental centers; (2) it is considered the Industrial Capital of the country, as it is where the most important industrial companies are established; (3) it has seen much migration in the last few decades from various regions of the country; and (4) its design and organization allows for an accessible analysis of the sociodemographic characteristics of its residents. The following sections provide a brief, yet complete, description of the city, focusing on the most pertinent facts to the “construction of [the Honduran] sociolinguistic sample” (Labov, 2001, p. 41). Following Labov (2001), the factors discussed here include: the geographic features of the city (§1.4.1), the sociodemographic characteristics of the population (§1.4.2), and the city’s historical development (§1.4.3).

### 1.4.1. Geographic features<sup>54</sup>

The city of San Pedro Sula is the capital of the Department of Cortés, located in the northwest region of Honduras. The city is located in the westernmost region of the Sula Valley, one of the most fertile and largest valleys in the country, surrounded by a series of mountains known collectively as *Cordillera El Merendón*. Based on its topography, the city is divided into two zones: The Merendón Reserve and The Valley. The Merendón Reserve is where the city's water supply companies and an important national park (*El Cusuco*) are located, as well as several residential areas closer to the valley. The city center and most of its suburban areas are located in The Valley, as well as some of the country's most important lands for agriculture.

San Pedro Sula is at the center of a larger metropolitan configuration known as *Zona Metropolitana del Valle de Sula* ('Sula Valley Metropolitan Area'), which is in fact one of the largest of its kind in Central America. The larger conurbation extends into twelve surrounding municipalities in the Department of Cortés, four in the Department of Yoro, three in the Department of Santa Bárbara, and one in the Department of Atlántida, most of which are rural. Furthermore, San Pedro Sula is centrally located in relation to other important economic, touristic, cultural, and governmental regions of the country. The Central District of Tegucigalpa is located 152 miles southeast of the city; one of the country's

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<sup>54</sup> The description presented here is a compilation of the geographical facts that are most relevant to this study, offered in the following websites:

- (a) <http://www.xplorhonduras.com/san-pedro-sula-honduras/>
- (b) <https://diem.jimdo.com/institucional/sistema-de-indicadores-socio-demogr%C3%A1ficos/datos-b%C3%A1sicos-del-municipio/>
- (c) <http://www.zmvs.org/municipios-de-la-zona-metropolitana-del-valle-del-sula/>
- (d) <https://elicolindres.wordpress.com/museo-de-antropologia-e-historia-de-san-pedro-sula/>

most important ports, Puerto Cortés, is located only 34 miles northeast; and several cultural and touristic destinations that are vital to Honduras's economy, such as the Mayan Ruins in Copán, the forts located all along the north coast, and the rainforests and beaches in Tela, La Ceiba, and the Bay Islands located in the west and the Caribbean coast, are all within 100 miles of the city (see Figure 3 below for a map of Cortés and Figure 4 for a map of Honduras).

**Figure 3. Map of the Department of Cortés<sup>55</sup>**



<sup>55</sup> Source: <http://www.espaciodhonduras.net/mapas/mapa-por-departamento>

Figure 4. Map of Honduras<sup>56</sup>



The arrow indicates the location of data collection. All cities mentioned above have been highlighted with a rectangle and the capital city has been highlighted with a circle.

Even though, geographically speaking, San Pedro Sula is clearly separate from the other two major urban areas of the country—La Ceiba in the Department of Atlántida and Tegucigalpa in the Department of Francisco Morazán—socially, economically, and most importantly, linguistically, it is by no means isolated from them. The interconnection among the three main urban areas of the country due to constant mobilization for work and social purposes has had important consequences for the sociolinguistic design of the urban variety

<sup>56</sup> Source: Part of the Blank World Map Project for use on [www.wikivoyage.org](http://www.wikivoyage.org)

of Honduran Spanish. Similar to the cases of large metropolises like London, New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia (cp. Labov, 2001), this variety is constituted by various linguistic features that are perceived to be mainly urban, such as the aspiration of word initial and coda /s/,<sup>57</sup> the lack of *cantadito* ('cadence') as is regularly attributed to rural varieties, and the preponderance of *voseo* in spoken language, distinguishing it from the surrounding rural varieties.

#### 1.4.2. Demographic characteristics<sup>58</sup>

Table 6 below lists the five largest cities of Honduras in 2015, showing that San Pedro Sula is the second largest with a total population approximating one million residents. Note that in addition to San Pedro Sula, two of the largest cities, Choloma and El Progreso, are also part of the *Zona Metropolitana del Valle de Sula*, and the remaining two are the capital city, Tegucigalpa, and the country's third city in economic importance, La Ceiba. Additionally, Figure 5 shows the exponential growth in population that San Pedro Sula has experienced over the past century. It is important to know, however, that the population growth rate has been steadily declining since the year 2000, from 2.5% to its current 1.7%.

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<sup>57</sup> Albeit, as Lipski (1998) explains, the aspiration of /s/ is characteristic of colloquial speech and experiences some degree of stigmatization, being attributed to the uneducated working class.

<sup>58</sup> The sociodemographic information shared here is based on the facts provided by the population studies conducted by the *Banco Central de Honduras* (BCH: 'Central Bank of Honduras') and the *Dirección de Investigación y Estadística Municipal* (DIEM: 'Management of Municipal Investigation and Statistics'). Both institutions report the results of statistical studies they conduct periodically. In addition, BCH incorporates in their reports data offered by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE: 'National Institute of Statistics'), an autonomous organization in charge of conducting official statistical studies.

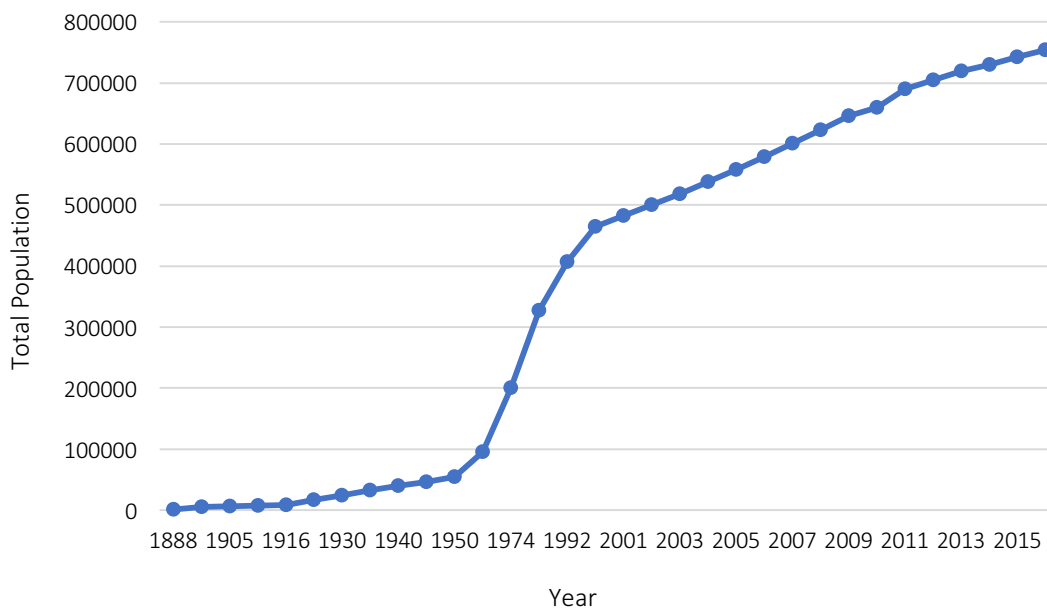
BCH: <http://www.bch.hn/index.php>

DIEM: <https://diem.jimdo.com/>

INE: <http://www.ine.gob.hn/>

<b>Rank</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Population</b>
1	Tegucigalpa (Capital City)	1,190,200
2	San Pedro Sula	742,100 <sup>60</sup>
3	Choloma	243,000
4	La Ceiba	204,100
5	El Progreso	191,800

**Figure 5. Population Growth of San Pedro Sula Since 1888<sup>61</sup>**



Although the total population of San Pedro Sula is still rising, Figure 5 clearly shows the deceleration in growth rate mentioned above. At least two social developments can be offered to explain this phenomenon. First, the average age for entering into marriage is now

<sup>59</sup> Table 6 is a summary of the numbers reported by BCH.

<sup>60</sup> INE reports a total population for San Pedro Sula in 2016 of 754,061. However, this is a result of estimations since the latest official census was conducted in 2013.

<sup>61</sup> Compiled from projections and census data provided by DIEM, BCH, and INE.



25 years or older for both men and women in San Pedro Sula,<sup>62</sup> substantially older compared to the national average of 19 years for women and 22 years for men.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the number of children per woman has decreased at a national level, but especially in the urban sector, from 4 in 1987 to 2.5 in 2012.<sup>64, 65</sup> This is not only a result of urban women entering marriage later in life, but mainly because 100% of women are well-informed about different contraceptive methods—all censused women report knowing about different methods—, resulting in a considerable increase in their percentage of use between 1987 and 2012, from 51.2% to 75.9%, respectively. Importantly, by 2013, year in which the latest official census was published, 43.5% of the population in San Pedro Sula was single, 77.1% of which did not have children (41.6% of the city’s total population, regardless of marital status, did not have children). Second, the overall percentage of emigrating Hondurans has significantly increased since 1990. According to Suazo (2010), between 1990 and 2000 the number of migrant Hondurans had increased by 154%, which has continued advancing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In fact, by 2004 more than half a million Hondurans had left the country and by 2006 this number had increased by 246,620, 53% of which were urban dwellers. The top three destinations for those emigrating are the United States, Mexico, and Spain, the United States being the greatly preferred new home for most of them. However, as the number of new immigrants increased, so did the number of deportations. Suazo (2010) reports that between

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<sup>62</sup> Source: <http://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/sanpedrosula/381283-98/mayores-de-25-a%C3%B1os-los-que-m%C3%A1s-se-casan>

<sup>63</sup> In fact, in much of the country, especially in the rural areas, it is still common for adolescent boys to *robarse a la novia* (‘steal their girlfriend’) to live together, and in most cases, start a family.

Source: <http://www.elheraldo.hn/alfrente/566455-209/el-hondureno-promedio-se-casa-antes-de-los-20>

<sup>64</sup> Based on the reports of the latest demographic survey conducted by INE between 2011 and 2012.

Source: <http://www.ine.gob.hn/images/Productos%20ine/endesa/Pres%20resultados%20ENDESA.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> The Departments of Cortés, where San Pedro Sula is located, and Francisco Morazán, where the capital city is located, have the lowest fertility rates in the nation of 2.5 and 2.4, respectively.

1997 and 2008, the number of deported Hondurans from the United States had increased from 3,992 to 57,085, respectively. Importantly, no numbers of deported Hondurans re-emigrating to the United States and Mexico have been reported. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the number of Hondurans returning to the country is relatively smaller than that of those permanently leaving it.<sup>66</sup>

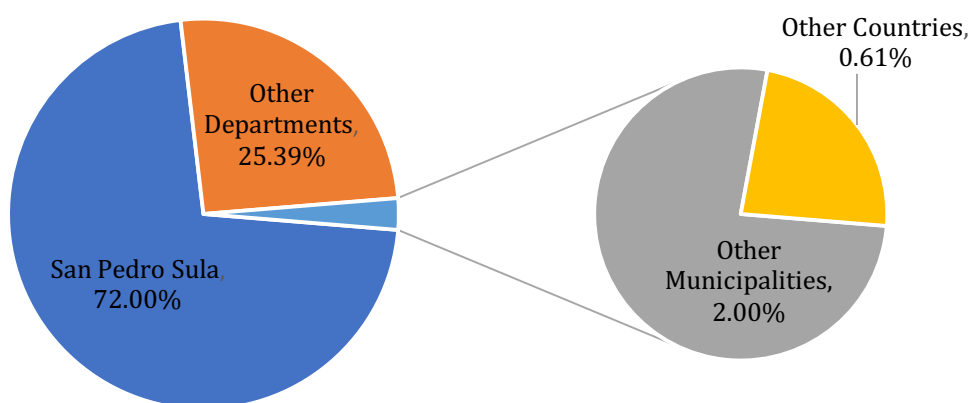
In the last few decades, Honduras has become an attractive transit region for migration purposes due to its location at the heart of the American continent (Suazo, 2010). This raises an important question about the linguistic ecology of San Pedro Sula, specifically regarding the varieties of Spanish and other languages with which *sampedranos* (San Pedro Sula residents) might come in contact. Even though no numbers are available of travelers from other countries, the 2013 census does offer some insight with respect to this question. The numbers provided for San Pedro Sula show that the vast majority of its residents are native Hondurans. Out of the total population of 719,063 in 2013, 4,399 were foreign born, representing 0.61% of its residents—the principal countries of origin were the United States, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Mexico—and 99.39% were born in Honduras, 74.00% of which were born in the Department of Cortés (72.00% in San Pedro Sula) and 26.00% in other Departments (see Figure 6 below for a graph depicting the place of birth of

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<sup>66</sup> The numbers reported by Suazo (2010) are rough estimations due to the nature of the process of migration. These estimations are a result of an analysis of census data from the United States, of remittances to Honduras, and of the only survey available conducted on the subject in 2006 by INE. Source: <http://observatoriocolef.org/admin/documentos/HONDURAS.pdf> For instance, López Recinos (2013) explains that the Honduran government has reported different numbers of Hondurans living abroad, but has recently asserted that by 2005 there were approximately one million Hondurans living in the United States alone. He, like Suazo (2010), states that the statistics regarding migration patterns are imprecise and can only be inferred from the number of deportations and census data from countries of destination.

*sampedranos*). Additionally, out of the total population only 24,634 (3.43%) identified with a native ethnic group. These statistics are relevant when examining San Pedro Sula's linguistic ecology insomuch that 95.96% of San Pedro Sula's population can be safely classified as native L1 speakers of Honduran Spanish and at least 72.00% of the urban dialect in particular (see Figure 6 below for a graph depicting the ethnic composition of San Pedro Sula).<sup>67</sup> This suggests that the Spanish variety spoken in the city is relatively homogenous, as *sampedranos* rarely come in contact with other Spanish varieties or other languages on a daily basis.<sup>68</sup>

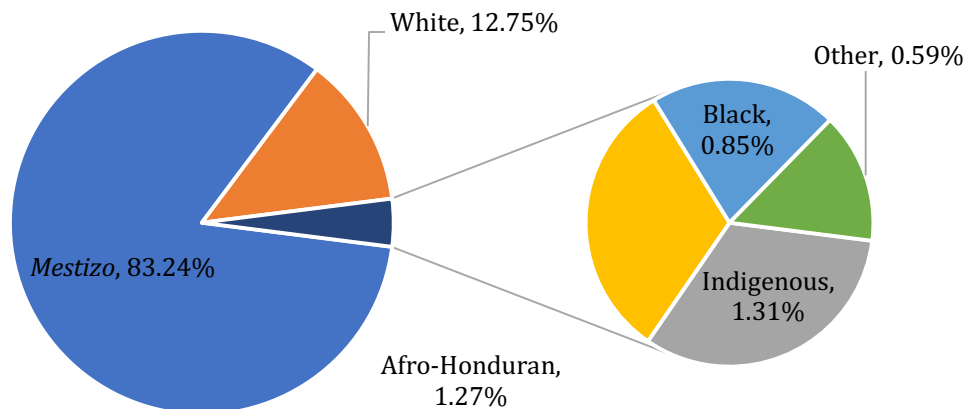
**Figure 6. Place of Birth of San Pedro Sula's Residents in 2013**



<sup>67</sup> This is not to claim that all individuals who identify with a native ethnic group speak the native language spoken by their ethnic community in addition to Spanish; however, it can be assumed that at least some portion of the community does.

<sup>68</sup> Nonetheless, Hondurans in general are exposed to other languages and Spanish varieties through social media, radio shows, and television programs (more on this in Chapter 3). Whether this limited exposure has any effects on Honduran Spanish is a topic that deserves empirical study.

**Figure 7. Ethnic Composition of San Pedro Sula in 2013**



### 1.4.3. Historical development<sup>69</sup>

The turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the turning point for San Pedro Sula both economically and socio-politically. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the small village had already started to experience serious demographic and economic changes brought by the construction of a railroad intended to connect the Caribbean coast (from Puerto Cortés) with the Pacific coast (to the Gulf of Fonseca)—an enterprise that was never completed. The direction of these changes was established by the turn of the century with the arrival of the banana companies, the Vaccaro Brothers Company (later the United Fruit Company) and the Standard Fruit Company, which continued the construction of the railroad, but only along

<sup>69</sup> The historical account presented here is largely based on Mario Secoff's (Honduran historian) various essays on Honduran history and on López Recinos (2013) historical and statistical account on Honduran migration. Link: <http://www.angelfire.com/ca5/mas/honduras.html>

the Caribbean coast for the transportation of banana and other products (e.g. coffee) that would be exported to the United States and other countries. Consequently, the Sula Valley, due to its fertile lands, grew gradually in population during the first half of the century, period during which San Pedro Sula became an important economic center for Honduras—for instance, between 1920 and 1930, San Pedro Sula's banana production represented 75% and 85% of the nation's total exports, respectively.<sup>70</sup> However, it was until the second half of the century that San Pedro Sula was consolidated as the Industrial Capital of the country with the arrival of the multiple transnational textile and manufacturing companies from the United States, mainly, but also from Korea, Japan, and Mexico, among other countries, resulting in an exponential population growth between 1950 and 2000 (see Figure 5 above). Currently, San Pedro Sula is where 80% of the textile and manufacturing companies are located, generating 50% of the country's GDP and 60% of its total exports.<sup>71</sup>

Socio-politically, the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought many changes that affected not only San Pedro Sula but the entire nation. By the second half of the century, Honduras had emerged from a dictatorship that brought much economic stability to the country, but that also heavily promulgated an anticommunist ideology, which set the nation apart from the communist movements taking place around it, led by the *sandinistas* in Nicaragua and by guerrillas in both Guatemala and El Salvador. This anticommunist ideology continued growing in the following years, reinforced by the strict laws established by Tiburcio Carías Andino (the former dictator) and by the subsequent series of military governments, that restricted the

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<sup>70</sup> Source: <http://www.msps.hn/index.php/ciudad/cultura/historia>

<sup>71</sup> Among the industries established in San Pedro Sula are the following: soft-drink, textile, cosmetics, pharmaceutical, rubber, cotton, tobacco, plastic, and soap.

Source: <http://www.xplorhonduras.com/san-pedro-sula-honduras/>

publication of 'exotic' ideas and that made the formation of any Marxist political party illegal, for example. This made Honduras the prime location for the establishment of a military base (*Palmerola* in the Department of Comayagua) that allowed the United States to assist the counterrevolutionary war against the *sandinistas* in Nicaragua and to provide support to the Salvadoran government against the revolutionary guerrillas. Even though Honduras had become a bastion of anticommunism, the Honduran populist movement of workers, *campesinos* ('farmers'), teachers, and university professors and students was able to take root without any substantial governmental opposition. In 1980, democracy was reestablished in Honduras. The then presiding military general Policarpo Paz García, pressured by the United States government that was fearing the rise of the populist movement in Honduras as it had in the surrounding countries, called the Honduran citizenry to elect a new Congress. With the new Congress in place, a new Constitution was written, a new president was elected, and Honduras was once again a democratic republic.<sup>72</sup>

During the last two and a half decades certain economic, political, social, and natural events have immensely transformed the Honduran experience, ultimately impinging upon how Hondurans perceive themselves as a nation. As López Recinos (2013) asserts, the Honduran exodus to the United States begins to intensify during the administration of Rafael Leonardo Callejas (*Partido Nacional*, 'National Party') between 1990 and 1993, who departed from the Keynesian economic model upheld by his predecessors for a neoliberal model, supported by the international credit organizations, especially the IMF (International

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<sup>72</sup> The decade of 1980 is marked by a series of assassinations and disappearances of about 200 Honduran citizens (politicians as well as members of populist organizations, but especially teachers and professors) and foreigners, allegedly perpetrated by both the government, and Salvadoran guerrillas and leftist groups tied to the latter.

Monetary Fund).<sup>73</sup> Consequently, the Honduran currency, the *lempira*, was significantly devalued, there were massive layoffs in the public sector, and social expenditure was considerably reduced. These occurrences inevitably hurt a nation that had and continued to become progressively more poverty-stricken since the military governments of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>74</sup> Thus, it comes as no surprise that Honduran emigration significantly increased during Callejas's administration, and that those who stayed in the country actively protested his wrongdoings through marches and strikes, and eventually by electing as president the candidate of the opposition party, the *Partido Liberal* ('Liberal Party'), Carlos Roberto Reina (1994-1997). Unfortunately, even though his principal campaign promise was to eradicate governmental corruption, he was unable to escape accusations of corruption among members of his own administration. This weakened his credibility, and particularly his favorability, which had already been affected by the continuation of Callejas's neoliberal economic model (albeit more moderate), by the demilitarization of the country, and especially, by the energy crisis that impacted both the population and the industrial sector. According to López Recinos (2013), because the Honduran context did not improve during Reina's administration, the number of Hondurans emigrating abroad did not lower but continued to increase.<sup>75</sup>

Honduran emigration, however, saw a notable rise at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the subsequent decade. Not only did the country experience a natural catastrophe, but also

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<sup>73</sup> Callejas is considered one of the most corrupt presidents in Honduran history, as the following news article in *La Prensa*, the most important newspaper in Honduras, explains:

<http://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/911686-410/rafael-callejas-primer-expresidente-hondure%C3%B1o-presen-en-eua>.

<sup>74</sup> Source: [http://www.cidob.org/biografias\\_lideres\\_politicos/america\\_central\\_y\\_caribe/honduras](http://www.cidob.org/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_central_y_caribe/honduras)

<sup>75</sup> Source: [http://www.cidob.org/biografias\\_lideres\\_politicos/america\\_central\\_y\\_caribe/honduras](http://www.cidob.org/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_central_y_caribe/honduras)

an all-time high in poverty and criminality levels that have converted the country into an 'unlivable place' as is commonly expressed among its citizenry. Even though Carlos Roberto Flores Facussé's (1998-2001) administration showed much promise for the nation with the establishment of programs for economic restructuring and modernization while emphasizing social and financial support for the poor, his government was unable to undo the infrastructural and economic disasters caused by hurricane Mitch in 1998. Consequently, the levels of unemployment and poverty continued to rise, which unfortunately led to social violence and continued emigration. The succeeding four elected presidents—Ricardo Rodolfo Maduro Joest (2002-2005), José Manuel Zelaya Rosales (2006-2009), Porfirio Lobo Sosa (2010-2013), and Juan Orlando Hernández Alvarado (2014-2017)—have not managed to change the course that the country is in, producing even more intense socio-political instability. This instability resulted in the ousting of former president Zelaya Rosales in 2009, led by conservative politicians (even some within his party, the Liberal Party), the church, powerful civil institutions, and the military, once he had established a political relationship with then president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, and switched his political ideologies and vision for the country to those aligned with other Latin American countries with leftist governments. This new vision for the country was widely accepted and supported by the sector that once conformed the populist movements of the mid-1900s and by the poorest members of society. An inevitable consequence of these developments has been the strong reemergence of leftist sentiment in the nation. Not only was a new leftist political party, *Partido Libertad y Refundación* (LIBRE: 'Liberty and Refoundation Party') created in 2011 (by the National Popular Resistance Front, a coalition of organizations that were opposed to Zelaya Rosales' deposition), but also has the opposition toward the party that has governed



the country since the 2009 coup, the National Party, advanced. In fact, the opposition has now extended to the two-party system and a new alliance among some small parties, including LIBRE, and the Liberal Party has been consolidated in anticipation of the 2017 presidential elections.<sup>76</sup>

The unsuccessful neoliberal policies of the 1990s in conjunction with ever-present systemic corruption, deep socioeconomic inequalities, and natural disasters have affected the Honduran nation so profoundly that the future of the country has seemed bleak amid an increasingly globalized world, in which Honduras is viewed internationally as a corrupt, violently unsafe, Third-world country, and internally as a hopeless nation where no political system nor any other organization could improve its reality. This internal sentiment has been reinforced by the annual departure of thousands of compatriots in search for a better life, leaving those behind with a weakened sense of national identity. However, the new revolutionary movements seeking the reformation of the Honduran government, where the well-being of all of its citizens is at the subtext of policy-making, have renewed a sense of hope and revitalized a national identity among the most optimistic of the citizenry, founded on the solidarity that unites all of those who share the historical developments described here.

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<sup>76</sup> Source: <http://www.elheraldo.hn/eleccioneshonduras2017/1066842-508/confirmado-el-pinu-se-va-con-laoposici%C3%B3n-y-la-dc-con-nacionalismo>

## 1.5. Outline of the Dissertation

This first chapter has provided the necessary background for the study of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish, concerning the diachronic evolution of pronominal forms of address in Spanish, the current distribution of *voseo* in Latin America, and a review of previous studies in various *voseante* regions, including the sparse studies that have centered on Honduran Spanish. Furthermore, the main goal of this dissertation was offered, proposing the general research question that is revisited and answered in the last chapter. Moreover, a brief description of the city of San Pedro Sula was presented to discuss the sociolinguistic design of the research site as well as the relevant socio-political and historical developments that have shaped the Honduran nation.

Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical framework that serves as the foundation of the present dissertation. This literature review consists of seminal work on address research, politeness research, variationist sociolinguistics, and the sociology of national identity. This framework provides not only the theoretical concepts that were utilized to understand the data at hand, but also the methodological approaches that were implemented for data collection and analysis. The chapter concludes with a summary of the literature review and the sets of exploratory and research questions that guided the investigation.

Chapter 3 details the integrated methodology that was employed. First, the chapter discusses the extralinguistic factors under study and offers theoretical justifications for their inclusion. Then, it describes the criteria and sampling techniques that were followed for participant recruitment. This description of participant profiles was followed by the breakdown of the research instruments and the process of data collection. The chapter

concludes with the rationale and explanation of the techniques for data analysis that were implemented.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the data gathered from the sociolinguistic questionnaire. It first offers a brief description of the statistical analyses performed on the data and then discusses the findings. The chapter concludes with summary conclusions that answer each of the research questions proposed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data gathered from the group semi-directed interviews. The first half of the chapter offers a brief description of the methodology for analysis of the spontaneous production of address forms in the interview interactions and the findings of said analysis. The second half discusses the contents and the narratives of the interviews. The chapter concludes with summary conclusions that answer each of the exploratory questions proposed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation by consolidating the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 to offer an answer to the overarching research question introduced in this chapter. The chapter also summarizes the main findings of the investigation. In particular, it explains how address variation and change in connection to identity (re)production can be understood and examined.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0. Introduction

Research on forms of address is based on the concept of *address*, which entails referring to one's interlocutor(s) linguistically (Braun, 1988). Of course, addressing an interlocutor can also be accomplished paralinguistically through gestures, facial expressions, or other vocal (but not linguistic) expressions, such as '*tchitchit*' commonly used in Honduras or 'Hey!' in English, to establish first contact. However, address research only considers the linguistic referencing of interlocutors through words or phrases (i.e. *forms of address*), which in most languages can be of three classes: pronouns, verbs, and nouns (Braun, 1988).

Briefly, as Braun (1988) explains, the first class, pronouns, typically includes second person pronouns, both singular and plural, used to refer to interlocutor(s), such as 'you' in English, *tú* and *vos* in Spanish, and *to* and *shoma* in Farsi. Nonetheless, other grammatical person pronouns—for example, *Sie* (third person plural) in German or *Lei* (third person singular feminine) in Italian—and other forms that originally did not belong to the paradigm of personal pronouns—such as *usted* in Spanish and *você* in Portuguese—can be used as pronouns of address. The second class includes verb forms, more specifically, verb desinences that specify the grammatical person that agrees deictically and sometimes grammatically with the addressee. Sometimes verb forms are accompanied by their corresponding pronouns, but, sometimes they are not. Especially in pro-drop languages, in

which subjects can be optionally omitted, sometimes the verb forms appear pronoun-less, solely bearing reference to the interlocutor(s). For example, in the sentence *¿Cuándo pensás llegar?* ('When do you think you will arrive?') in Spanish, the verb inflection *-ás* in *pensás* ('you-vos think') is the only element in the utterance that refers to the interlocutor. Finally, the third class comprises the most diverse class of forms of address: nouns. These can be of several types, including:

- personal names, which depending on the culture might not constitute (always appropriate) forms of address: for example, in Indonesian culture, addressing an elder by first name is considered extremely disrespectful, hence not an address choice;
- kinship terms, which refer to particular family relationships or affinities: these could be fictive in the sense that they are used to address both a non-relative or a relative, but with a term that does not correspond to the biological relationship. For example, addressing an older sister, cousin, friend, etc. as *ci* ('older sister') in Indonesian;
- titles and occupational terms that either refer generally or vaguely to the social characteristics or social positioning of the interlocutor, such as 'Mr./Mrs.' in English or *Herr/Frau* in German, or refer specifically to the title bestowed, achieved or inherited, such as 'doctor' or 'Count,' or to the interlocutor's occupation, such as 'waiter;' and
- other terms, such as relationship terms that may be so common so as to be used with strangers (e.g. 'dude' or *pana* ['friend'] in Spanish) and terms of endearment.

This dissertation centers on the first two classes of forms of address, specifically the singular pronouns of address *vos*, *tú*, and *usted*, mainly, and their corresponding verb forms found in Honduran Spanish, with the objective of answering the overarching research question offered in §1.3: why is *voseo* still so prevalent in Honduran Spanish? To this end, the remainder of this chapter discusses the theoretical framework that encompasses the core theories, principles, and concepts on which this investigation is based. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the approach adopted here is integrated in nature inasmuch as the data analysis (in Chapters 4 and 5) incorporates theories from various subfields of linguistics, including variationist sociolinguistics, sociopragmatics, politeness research, and sociocultural linguistics. §2.1 offers a brief discussion of the seminal studies in address research and explains Schwenter's (1993) theoretical considerations that are key to the present investigation. §2.2 synthesizes the main tenets of politeness theory that will help understand the current uses of address forms in Honduran Spanish and possible changes in its address system. §2.3 situates the study of forms of address within the variationist sociolinguistics framework. §2.4 lays the theoretical foundation based on Michael Billig's theory of banal nationalism, pertinent to the study of *voseo* as an index of national identity. Finally, §2.5 summarizes the theoretical framework and presents the research questions that guided the investigation.

## 2.1. Address Research: Pragmatics Meets Sociolinguistics

Any study on forms of address must necessarily include some reference to the work of Roger Brown, Albert Gilman, and Marguerite Ford, who are “regarded as the initiators of modern sociolinguistic investigation of forms of address” (Braun, 1988, p. 14). This section will describe the key postulations offered in their work, which will serve as the basis for the analysis of forms of address in Honduran Spanish. It must be clarified that only the work of Brown and Gilman will be referenced here because of its examination of pronominal address, since Brown and Ford’s work mainly deals with nominal address (§2.1.1). Additionally, this section will succinctly present the most important criticisms of Brown, Gilman, and Ford’s theory, based on Braun’s (1988) long, and yet not exhaustive, list of objections and modifications (§2.1.2), and on Schwenter’s (1993) research in Peninsular Spanish and its ensuing theoretical implications (§2.1.3).

### 2.1.1. Seminal studies on pronominal address

Brown and Gilman’s influential research entailed a diachronic examination of both ‘familiar’ and ‘polite’ pronouns in different European languages. They claim that as a result of the spread of plural forms (e.g. *VŌS*; see §1.1), pronominal address developed two paradigmatic dimensions: a vertical, asymmetric dimension in which the socially superior interlocutor received the plural/polite form and the socially inferior interlocutor received the singular/familiar form, and a horizontal dimension in which equals used forms reciprocally: the plural/polite if they were distant or the singular/familiar if they were close

([cp. Braun, 1988] Gilman & Brown, 1958). These dimensions were expanded in a subsequent article, evident in the following re-designations: the vertical dimension was now the 'power semantic' and the horizontal, the 'solidarity semantic' (Brown & Gilman, 1960). These semantics, which are actually sociopragmatic dimensions, govern pronoun selection: either T (familiar/informal; e.g. *tú* or *vos* in Spanish) or V (formal; e.g. *usted* in Spanish).<sup>77</sup> The general rules have been one of nonreciprocal power semantic and one of reciprocal solidarity (Brown, 1965, p. 55). Brown and Gilman (1960) propose that with respect to the nonreciprocal power semantic

one person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior. The power semantic is similarly nonreciprocal; the superior says T and receives V. (p. 255)

Relationships that are not governed by a power differential (i.e. the interlocutors have equal power) are characterized by either reciprocal solidarity in which the interlocutors give and receive T or reciprocal formality in which the interlocutors give and receive V. Brown and Gilman (1960) state that solidarity between two individuals is determined by similarities "that make for like-mindedness or similar behavior dispositions" (p. 258). These similarities may include group, religious, or political affiliation, gender, familial ties, and degree of intimacy. Both sociopragmatic dimensions are combined sociolinguistically,

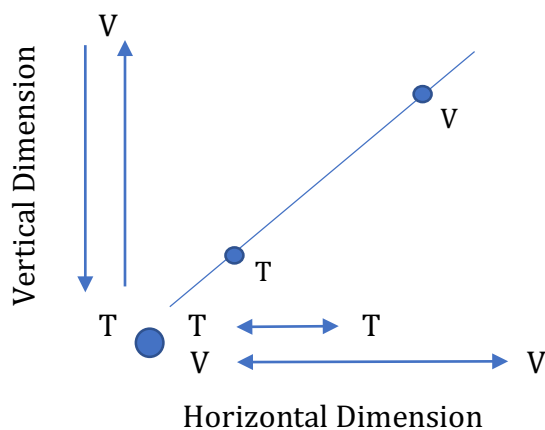
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<sup>77</sup> The symbols T and V are derived from the Latin pronouns *TŪ* and *VŌS*, respectively.



resulting in a two-dimensional system in which each pronoun has two connotations. Uber (2011) explains, “T expresses intimacy when it is reciprocal and condescension when it is [nonreciprocal]; V expresses formality or remoteness when it is reciprocal and deference when it is [nonreciprocal]” (p. 247). Figure 8 below illustrates Brown and Gilman’s postulations described here.

**Figure 8. Paradigm of Forms of Address Based on Brown and Gilman (1960)**



As Figure 8 shows, on the vertical dimension (‘power semantic’), the speaker (represented by the large dot) asymmetrically receives T but gives V to an interlocutor with more power/status; this is represented by the two single-headed arrows, one going upwards ending in V and the other going downwards ending in T. On the horizontal dimension (‘solidarity semantic’), if the speaker is close to the interlocutor, reciprocal T is used between them—this is represented by the short, double-headed arrow. Conversely, if the speaker is distant from the interlocutor, reciprocal V is used between them—this is represented by the long, double-headed arrow. The diagonal line in the center shows the interaction between both dimensions, where the less power differential there is between interlocutors and the

closer they are horizontally, the more likely the speaker is to use T, and where the more power differential there is between interlocutors and the more distant they are horizontally, the more likely the speaker is to use V.

From a historical perspective, Brown and Gilman (1960) assert that during the middle ages and up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 'power semantic' took precedence and governed pronominal address. Additionally, pronominal address reflected social structure insofar as the upper class used V reciprocally and the lower class used T reciprocally. Eventually, various factors other than power, as those mentioned above, became more decisive in T/V selection, leading to the consolidation of the 'solidarity semantic' and consequently, to the ongoing shift in the sociopragmatic dimension that takes priority in form selection, namely, the horizontal dimension (i.e. 'solidarity semantic'). As Uber (2011) explains, since the horizontal dimension is potentially applicable to all addressees, conflict may arise between the vertical and horizontal dimensions (e.g. superiors, such as parents, may be solidary or intimate with inferiors, such as their children and vice versa). Furthermore, because of societal changes that have led to the blurring of social class boundaries and the diffusion of egalitarian ideology, the horizontal dimension has been taking precedence over the vertical dimension, characterized by the expansion of reciprocal T (Brown & Gilman, 1960, pp. 261-275; Brown, 1965, pp. 57-68). Thus, Brown (1965) hypothesized that in Spanish (non)solidarity would continue to become the more significant dimension in address form selection over relative status.

### 2.1.2. Criticisms of Brown and Gilman's theory

Multiple studies have corroborated Brown and Gilman's (1960) postulations; however, many scholars have noted that such postulations do not always hold.<sup>78</sup> Braun (1988) provides a list of criticisms of their theory based on several studies on forms of address in many different languages. What follows is a summary of three of the drawbacks offered by Braun (1988) that are most relevant to the present investigation.

One of the fundamental problems with Brown and Gilman's theory has been likewise attributed to Chomskyan linguistics: that of the ideal speaker in the ideal speech community, and in this case, that of the ideal system of address, which does not represent the social reality of language. Alternatively, variation is ignored or not granted fundamental weight in theoretical considerations, being seen as mere noise. Even though Brown and Gilman do recognize the existence of variation in address use—understood as 'group style'—, they fail to account for it in their theoretical conclusions. Ultimately, they view address variation as a minuscule fragment of the invariant paradigm of address use. Consequently, this view presupposes that all speakers have both T and V in their address system and use them in virtually the same manner; this manner is generalized in the rules presented above, regarding the 'power semantic' and the 'solidarity semantic.'

It must be clear, however, that Brown and Gilman do not explicitly state that in conducting their analysis they did so with an ideal speaker/speech community in mind. Nonetheless, their methodology and their general rules presuppose an ideal speaker/speech

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<sup>78</sup> Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity are equivalent to Brown and Levinson's social variables central to their theory of politeness, P and D, respectively, discussed in §2.2. Some of the objections described here have also been raised regarding Brown and Levinson's theory.

community. Their informants were urban, male, belonged to the upper-middle class, and came from professional families. In addition, the language varieties they studied have undergone a long process of standardization, including American English, French, German, and Italian—as was mentioned before, any variation (e.g. the intimate polite form *voi* in Italian *vis-à-vis tu* [T] and *Lei* [V]) is only alluded to, but mostly ignored. Assessing this methodological approach, Braun (1988) states, “[i]n a group of speakers as homogenous as that, variation need not be conspicuous” (p. 24). Importantly, the alternative perspective is at the subtext of this dissertation: address variation is not the exception but the rule, and said variation is systematic and a reflection of the speaker as agent of variation (and change).

This alternative perspective correlates with a second criticism of Brown and Gilman’s theory: that of the connection between address variation and the speaker. Much of the (early) research on address forms has been concerned with deriving generalizations, tendencies, and rules from the social characteristics of the addressee and, most significantly, from the type of speaker-addressee relationship. However, as Braun (1988) points out, address variation is also largely linked to the social characteristics of the speaker—that is, the image that the speaker (in)voluntarily presents to the addressee (cp. Terkourafi, 2001; 2004)—which are not dependent on the type of relationship between the speaker and the addressee (for examples of such characteristics see the summary of Schwenter’s study below in §2.1.3). Therefore, in any study of forms of address it is crucial to examine not only relational factors and characteristics of the addressee, but also the characteristics of the speaker—which characteristics to include will depend on the community under study.

Lastly, a third drawback of Brown and Gilman’s theory is the ‘simplicity’ of the concepts of symmetry/asymmetry and of the T/V dichotomy. The reality of most languages

is that their address system contains a variety of forms (nominal and pronominal) that may perform a similar sociopragmatic function from which to choose in any given situation. Additionally, there might also be various sociopragmatic functions that could be accomplished with the same form. Honduran Spanish serves as a perfect example of this in that both *vos* and *usted* can function as forms of intimacy (i.e. *confianza*), but *usted* can also function as a form of distance/respect (see Table 4 in §1.2.2.4). This illustrates that in languages with a wide range of variants and/or functions per variant, usage patterns of address forms are not easily classified as symmetrical/asymmetrical or T/V. Furthermore, it illustrates that a certain form might have functions that are contrary to those ascribed to them, following Brown and Gilman's theory (e.g. intimacy expressed through *usted*, which is an attribute of T and not V). Consequently, in order to explain said usage patterns, it is essential to assess extralinguistic features of the speaker, the addressee, their relationship, and the context. In some cases, according to Braun (1988), the motives behind selecting one form over the others are so subtle that rules are extremely difficult to set up. It is also essential to modify Brown and Gilman's theory to account for the reality of the address system of any given language, which renders their theory not universal.

### **2.1.3. Schwenter's theoretical considerations**

Schwenter's (1993) study on pronominal address in Peninsular Spanish clearly exemplifies the criticisms of Brown and Gilman's theory detailed above. Schwenter (1993) studied the 'power semantic' in two types of relationships that cannot be properly explained by Brown and Gilman's (1960) conceptualizations: "one in which a younger person of high

social status gives V yet receives T from an older person with lower social status” and another one in which “women are more commonly recipients of asymmetrical V” (p. 33). As Schwenter (1993) explains, it is not the case that older individuals of lower social status and women in general have more social power. It is rather the case that with respect to the former type of relationship, deference has been ritualized in societal interactions, rendering the interaction ceremonial. Additionally, Terkourafi (2005) explains that these forms may be differentially distributed among social classes, which in turn may constrain form selection/use. With respect to the latter, Schwenter (1993) claims that the deferent form preserves a sense of appreciation from an interlocutor who has real social power (i.e. men) toward one who holds less social power (i.e. women). Therefore, interlocutors can be located higher or lower than other interlocutors not only on the basis of the power to control the other person’s actions, but also on the basis of authority or legitimate right to exert influence, social status or rank, and a general notion of equality-inequality (e.g. age difference or gender) (cp. Spencer-Oatey, 1996; Leech, 2014).

Similarly, solidarity can encompass many different variables. This has resulted in different understandings of what this dimension actually comprises. Leech (2014) states that it “subsumes two rather different [umbrella-like] variables: not only *familiarity* but *affect*” (p. 139, emphases included in original), also denominated “closeness” and “attraction,” respectively, in which the former deals with the frequency of contact and quality of acquaintance and the latter with like or dislike (Spencer-Oatey, 1996). After analyzing various pragmatic studies, Spencer-Oatey (1996) concludes that this dimension can comprise one or more of the following: (1) social similarity/difference, (2) frequency of contact, (3) length of acquaintance, (4) familiarity, or how well people know each other, (5)

sense of like-mindedness, and (6) positive/negative affect (p. 7). Therefore, because of the different components that power/status and solidarity can comprise, these two sociopragmatic dimensions are labeled here with the neutral terms *vertical dimension* and *horizontal dimension*, respectively, congruent with Leech's (2014) "vertical distance" and "horizontal distance."

Based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) and Brown's (1965) observations and his own study of nonreciprocal T/V usage in Spanish summarized above, Schwenter (1993) proposes modifications to their theory—modification that might explain the patterns of pronominal forms of address found in Honduran Spanish. These modifications include the following (Schwenter, 1993, pp. 32-33):

- Nonreciprocal T/V usage may be a consequence of the interaction between the horizontal dimension and deference, defined as a "symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed to a recipient... or something of which this recipient is taken as a symbol, extension, or agent" (Goffman, 1956, p. 477).<sup>79</sup>
- The horizontal dimension is defined mainly by two variables: (1) similarity/difference of social attributes, and (2) degree of intimacy, which are both dependent on the situational context.
- Certain relations formerly governed by the vertical dimension have been reanalyzed in terms of the horizontal dimension, and yet, have retained nonreciprocal T/V, not

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<sup>79</sup> Goffman's (1956) definition of deference contrasts with the typical conceptualization of submission or yielding to the authority, judgment, or influence of a superior, to which Brown and Gilman (1960) seem to adhere. Brown and Gilman (1960) do not explicitly use the term 'deference' or 'deferential' to refer to or describe the use of V; rather they use the term "reverential." Nonetheless, their description of V is congruous with 'deferential' forms.

because of a power/status differential, but because of the degree of social distance between the interlocutors and because the norms for deference have been institutionalized (conventionalized) in society.

For example, variables that were once a function of the vertical dimension, such as age or gender, are now a function of the horizontal dimension. Nonreciprocal T/V arises when there are age or gender differences because these differences are now defined as greater degrees of social distance between the interlocutors and because certain norms of deference, such as addressing elders with V or men addressing women with V, have become conventionalized and in a sense ritualized in society. The interaction between these two components explains why elders and women are addressed with V, but they address younger individuals and men, respectively, with T (in some societies); that is, without the conventionalized norms of deference, one would expect all greater degrees of social differences to result in reciprocal V usage and all greater degrees of social similarities to result in reciprocal T usage. However, this is not the case in these types of relationships.

Evident in the modifications listed above, these required some reanalysis and 'simplification' of the rules provided by Brown and Gilman (1960), which consequently allow for varied dialectal and intrapersonal realizations. For instance, degree of intimacy can be understood as length of acquaintance, frequency of contact, familiarity, affect, etc., and similarity/difference in attributes can encompass all sorts of social attributes. Furthermore, this reformulation reflects Brown's (1965) hypothesis that the horizontal dimension is taking precedence over the vertical in address selection. Schwenter's theoretical considerations are by no means universal and, as he states, need to be tested in "varied



dyadic situations in diverse communities” (1993, p. 38), which is an aim of the present study by testing them in an understudied variety of Spanish.

## 2.2. Politeness Perspectives Relevant to the Study of Pronominal Address

It was discussed in the previous section that thanks to Brown and Gilman’s (and Ford) work, pronominal forms of address are typically dichotomized into two forms: T, the ‘familiar’ form and V, the ‘polite’ form. The categorization of one of the forms as ‘polite’ raises the question of the role of politeness in the use of pronominal forms of address: is it the case that V forms are always polite and that T forms are impolite, or at least not fundamentally polite? As Braun (1988) asserts, labeling a form ‘polite’ and another ‘familiar’ is vague given that different cultures determine the linguistic expressions required in specific contexts and that a particular form might be seen as polite in some contexts and familiar in others. Such is the case of *usted* in Spanish. In some contexts, for instance when addressing an older stranger, *usted* functions as a ‘polite’ form by showing distance and lack of familiarity, but in other contexts, such as among close friends, it might be perceived as inappropriate, artificial, and even impolite, since *tú* or *vos* is expected to underscore the similarity or closeness that exists. Moreover, in familiar contexts, such as a mother addressing her child, *usted* does not function as a ‘polite’ form in the same sense as when addressing an older stranger, but as an appropriate term that conveys intimacy and trust. Therefore, to be able to understand fully pronominal address in Honduran Spanish, it is necessary to evaluate the motivations behind address form selection within the Honduran sociocultural context through the lens of

politeness research. To that end, the following subsections will: (1) briefly explain how politeness has been theoretically conceptualized (§2.2.1); (2) review Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness and some aspects of Leech's (2014) most recent theory (§2.2.2); (3) present Terkourafi's (2001; 2004) discussion on the operationalizability of some key concepts of Brown and Levinson's model (§2.2.3); and (4) summarize the initial research on Spanish *confianza* (§2.2.4).

### **2.2.1. What is politeness?**

The concept of *politeness* is one that is to this day still debated, having received many definitions over the years. Culpeper (2011) cites Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) who comments, “[d]espite the variety of studies which focus on linguistic politeness [...] the field still lacks an agreed definition of what ‘politeness’ is” (p. 392). Perhaps the source of discord regarding a definition of politeness is the view of where that definition must emerge. Should politeness be defined by the notions held by the members of the community under study or should it be defined by the community of researchers in an attempt to explain communicative (pragmatic) behavior in general? Alternatively, is politeness inherent to language as a system or does it lie in the sociocultural conceptualizations of the various linguistic communities of the world? Regardless of this reality, what the field seems to agree on, at least partly, is that politeness entails displaying consideration for ‘the other’ not ‘the self’ (cp. Culpeper, 2011)—a concept that dates back more than two thousand years to the Chinese concept of *li*, or “[humbling] yourself and [showing] respect to other” (Gu, 1990, p. 238).

Within this scholastic panorama, studies have tended to adopt one of two general views of politeness, a pragmatic view or a sociocultural view (Culpeper, 2011). From a pragmatic perspective, politeness is viewed as the implementation of strategies in communication with the objective of maintaining social equilibrium (cp. Leech, 1983), avoiding potential aggression (cp. Brown & Levinson, 1987) or minimizing confrontation (cp. Lakoff, 1989). Among the studies that have explored politeness phenomena from this perspective are the classic ones listed here, which consider that effective communication is accomplished via the application of maxims (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983) or strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987) in different communicative situations. From a sociocultural perspective, the social context takes precedence by considering the social norms held by the society being studied or the notions that the members of the society use for effective communication. Fraser (1990) states,

each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of more or less explicit rules that prescribe a certain behavior, a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in context. A positive evaluation (politeness) arises when an action is in congruence with the norm, a negative evaluation (impoliteness = rudeness) when action is to the contrary. (p. 220)

In this sense, politeness involves holding norms for proper behavior, which are highly contextually dependent, and “subsumes notions such as ‘good manners’, ‘social etiquette’, ‘social graces’ and ‘minding your ps and qs’” (Culpeper, 2011, p. 393). Among the studies that emphasize the sociocultural context are Eelen (2001), Spencer-Oatey (2000), Terkourafi (2001), and Watts (2003).

These two views of politeness are congruent with Watts's (2003) distinction between 'first-order politeness' (or politeness 1) and 'second-order politeness' (or politeness 2). According to Watts, there are two ways (or orders) to approach politeness. One corresponds "to the various ways in which polite [behavior] is perceived and talked about by members of [sociocultural] groups. It encompasses, in other words, commonsense notions of politeness" (Watts, Ide, & Ehlich, 2005, p. 3). This approach is what he refers to as 'first-order politeness' and is congruent with the sociocultural perspective described above; however, as Culpeper (2011) explains, it is more specific in that it recognizes that politeness lies in the ways it is "talked about by members of [sociocultural] groups," which might be a problem since there is no way of assessing the inevitable multiplicity of definitions of politeness that different communities have without a consistent shared definition within the field of politeness research. The second way of approaching politeness is by viewing it as a "theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social [behavior] and language use" (Watts et al., 2005, p. 3), congruent with the pragmatic perspective described above and what Watts refers to as 'second-order politeness.' In this view, politeness serves as a construct/framework for explaining pragmatic phenomena without "getting lost too easily in abstractions such as 'face' or 'culture'" (Leech, 2003, p. 104).

Even though there are very different ways of approaching politeness and politeness phenomena, as it is evident in both of the general views described above, politeness research ultimately involves incorporating notions from both views. On this, Culpeper (2011) states,

[p]ragmatic choices are not made in a vacuum but in the light of repeated experience of social situations (and their associated norms) which may lead one to expect certain

kinds of interaction to happen, to be able to hypothesize what others' expectations are and to know how to meet them. And once interaction has started we monitor how participants are constructing and orienting to politeness and adjust our pragmatic choices accordingly. Meanings, including understandings of politeness, thus emerge in the flux of social interaction. (p. 394)

In accordance with Culpeper (2011), the present dissertation aims at understanding pronominal address in Honduran Spanish by taking theoretical postulations previously proposed as a basis for analysis, but most importantly, by examining address use within the Honduran sociocultural context, including the participants' own understandings regarding the accepted use of address forms in Honduran Spanish.

### **2.2.2. Some relevant theoretical postulates regarding politeness**

The study of politeness stems from the notion that speakers not only want to communicate information, but also want to communicate socially and to build social relationships. In order to do so effectively, interlocutors must follow certain conversational principles (cp. Grice's [1975] Cooperative Principle<sup>80</sup>) for adequate exchange of information

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<sup>80</sup> Grice (1975) states his Cooperative Principle as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." The following four maxims delineate it.

1. Maxim of Quantity

- (a) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
- (b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2. Maxim of Quality

- (a) Do not say what you believe to be false.
- (b) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. Maxim of Relation

Be relevant.

and concurrently be aware of and satisfy each other's social needs. One way of achieving the latter is by being polite.<sup>81</sup> Expanding on this, Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) put forth the first highly articulated—and yet highly criticized—theory of politeness. In it, they incorporate not only Gricean principles, but also the concept of *face*,<sup>82</sup> introduced into social theories concerning Western societies by Goffman (1967) as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself[/herself] by the line others assume he[/she] has taken during a particular contact.” In other words, face is the public self-image dependent on a person's evaluation of how he or she appears to others (Leech, 2014), or as Brown and Levinson present it, it is “the public [self-image] that every member wants to claim for himself[/herself]” (1987, p. 61). Importantly, they not only assume that all interlocutors possess face, but also that they are rational beings, “which guarantees inferences from ends or goals to means that will satisfy those ends” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 64).

For Brown and Levinson, face is “something that is emotionally invested, and can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (p. 66). In this sense, every speech act has the potential of threatening either the speaker's or the hearer's face (what Brown and Levinson termed Face-Threatening Acts, or FTAs); politeness

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#### 4. Maxim of Manner

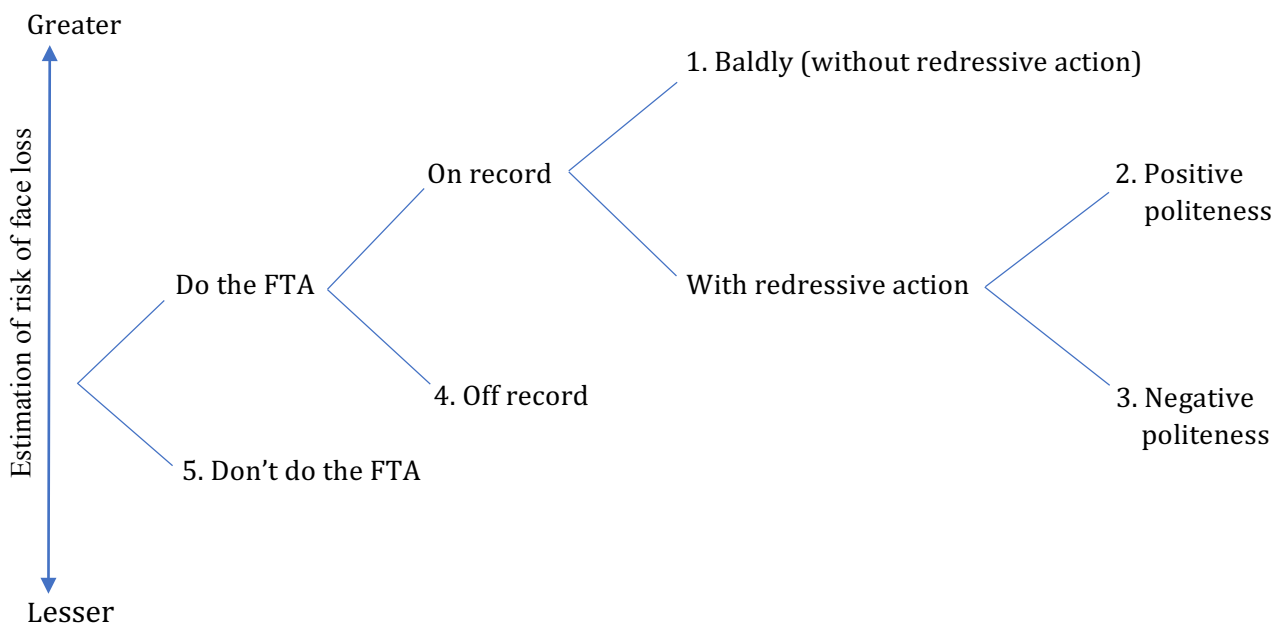
- (a) Avoid obscurity of expression.
- (b) Avoid ambiguity.
- (c) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
- (d) Be orderly.

<sup>81</sup> Grice (1975) gives the example of a maxim that falls outside of the conversational principles (or maxims): “Be polite!”

<sup>82</sup> The conceptualization of face is of Chinese origin as a psychological component that “is lost when the individual either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet essential requirements placed on him by virtue of the social position he occupies” (Ho, 1976, p. 867).

provides a set of communicative strategies for protecting face against such acts.<sup>83,84</sup> Figure 9 below depicts the hierarchical organization of the suprastrategies ordered by increasing risk of face loss.

**Figure 9. Strategies for Avoiding FTAs**



Briefly, 'bald on-record' speech acts carry the greatest amount of risk of threatening face, since these are the most direct, as in the request *Pass me the salt*. To mitigate the potential face-threat of the speech act, one could choose from two sets of strategies: 'positive'

<sup>83</sup> For a detailed explanation of Brown and Levinson's Theory please refer to their 1987 book *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*.

<sup>84</sup> The strategic nature of politeness as a means of attaining individual goals is a notion shared by many theorists, such as Leech (2014), who views politeness as "communicative altruism." He explains, "the 'altruistic meaning' conveyed via communication should not be equated with genuine altruism, where someone does or says something unselfishly, for the sake of some other person(s)" (Leech, 2014, p. 4). This is quite the shift from his original view of politeness as a way "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech, 1983, p. 82).

and ‘negative politeness.’ On the one hand, positive politeness “anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, [speaker] wants [hearer]’s wants (for example, by treating him/her as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked).” On the other hand, negative politeness “is essentially avoidance-based and consists... in assurances that the speaker... will not interfere with the addressee’s freedom of action” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 75). Differently stated, positive politeness is concerned with enhancing the addressee’s desire of being appreciated or approved of by showing closeness or affiliation, whereas negative politeness is concerned with lessening the imposition by showing distance and/or formality. Brown and Levinson list fifteen linguistic positive-politeness strategies—such as the use of in-group identity markers and endearment terms, as in *Dear, pass me the salt*—and ten negative-politeness strategies—such as minimizing the imposition, as in *Could you pass me the salt?* ‘Off record’ strategies involve hinting without overt expression with the hope that the hearer will understand what is implied and act according to the desired outcome, as in *Wow! This food is bland*. Lastly, the most effective way of avoiding threatening face is, of course, by not performing the FTA at all.

Another important component of Brown and Levinson’s theory is their formula for calculating the degree of seriousness of an FTA:  $W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$ . To choose an appropriate politeness strategy, the speaker estimates the weight ( $W$ ) of the FTA ( $x$ ) as a result of the amalgamation of three contextually sensitive social variables: (1)  $D(S,H)$ , or the social distance between the speaker ( $S$ ) and the hearer ( $H$ ); (2)  $P(H,S)$ , or the power the hearer has over the speaker; and (3)  $R_x$ , or the absolute ranking of the imposition in the particular culture. Brown and Levinson claim that just as these variables are universal, so



are the notion of face and politeness phenomena. However, they do recognize that “in any particular society we would expect [face] to be the subject of much cultural elaboration” (1987, p. 13). This means that their theory of politeness allows cross-cultural variation—different cultures and societies will use politeness strategies differently. They call this variation *ethos of communication*. In this respect, certain cultures/societies exhibit a positive-politeness ethos, where the values of P, D, and R are low, and other cultures/societies exhibit a negative-politeness ethos, where the values of P, D, and R are high.<sup>85</sup> They explain, “in some societies interactional ethos is generally warm, easy-going, friendly [i.e. positive-politeness ethos]; in others it is stiff, formal, deferential [i.e. negative-politeness ethos] [...]” (1987, p. 243).

Many lines of criticism have been directed at Brown and Levinson’s theory; nevertheless, it is the most widely discussed account when investigating politeness phenomena, such as the present dissertation. One of the claims that has been most heavily criticized (and is most relevant to this investigation), mainly by Eastern theorists, is that of the universality of their theory. As Leech (2014) points out, “[i]t has been objected that [Brown and Levinson’s] model has a Western, if not Anglophone, bias and therefore cannot present a universal theory applicable to all languages and cultures” (p. 81).<sup>86</sup> This Western bias informs their definition of both face and politeness. With respect to face, their conceptualization reflects an Anglo-Western individualist worldview in that the individual’s

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<sup>85</sup> Several researchers contest the idea that societies as a whole can be classified as exclusively having either a positive-politeness or a negative-politeness ethos. Hornoiu (2008), for example, asserts that no society can be classified in that manner; rather, societies can be thought of being relatively more positive-politeness oriented or relatively more negative-politeness oriented. Leech (2014) considers that positive-politeness and negative-politeness are positions in a scale where societies can be placed, depending on whether the group values are more important or the individual values are.

<sup>86</sup> A Western bias has also been attributed to other Gricean models of politeness, such as Leech (1983).

desire to be free from imposition and free to act take precedence. In other words, negative politeness is preferred when engaging in facework. As Brown and Levinson state, “[i]t is safer to assume that H[earer] prefers his peace and self-determination more than he prefers your expressions of regard, unless you are certain of the contrary” (p. 74). Even though this might be the case for Western societies, it is not for collectivist societies, such as those in the East, where group belonging is emphasized through in-group and out-group differences and social positioning with respect to superiors and inferiors ([cp. Gu, 1990; Ide, 1993; Mao, 1994] Leech, 2014). With respect to politeness, Brown and Levinson’s understanding that it serves as a mitigation of FTAs in pursuit of individual goals has been especially criticized by Eastern theorists such as Ide (1993). According to Ide (1993), Brown and Levinson’s view of politeness is congruent with one of the types of politeness in Japanese, which she calls *volition*. However, particularly important in Japanese culture is a second type of politeness: *discernment*, which “concerns the role and obligations of the individual as member of a closely-knit group within a hierarchical society” ([cp. Ide, 1993] Leech, 2014, p. 36), closely tied to the Japanese honorific system.<sup>87</sup>

Discernment is analogous to Leech’s (2014) concept of *bivalent politeness* (i.e. honorification or deference), absent from Brown and Levinson’s model. This type of politeness is different from the interactional, goal-oriented type of politeness, accounted by Brown and Levinson’s theory—what Leech (2014) calls *trivalent politeness*—, in that (1) bivalent politeness is highly conventionalized and relates to sociolinguistic features that are relatively stable and trivalent politeness is interactional and dynamic; and (2) bivalent

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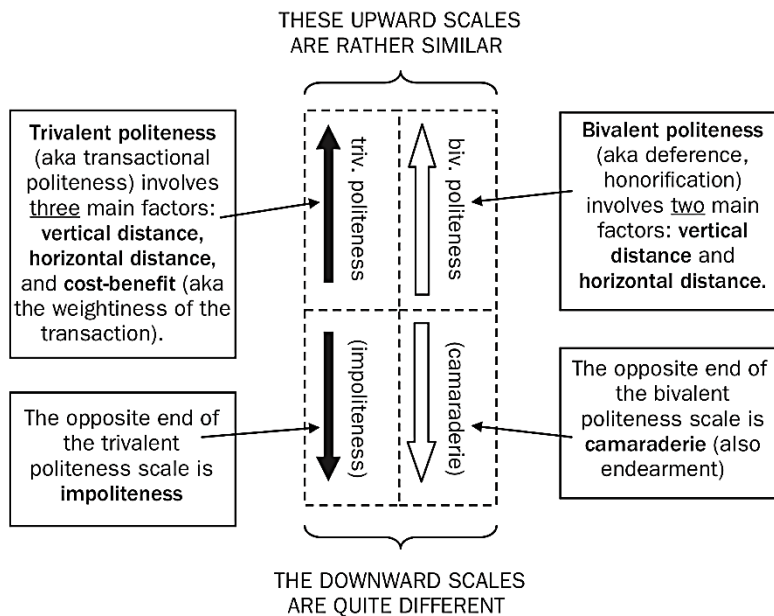
<sup>87</sup> Similar claims have been made for Korean ([cp. Ide, 1993] Leech, 2014).

politeness lacks the transactional component that is present in all instances of trivalent politeness. With respect to (1), the choice of pronominal/honorific forms is contingent upon the two sociopragmatic dimensions (Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity; Brown and Levinson's P and D) discussed in §2.1. Both of these dimensions, according to Leech (2014), are relatively stable since the use of honorific forms has a persistent function of social positioning in society (cp. "politeness as social indexing;" Kasper, 1990). Trivalent politeness is much more dynamic in the sense that P, D, and R are valued differently depending on the particular context and the specific goal(s) of the speaker. With respect to (2), Leech (2014) recognizes that bivalent politeness entails a transaction (R): paying respect, tribute or, perhaps, a compliment to the addressee. However, this transaction is so conventionalized and generalized that its value is insignificant. This being said, Leech (2014) explains that both types of politeness seem to not be completely independent of each other. On the one hand, in languages with honorific systems, trivalent politeness usually involves, and in some cases, requires bivalent politeness.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, Leech (2014) views bivalent politeness as the conventionalized implementation of the maxims (part of his most recent politeness model) of Approbation, or giving high value to others, and Modesty, or giving low value to oneself. Moreover, bivalent politeness and trivalent politeness are mirror images of each other: bivalent and trivalent politeness are placed on one end of the behavior scale, whereas impoliteness and camaraderie/familiarity/solidarity are on the opposite end (see Figure 10 below).

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<sup>88</sup> For example, in the case of Central American varieties of Spanish, it has been reported that requests usually favor the use of the 'honorific' pronoun *usted* (Castillo Venegas, 2013; Díaz & López, 2013; Hernández Torres, 2013; Úbeda, 2013).

**Figure 10. Bivalent and Trivalent Politeness**



Taken from Leech (2014, p. 110).

Even though, much like what has been noted by previous researchers (e.g. Ide, 1993), Brown and Levinson's model fails to appropriately explain the current sociopragmatic patterns that subsume interpersonal interactions in Honduran society regarding pronominal forms of address, particularly because of its "Western/Anglophone bias," it does serve well when analyzing the possible change that may be underway in Honduran Spanish. It can serve as a basis for the understanding of a possible shift from a Western system characterized by a negative-politeness ethos to a more collectivist, positive-politeness ethos where the horizontal dimension takes supremacy over the vertical dimension. This, in turn, would explain the reciprocal use of *vos* in contexts where there is a (conventionalized) power differential—traditionally characterized by asymmetrical *usted/vos*—but where intimacy takes precedence (e.g. parent-child interactions). Furthermore, because one of the objectives

of this investigation is to empirically confirm the general address system that currently characterizes Honduran Spanish, Leech's conceptualization of bivalent politeness provides a useful tool for analysis; however, it must be pointed out that this concept would not successfully explain inter and intrapersonal covariation that may be present in the language. Moreover, his view of the conventionalized use of the maxims of Approbation and Modesty, which would explain politeness phenomena in negatively-polite societies where the speaker uses the polite form (i.e. *usted*) to show approbation and modesty, does not successfully explain current practices in Honduran Spanish, such as the example provided above. However, the conventionality of these maxims could be accepted as conventionalized deference (Schwenter, 1993; see §2.1.3 above).

### **2.2.3. The operationalizability of P, D, and R**

As stated above, Brown and Levinson's (1987) model has received much objection from copious research conducted in various languages/cultures. In an attempt to test the validity of Brown and Levinson's predictions when applied to politeness phenomena in Cypriot Greek and its psychological plausibility, Terkourafi (2001; 2004) demonstrated that the proposed definitions of P, D, and R failed to account for politeness realizations in her data. Instead, she proposed an alternative approach, which suggests "allowing extra-linguistic features of the situation to enter directly into interlocutors' assessments of politeness," requiring "less rather than more cognitive effort for interlocutors" (2004, pp. 120-121). Terkourafi's proposal is based on the analysis of degrees of indirectness of

requests and offers, and of address forms in her data; however, the description that follows will center on her examination of address forms as it is more pertinent to the present study.

The most common address forms Terkourafi encountered in her data were first name + *mu* ('dear'), first name, title + first name, and title + last name. Two of these, first name + *mu* and title + first name, because they are mostly asymmetrical in distribution, were explained under the variable of power. Power, as understood by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987), is the ability of one of the interlocutors to exert control over the other and can be of two kinds: material or metaphysical (Terkourafi, 2001). Material power concerns the control over "economic distribution and physical force" and metaphysical power concerns the control over the behavior or actions of the other "by virtue of metaphysical forces subscribed to by the speaker" (Terkourafi, 2001, p. 99).

With respect to first name + *mu*, Terkourafi (2001) explains that the address form is generally used by older speakers (usually female) when addressing younger addressees, and since it is typically used by mothers (with 'real' power) when addressing their children, the term could hence be "associated with the addressee's low P over the speaker" (Terkourafi, 2001, p. 98). Nevertheless, the researcher found instances of speakers with low P addressing someone with high P with first name + *mu*—more than half of the instances of asymmetrical first name + *mu* occurred between friends, acquaintances, and old colleagues (2004, p. 124). Title + first name is usually used to address those with high P as a form of respect; however, Terkourafi found instances in which the recipient of this address form not always had power over the speaker. These instances occurred mostly in a work setting and involved an older recipient, and therefore, the researcher concluded that older age is a deciding factor in asymmetrical title + first name usage.

Terkourafi (2001; 2004) explains that in order to appropriately account for the cases mentioned above under Brown and Levinson's theory, one would need to expand the definition of power to include relationships in which the recipient of the deferent form does not hold 'real' material or metaphysical power over the speaker, but can claim power over him/her only metaphorically. Therefore, the instances Terkourafi encountered in her data could only be explained by a metaphorical exertion of power. Regarding first name + *mu*, this would entail "behaving the way a mother would toward a child" (p. 99). Consequently, this use of first name + *mu* would constitute an instance of positive politeness in that the speaker wants the addressee to feel good. Regarding title + first name, since age cannot be construed as a real source of power over the speaker, as it cannot be enforced exactly as understood by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Brown and Gilman (1960), it could only be construed metaphorically.

Nevertheless, Terkourafi explains that construing power in this manner renders the concept too elusive and greatly unfalsifiable. Since metaphorical power "can be in conflict with concrete sources of power, and may even override them" (2004, p. 125), the speaker would need to decide whether to attend to real power or to metaphorical power. Instead, Terkourafi proposes that the speaker assesses the extralinguistic factors present in the situation to make his/her choice of address form, yielding more accurate predictions. She explains,

[d]iscussing asymmetrical uses of [first name] + *mu* [...] I concluded that an appeal to the speaker's sex (female) and/or age (older than the addressee) yields more accurate predictions than an appeal to P as defined by Brown and Levinson. Similarly,

asymmetrical uses of title + [first name] are more adequately accounted for in terms of the addressee's age (older than the speaker) and the setting of the exchange (at work). This is not to say that all asymmetrical uses of [first name] + *mu* and title + [first name] will actually exhibit these extralinguistic features. However, they all aim at *invoking the emotive connotations* of relationships characterized by these extralinguistic features. In this sense, rather than being ambiguous as to the sources that prompted the speaker's choice of address, asymmetric occurrences of these address terms make such sources transparent. (2004, p. 131; emphasis in original)

The relevance of this approach is two-fold: (1) *contra* Brown and Levinson's assertions that the value sources of P, D, and R are untraceable once combined, they, in fact, become transparent and obvious when considering the extralinguistic features of the context of the interaction; and (2) the psychological load on the speaker becomes much lighter by internalizing what expression to use in any given situation rather than by calculating the result of a formula such as that proposed by Brown and Levinson:  $W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$ . It will be shown here that even though some instances of the data under study can be explained by applying Brown and Levinson's model, all of it can be accounted for by evaluating the extralinguistic features of the interactions, as proposed by Terkourafi.

#### **2.2.4. *Confianza* as a theoretical, linguistic concept**

The term *confianza* has been typically employed in research on Spanish forms of address to qualify the form that is used to address an interlocutor with familiarity, intimacy



and/or trust (i.e. *vos* or *tú* and even *usted* in certain varieties [see §1.2.2]). What this research has failed to accomplish is to provide a precise description of *confianza* as a linguistic concept that can be clearly applied to the study of forms of address. Even though *confianza* has not been adequately defined in address research on Spanish, it has been an important concept for politeness research on Spanish in recent decades. Its study has been heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, and thereupon, has attributed a positive-politeness ethos to Spanish in which interactions are "generally warm, easy-going, friendly" *contra* a negative-politeness ethos characterized as "stiff, formal, deferential" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 243). Consequently, multiple studies, especially comparative investigations between Spanish and English (e.g. Ardila, 2004, 2005, 2006; Hickey & Vázquez Orta, 1994; Márquez Reiter, 2000; Vázquez Orta, 1995), have considered certain interactional phenomena, such as the overt expression of feelings, the lack of politeness strategies (e.g. thanking or apologizing) in response to routine acts, and the excessive use of *tú* instead of *usted*, to be evidence of this Spanish positive-politeness ethos. Furthermore, as Ardila (2006) points out, some linguists have associated these phenomena with *confianza* or "the ethnolinguistic phenomenon which compels the speakers to use familiar/colloquial rhetorical strategies, so as to display a positive attitude" (p. 13). Therefore, the main claim has been that *confianza*, as the avatar of positive politeness, is responsible for the familiarity that characterizes all communicative acts in Spanish (cp. Bravo, 1999).

Bravo (1999) provides the first critical investigation regarding the positive-politeness ethos that characterizes Spanish, but more specifically, Spanish culture. In it, the researcher notes that the "social relationship [between Spaniards] is expressed through degrees of 'interpersonal *confianza*' [... which] constitutes an ideal for interpersonal

relationships transferred from types of relationships such as those established within the family group or among friends to daily conversational situations” (pp. 169-170; my translation and emphasis). From this perspective, and adopting Thurén (1988), Bravo understands *confianza* as knowing what to abide by with respect to the interlocutor and that one can speak freely without fear of causing offense (Thurén, 1988, p. 222). However, as Ardila (2006) points out, *confianza*, as Bravo understands it, is contradicted by other asseverations she makes about Spanish culture. For example, *confianza* seeks the appreciation of the interlocutors to facilitate communication, but Bravo also states that to obtain the appreciation of the interlocutors, one must be original and be aware of one’s own good qualities (Bravo, 1999, p. 168), a requirement that could also cause social conflict. Therefore, Ardila (2006) concludes that “it is very difficult to comprehend how *confianza* typical of ‘friends, relatives or coworkers’ can be applied to ‘different scenarios’... if the speakers know that it can lead to ‘social conflict’” (p. 16).

Hernández Flores (2001; 2004a; 2004b), taking the Spanish spoken in the Spaniard family context, discusses politeness in colloquial Spanish and recognizes the importance of *confianza*. The researcher specifies *confianza* by way of four premises: (1) having the interlocutor’s *confianza* means sharing a close and affective relationship; (2) making use of *confianza* means speaking frankly and without reservations; (3) being *de confianza* (roughly ‘of trust’) requires being perceived by the interlocutor as a friend, almost as a relative; and (4) acting with *confianza* entails expressing oneself freely, without fear of offending the interlocutor, and knowing that our actions will be interpreted as natural (Hernández Flores, 2001, p. 86). Multiple studies have followed and extended this analysis, as well as Bravo’s, to other contexts, including business interactions, public addresses from government officials,

and interviews on television programs. Importantly, these studies have concluded that *confianza* is endemic to Spanish and thus, is responsible for the charismatic, friendly attitude of Hispanics (or more specifically, Spaniards) used to gain the interlocutors' trust—a conclusion Ardila (2006) opposes, stating that in this respect, an excess of *confianza* outside of the family context, in fact, leads to distrust. However, an excessive use of *confianza* even in formal contexts in Spanish culture cannot be denied. With respect to forms of address, Ardila (2006) explains that many decades ago Dámaso Alonso, a famous Spanish poet, advised against the excessive use of *tú* instead of *usted* because of what was later referred to as *confianza*. This resulted in some sort of semantic erosion (or bleaching), which has led to *tú* losing its semantic value of true *confianza*. He quotes Dámaso Alonso: “How soft was *usted*, how sincere, how nuanced! Friendship, *tú*, were gained, were constructed slowly. *Tú* was then a true *tú*” (as cited in Ardila, 2006, p. 20; my translation). Notably, similar developments regarding *vos* have not been observed in Honduran Spanish.

As noted above, politeness research on *confianza* has mostly focused on Peninsular Spanish, and has not clearly and consistently attributed its claims regarding the observed positive-politeness ethos to said variety. The apparent lack of politeness research in other, particularly less studied, varieties challenges the claim that *confianza*, as is understood in Spanish culture, is endemic to the Spanish language. Inevitably, the following questions arise: are these claims in fact generalizable to Spanish and, consequently, to all Spanish varieties/Hispanic cultures? If not, how does *confianza* vary across Spanish varieties? This dissertation attempts to answer these questions by exploring how *confianza* has been defined and conventionalized within the sociocultural context of a non-Peninsular variety,

that of Honduran Spanish, and how address variation may be constrained by *confianza* in said variety.

### **2.3. Language Variation and Change**

In accordance with one of the criticisms of Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory discussed in §2.1.2—that of the crucial role of the speaker in address variation—, this dissertation explores possible changes in the pronominal system of address forms of Honduran Spanish within a Speaker-based theoretical model of language change introduced by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) and examines pronominal address variation in said variety from a Labovian variationist approach to sociolinguistics. The following subsections will: (1) detail the main tenets of Speaker-based approaches to language change and variationist sociolinguistics (§2.3.1); (2) describe the process of language change from an evolutionary perspective (§2.3.2); and (3) review the principal theoretical postulates of a variationist approach to morphosyntactic variation (§2.3.3).

#### **2.3.1. A Speaker-based theory of language change and the variationist approach**

The phenomenon of language change, more specifically the question of 'why' language changes, has been the source of much debate and discord in linguistic research. In fact, as Campbell (2004) points out, up until the early 1970s the field of historical linguistics—a field concerned with the study of language change—did not deem important to answer 'why' language changes, given that such a question could not be answered and any

speculative proposition would fall outside the realm of linguistics. For instance, Lehman (1962) states, “[a] linguist establishes the facts of change, leaving its explanation to the anthropologist” (p. 200). This resolute statement reflects the notion that was commonly held then by structuralists and historical linguists: the notion that any explanation could only be found, if at all, in the cultural and social practices of the community, having no relation with the structure of language, and thus, no bearing on the linguists’ work (Campbell, 2004). Therefore, from this perspective, language change is assumed to be primarily motivated by structural pressures within the language itself and universal structural tendencies (cp. Lass, 1997). However, what would remain unanswered is why certain changes “take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at a different time” (Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968, p. 102). Weinreich et al. (1968) refer to this problem as the *actuation problem*, a problem they set out to solve with a drastically different theory that incorporates not only linguistic factors in accounting for language change, but also, and crucially, extralinguistic or social factors that may affect the linguistic behavior of the speakers.

From this perspective, individual speakers are the locus of linguistic analysis, viewed as the agents of language change (cp. Labov, 2001; Milroy, L., 1987; Milroy, J., 2003; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Weinreich et al., 1968). An obvious observation about the social embedding of language is that language without the speaker (and crucially the hearer) does not exist; ergo, it is not the case that language itself changes independently of the speakers, but rather that speakers effectuate the change, as clearly expounded by Hickey (2012):

Speakers are the agents of change. It goes without saying that speakers change language and that the term 'language' is an abstraction over the collective behavior of a speech community. It is salutary to remember that when one is dealing with structural and developmental tendencies in language it is in the linguistic behavior of speakers that these are manifested. (p. 404)

Therefore, it is the speakers themselves who, through a process of selection from a set of competing linguistic variants both old and new, gradually propagate the use of the new variant throughout their speech community.

Essential to a Speaker-based approach to variationist sociolinguistics is not only the individual speaker, but also the speech community.<sup>89</sup> To be able to understand fully the linguistic behavior of the speakers one must also examine the linguistic patterns of the community as a whole, provided that the individual speaker is "a product of a unique social history, and the intersection of the linguistic patterns of all the social groups and categories that define that individual" (Labov, 2001, p. 34). Thus, it is essential to take into account the social psychology of the community as a product of the shared sociocultural history of the individual speakers that underlie their linguistic behavior, and thus, could potentially serve as an impetus for language change, as might be the case of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish. Interestingly, Labov (2001) rejects "the reduction of social factors to the social

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<sup>89</sup> The concept of speech community has been used within the variationist tradition as a tool for identifying a group of individuals within which to study variation and change. Labov (1972) describes speech communities as "not [being] defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms: these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage" (pp. 120-121).

psychology of individuals” by virtue of centering on the individuals’ idiolect and not on that of the speech community (p. 34).

The “reduction of social factors to the social psychology of individuals” is not what is argued for here. On the contrary, in agreement with Labov, an analysis of the speakers’ linguistic and communicative behavior in relation to their social characteristics is imperative; however, this analysis must go beyond their social characteristics to include their social identities and ideologies, as part of the social psychology of the community, regarding the linguistic feature under study. Recall here that social psychology is understood as the set of beliefs, thoughts, and behaviors that result from the influence of interactions with others (cp. Allport, 1985; see footnote 6 in §1.0). For instance, shared and internalized social conventions, sociocultural norms, and social identities can influence human behavior in observable and measurable ways. In this respect, the present dissertation explores the influence that the ideologies concerning pronominal address forms and that their indexical values have on the linguistic behavior of the Honduran community, that is, on the current variation (and possible change) in pronominal address that is observed in Honduran Spanish. It is by including large-scale motivations that concern the community as a whole that the precise question of ‘why’ language changes can be answered more comprehensively (more on this in §2.3.3). This approach is exemplified in the following quote from Michael (2014):

First, since language change is a social-epidemiological process that takes place by propagating some aspect of communicative practice across a socially-structured network, the organization of the social group in question can affect how a variant

propagates [...] Second, social and cultural factors, such as language ideologies, can encourage the propagation of particular variants at the expense of others in particular contexts, likewise contributing to language change. (p. 484)

Central to the Speaker-based theoretical model and to a variationist approach to language change are the following premises, summarized from Weinreich et al. (1968, pp. 99-101, 186-188):

- Language is characterized by ever-present variation, constituted by “structured heterogeneity” (i.e. variation in language is not random, but constrained by factors internal and external to the language that reflect the mental grammar of the speakers and the social composition of the speech community).<sup>90</sup>
- Language is constantly changing; however, language variation not always entails language change. Linguistic variation can lead to change (i.e. language change always presupposes variation), but it can also be stable and not lead to change.
- Language change emerges from the structured heterogeneity that characterizes linguistic variation and is never a direct substitution of an older form with a new one. In fact, there is a period of alternation and competition between old and new forms.
- Language transmits much more than semantic meaning; it also conveys social meaning based on the cultural, ideological, and psychological make-up of the community (cp. Tagliamonte, 2006, pp. 5-7).

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<sup>90</sup> The notion of ‘structured heterogeneity’ comes as a reaction to the prevailing generative approaches to linguistic study of the time, assuming an ideal speaker and a homogenous community. Weinreich et al. (1968) state, “[t]he association between structure and homogeneity is an illusion. Linguistic structure includes the orderly differentiation of speakers and styles through rules which govern variation in the speech community; native command of the language includes the control of such heterogeneous structures” (pp. 187-188).



Thus, language change results from the propagation of linguistic innovations, originating in individual speakers or speaker groups, as they are increasingly adopted by the speech community through communicative interactions (cp. Hickey, 2012; Michael, 2014; Milroy, 2003).

### 2.3.2. The course of language change

Labov's groundbreaking research in Martha's Vineyard in 1963 and later in New York City in 1966 brought important methodological innovations to the study of language change—innovations that have since been essential to variationist research—in addition to offering empirical evidence for the theoretical model described in the previous section. According to Bailey (2006), these methodological innovations allow linguistic changes to be 'observed' synchronically as they are taking place,<sup>91</sup> including what is perhaps the most important innovation, the apparent-time construct, "a surrogate for the real-time examination of data at different points in history" (p. 312). Britain (2010) recognizes the importance of the apparent-time construct when stating that,

[t]he social embedding of change, captured through the perspective of quantitative variation within the apparent-time [construct], was one of the most important breakthroughs in [the] early heady days [of the field of sociolinguistics], and one which continues to drive sociolinguists in their research. (p. 143)

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<sup>91</sup> Bailey (2006) states that "[u]ntil the mid-1960s, most linguists concurred with Hockett's assertion... that the actual process of language change is unobservable—it can only be detected through its results" (p. 312).

This construct assumes the following: (1) the factors, both linguistic and social, that motivate and constrain the change are the same in the present as they were in the past; (2) when such factors are held constant, synchronic generational differences with respect to a linguistic form would parallel with the diachronic evolution of the form in the language; that is, apparent-time evidence of change could be confirmed through real-time evidence, and thus, it is generalizable; (3) once the individuals reach ‘linguistic adulthood,’ their vernaculars remain stable for the remainder of their life ([cp. Labov, 1972; 1981; 2001] Bailey, 2006; D’Arcy, 2013).<sup>92</sup>

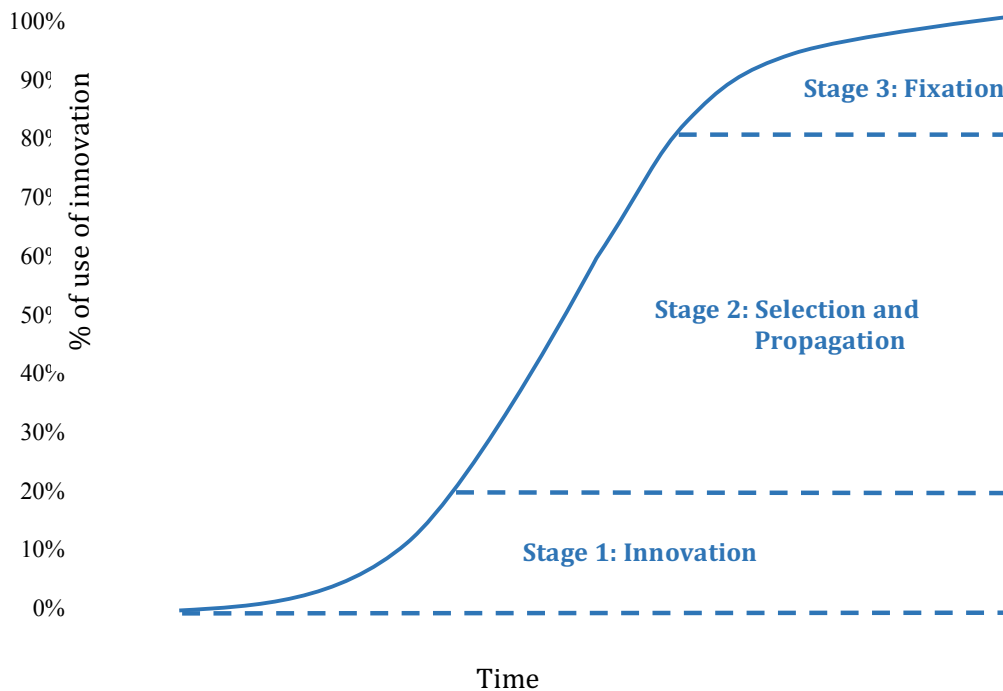
The apparent-time construct is a useful tool when attempting to detect or when analyzing a change in progress. This tool is especially convenient when studying changes that are taking place over a relatively brief period of time in communities that are still available for study, such as the changes related to quotative *be like* in English (cp. D’Arcy, 2013); however, the course of the change might take centuries to complete and sometimes might not be ever fully completed (Denison, 2003). This process is typically described by means of a statistical S-shaped curve (Croft, 2000; Denison, 2003)—as Croft (2000) states, “the time course of the propagation of a language change typically follows an S-curve” (p. 183). According to Denison (2003), change can be depicted as “slow, slow, quick, quick, slow” where it is “occasional and sporadic” at first, then gains momentum as it spreads, that is, as it is adopted by more and more members of the speech community and is used in more

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<sup>92</sup> The notion that the linguistic behavior of an individual generally remains stable once that individual has reached adulthood is to this day highly debated. Some researchers do believe that this is not necessarily the case (see Croft, 2000, pp. 48-49, 55-59; but also, Cukor-Avila, 2000 and Bailey, 2006 for a discussion).

diverse (extra)linguistic contexts, to finally slow down again as “the last remnants” of the older forms/functions endure (pp. 54-56). This process is illustrated in Figure 11 below.

**Figure 11. Idealized Graph of (Language) Change**



Based on Croft (2000, pp. 117-165) and Denison (2003, pp. 54-56).

From an evolutionary approach to language change, “based on generalized accounts of evolutionary processes that abstract from the particulars of biological evolution so that processes of cultural change, including linguistic change, can be analyzed in evolutionary terms” (Michael, 2014, p. 486), language change is defined by the replication of innovative linguistic variants that are exponentially present in the linguistic behavior of the speech

community (see Croft, 2000; Hull, 1988; Keller 1994; Mufwene, 2001; Ritt, 2004).<sup>93</sup> This replication involves adopting the linguistic structure with its social/indexical meaning as a product of frequency of use and exposure to its use, which are processes that are dependent on the social ties among the members of the speech community and on the social/indexical meanings of the new variants (cp. Croft, 2000; Labov, 2001; Milroy, 1987; 2003; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Weinreich et al., 1968), “since they play a crucial role in the frequency with, and circumstance in which, they are used, as mediated by the perceived social efficacy of the element in question” (Michael, 2014, p. 488).

Croft (2000) describes the course of language change in three stages, depicted in Figure 11 above. The first stage, which he calls *innovation*, involves the inception of the new variant (i.e. the *innovation*), emerging from an individual speaker or a small group of speakers (i.e. the *innovators*). This stage is represented by the slow rise in the curve in Figure 11 from single digit percentages to approximately 20-25% (Denison, 2003, p. 55).<sup>94</sup> The second stage involves the *selection and propagation* of the innovation through the gradual yet rapidly increasing adoption of the new variant by a larger portion of the speech community (i.e. the *adopters*), contingent upon social networks and frequency of and exposure to use. In Figure 11, this stage is represented by the steep rise in percent of use of

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<sup>93</sup> From a generative perspective, language change happens during first language acquisition. Essentially, given two successive generations, the input that the second generation receives from the first does not perfectly transmit the mental grammar that speakers of the first generation have, leading to mismatches between similar structures. The first generation’s output (second generation’s input), or Corpus, is “an instantiation of U[niversal] G[rammar] with parameters set” governed by a specific grammar (Roberts, 2007, p. 124). The second generation’s grammar then derives from the Corpus it receives from the first generation and not from its governing grammar, since grammars are mental entities; ergo, there is no way for individuals to directly access them. Consequently, the second generation abstracts a grammar from the Corpus it receives and UG. A consequence of this process of transmission is that mismatches may arise as the second generation makes errors of abstraction, leading to linguistic innovation (see Kroch, 2000; Lightfoot, 1979; Roberts, 2007). The first appearance of the innovation is thus considered change regardless of its degree of propagation.

<sup>94</sup> The percentages used here are for illustration purposes and not experimentally determined percentages.

the new variant up to approximately 80% (Denison, 2003, pp. 55-56). This stage is equivalent to the *actuation* of language change introduced by Weinreich et al. (1968) and it represents the point at which one can ascertain that a change is underway as the innovation becomes the preferred variant over the older variant(s) in the linguistic repertoire of the majority of the speech community. The last stage, or the *fixation* stage, is characterized by the complete (or almost complete) adoption of the new variant by all members of the speech community with the potential of acquiring new social and indexical meanings. However, remnants of the old variant(s) still linger on, represented by the slowing down of the rate of adoption of the new variant between 80 and 100% in Figure 11; otherwise, if the new variant would fully substitute the old variant(s) after the second stage, Figure 11 would end in a flat line at 100%, which is not what generally happens (Denison, 2003, p. 56).

The apparent-time construct is crucial for the present investigation as any sociopragmatic changes in progress with respect to *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* should be detectable through statistically significant differences among the generational groups included in the study (see Chapter 4 for the results of the quantitative analysis). The detected change shall follow an S-curve characterized by lower percentages of use of the innovative form (i.e. *vos*) among the members of the oldest age group exponentially increasing to higher percentages among the members of the younger age groups. It must be noted that because *vos* has been part of the linguistic repertoire of the Honduran speaker since Spanish colonization (see §1.2.2.4), it is not expected for *vos* to approach 0% among the older speakers (at the lower end of the S-curve), albeit, an S-curve should still be observed.

### 2.3.3. Morphosyntactic and pragmatic variation

After Labov's revolutionary research in the 1960s, the tendency among variationists has been to analyze language variation and change at the phonetic level. This is in part because of the nature of the entities under study, that is, the *linguistic variants*. These variants comprise what Labov termed the *linguistic variable* (another important research tool in addition to the apparent-time construct), presenting a set of choices with essentially the same semantic meaning from which speakers can choose (consciously or subconsciously) for specific communicative purposes (i.e. conditioned by linguistic and extralinguistic factors), thus, forming the structured heterogeneity that characterizes language (cp. Labov, 1966, p. 15). Because at the phonetic level linguistic variants are arbitrary, that is, they have little or no bearing on referential meaning, their analysis is relatively straight-forward. For instance, in Honduran Spanish a speaker might produce the intervocalic consonant cluster /pC/ as either [pC] or [kC] in words such as *Pepsi* or *helicóptero* ('helicopter'). Whether the speaker produces [pC] or [kC] does not change the referential meaning of the word.<sup>95</sup>

Whether variables that extend beyond the phonetic level into morphosyntax and discourse could be treated in the same way as phonetic variables can in variationist study has been a legitimate question that has generated much debate since Beatriz Lavandera, one of Labov's own students, first published on the matter. In her article "Where does the Sociolinguistic Variable Stop?" (Lavandera, 1978), Lavandera questioned the appropriateness of extending variationist techniques (and theory) for the study of

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<sup>95</sup> The social meaning of the choice between [pC] and [kC] does change, however, as [kC] is greatly stigmatized, being perceived as a marker of lack of education and sophistication.

phonological variation to morphosyntactic phenomena. Given that morphological and syntactic variables carry referential meaning and phonological variables do not, in addition to the fact that variation in morphosyntactic variables can affect meaning at the discourse level, Lavandera asserted that the factors constraining each variable under study would not be comparable. For instance, as Schwenter (2011) points out, Lavandera was critical of Weiner and Labov's (1983) study on English passive and active sentences, saying that they may be the same or similar in referential meaning, but at the discourse level the factors constraining them are very different.

Morphosyntactic variation has since been often seen as problematic for variationist sociolinguistics research. This is evident in the main differences between phonological and syntactic variation listed by Silva-Corvalán (2001, pp. 130-131 as presented in Schwenter, 2011, p. 125):

1. In any language, there is (quantitatively) less syntactic variation than phonological variation.
2. Syntactic variation is more difficult to measure and quantify.
3. A syntactic variable's contexts of occurrence are harder to identify and define.
4. Variation between syntactic forms could be due to semantic differences.

In addition, as Cheshire (2005) points out, it is not clear which syntactic theory, if any, should be tied to morphosyntactic variation—the two most prominently referenced theories are Kroch's Competing Grammars model (Kroch, 1989; 1994; 2000) and approaches within the Minimalist program, such as Adger (2006), King (2005), and Nevins and Parrott (2010), compatible with Distributed Morphology (see King, 2013 for a discussion of these theories). Furthermore, research on morphosyntactic variation has tended to center only on linguistic

factors without any concern for the social embedding of said variation. In fact, some have regarded social factors as irrelevant in morphosyntactic variation (see Rydén, 1991; Scherre & Naro, 1992; Hudson, 1996; Winford, 1996). Cheshire (2005) explains,

[o]ne reason for this could be the infrequency of syntactic forms relative to phonological or morphosyntactic variants: since syntactic variants are less frequently heard, they are less likely to become associated with a specific social group and to be socially evaluated in the way that is necessary for them to function as sociolinguistic indicators or markers [...]. (pp. 480-481)

In recent years, research on morphosyntactic variation has changed the perspective described above thanks to a modification in the conceptualization of the ‘morphosyntactic variable’ and the aim of variationist research in morphosyntax. It cannot be denied that “[...] because speakers use syntactic forms in the construction of discourse including, crucially, the conveying and construction of propositional and attitudinal meanings, the social embedding of syntactic variation is often more complex” (Cheshire, 2005, p. 479). With this fact in mind, variationists agree that the referential nature of the morphosyntactic variable, specifically in its discourse-pragmatic meaning, cannot be overlooked; therefore, one cannot assume that morphosyntactic variants have the same referential meaning, but rather that they have the same function (syntactic, discursive, pragmatic, etc.). Referencing grammaticalization, Schwenter and Torres-Cacoullos (2008) state,

[g]rammaticalization’s retention hypothesis offers fresh insight into the polyvalence in linguistic form-function relationships: there is variation in function—a single form



covers a range of meanings—as well as (the more familiar) variation in form—different forms serve the same grammatical function... functional polyvalence makes the semantic equivalence issue moot for grammaticalizing variants: we cannot circumscribe the variable context by grammatical function narrowly, since a single form may cover a range of meanings along a grammaticalization path. (pp. 10-11)

In this sense, morphosyntactic variants are neutralized in context to the point that the selection of one variant over the other(s) does not affect communication (cp. Sankoff, 1988; Schwenter, 2011). Consequently, the work of the researcher is not only to analyze change and to determine patterns of variation with respect to linguistic and extralinguistic constraints, but also “to uncover exactly what the differences are between the morphosyntactic variants/constructions, from the perspective of both internal and external factors” (Schwenter, 2011, p. 124).

Taking into consideration the nature of morphosyntactic variation and its research discussed thus far, and in accordance with Cheshire (2005), who states that “in order to see social variation involving [morpho]syntactic forms it is helpful to adopt a broad-brush approach that focuses on the choices speakers make from all the components of their knowledge of language, not just the syntactic component” (p. 480), this dissertation adopts what has been referred to previously as an ‘integral approach’ drawing from theoretical frameworks within different linguistic subfields (as is evident in the present chapter) and different methodological techniques (discussed in Chapter 3). This will be analytically advantageous for the study of pronominal address, which inevitably must be informed by the field of pragmatics to account for the sociopragmatic usage patterns and functions of

address forms. Because pragmatics is “the study of language use” (Verschueren, 1999, p. 1) and pragmatic research involves the speaker/hearer, which semantics and syntax do not ([cp. Carnap, 1961] Cameron & Schwenter, 2013), this field is relevant to any type of sociolinguistic study within a Speaker-based approach, especially one that deals with sociolinguistic variables that extend beyond phonology into morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and indexicality. This reasoning stems from the notion that morphosyntactic variation involves variants that may have different referential and indexical meanings but that share the same grammatical function (cp. Schwenter & Torres-Cacoulllos, 2008) or a “common function in discourse” (Dines, 1980, p. 15) discussed above. Since function is a pragmatic notion, the study of morphosyntactic variation devoid of any pragmatic analysis is strictly insufficient, especially when investigating the use of pronominal forms of address, which undoubtedly are morphosyntactic devices engaged in pragmatic phenomena (e.g. [im]politeness). Furthermore, as was mentioned above in §2.3.1, because linguistic variables carry social meaning, address forms must also be examined within frameworks of sociocultural linguistics. Specifically, the sociopragmatic behavior of the speakers must be analyzed by taking into account the ideological assumptions and social conventions they have internalized with respect to pronominal address. Consequently, such an analysis would lead to thoroughly exploring the envelope of variation by considering ‘why’ a certain form is used in any given situation and not the others when any is morphosyntactically acceptable (e.g. why *vos* is used to address a sibling and not *tú* or *usted*), rather than only quantitatively analyzing the forms that are observed *contra* other instances where they could have occurred but did not, and additionally, what might be driving any innovative uses of the forms. To this end, the following section presents the theoretical approach within the wider

framework of national identity that will serve as the basis for an added line of analysis of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish.

## **2.4. A Practical Theory of Nationalism**

The present division between Peninsular and Latin American Spanish with respect to pronominal address has been attributed to Latin America's desire to differentiate itself from the Spanish Crown during the period leading up to its independence, and later reinforced as the different Latin American nation-States developed their own national identities. This, in turn, contributed to the emergence of the distinct varieties of Latin American Spanish, and more specifically, the nuanced sociopragmatic paradigms of forms of address described in Chapter 1. In order to explain how these national identities are produced and reproduced today within established nation-States, it is essential to consider a practical theory of nationalism. The following subsections will lay the theoretical foundation based on Michael Billig's theory of banal nationalism (§2.4.1) and his approach to national identity (§2.4.2 and §2.4.3).

### **2.4.1. Banal nationalism**

Michael Billig (1995) claims that most contemporary definitions of nationalism, especially those found in academic fields, have associated the term with extreme movements of nation-State formation or with extreme right-wing politics. As he points out, separatists such as those found in Serbia, Russia, or Spain, and guerrilla figures seeking their own

national homeland are viewed as nationalists, whereas political leaders of established nation-States are not. Such a restricted conceptualization of nationalism overlooks any sense of nationalism that might be present in the citizenry of established nations, especially those found in the West. Billig and Núñez state, “by restricting the term ‘nationalism’ in this way, academics often overlook the general problem of how the general world of nation-States is reproduced” (1998, p. 37; my translation). With this in mind, Billig proposes a new interpretation of nationalism, which he calls *banal nationalism*, in his 1995 book of the same name. He sustains that nationalism should be viewed as “the complex of ideologies, practices, and routines that reproduce the world of nation-States” (Billig & Núñez, 1998, p. 37; my translation).

This approach is a reaction to contemporary sociological theories that view nationalism in the Western world as a faint ideology that has been enervated by globalization. According to these latter theories, because the world of nation-States is one characterized by their interconnection and virtually nonexistent national frontiers, nation-States are becoming obsolete, rendering the world international. In this sense, nationalism or a national identity only exists latent somewhere in the psychological being of the citizenry and only emerges during times of crisis for the nation-State, such as a war or a national catastrophe. Otherwise, it is replaced by multiple, fluid, international identities that contrast with the psychological remnant of rigid nationalism. Yet, as Billig (1995) correctly reflects, the problem is that nation-States are undoubtedly the prevailing form of political organization in the world today and if contemporary social theorists were correct, somehow one does not forget one’s nationality *vis-à-vis* a multiplicity of international identities.

Once the nation-State has been established, there must be a way to maintain it. If nationalism were only justifiable during the inception of a nation-State, then, what keeps it from falling apart in a globalized world? Billig (1995) asserts that it is through a continual reminding or 'flagging' of nationhood in the daily lives of the citizenry that nationality is perpetuated. The author metonymically equates banal nationalism to a still flag hanging on a building that goes unnoticed, that tacitly reminds the citizenry of "their national place in a world of nations" (p. 8). This image contrasts with that of a flag being waved vehemently, characteristic of the active, conscious imagining of the 'imagined community' of a newly formed nation or of an established nation in crisis. Taking the very much established nation-State of the United States as an example, Billig and Núñez (1998) explain that there is no such thing as a daily conscious decision to be an American. They illustrate that Americans do not wake up every morning and collectively declare, "Today, I again decide to be an American" (p. 42). Reciting these words, much like children do in school as they sing the national anthem or recite the Pledge of Allegiance, would be equivalent to the image of the waved flag previously described—a conscious act of patriotism, which in the case of school children, would take place during the development of their national identity as they pass through a system interested in forming 'good citizens.'

Gellner (1983) asserts that "nationalism emerges only when the existence of the state 'is already very much taken for granted'" (p. 4). Thus, the perpetuation of a national identity is only possible via its continual reproduction in everyday life through symbols such as national flags, national songs, monetary emblems, and general everyday practices, such as sporting events. In other words, nationhood is reproduced through symbols/practices that are taken for granted, thus banal, but that provide a background for cultural reproduction,

signaling original meanings (sometimes forgotten) that have a long cultural history. Hence, what is required is “a psychology of the routine without imagination, by which the ‘imagined community’ is reproduced banally and without imagination, established in the world of nations” (Billig & Núñez, 1998, p. 42; my translation). What Billig and Núñez refer to as “psychology of the routine without imagination” is what Bourdieu (1990) calls *habitus*.<sup>96</sup> Since language is inherently a social activity very much present in virtually every human practice, it is reasonable and obvious that certain linguistic practices become part of one’s *habitus*, and why not, part of a society’s *habitus* (their social psychology). In that sense, it is argued here that linguistic elements can also be symbols/practices of national identity, taking the case of *vos* as a banal symbol that indexes and reproduces Honduran nationhood. Therefore, any increase in and innovative use of *vos* would reinforce the indexical connection between *vos* and Honduran national identity.

#### **2.4.2. Language and national identity**

A study of national identity requires the study of its (re)production in language usage. Billig (1995) states, “an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life. Such habits include those of thinking and using language. To have a national identity is to possess ways of talking about nationhood” (p. 8). Two important implications can be abstracted from

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<sup>96</sup> According to Bourdieu (1990), *habitus* is composed of

[s]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (p. 53)

this: (1) human identity is to be found in the social psychology of an individual and (2) it can only be observed through the daily habits of social life, including language use.

Taking an approach found in linguistic anthropology, a field concerned with the study of culture reproduced through language, to study national identity one needs to examine how it is (re)produced through language use. Speaking specifically about cultural reproduction, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) assert that “[...] among the many symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, language is the most flexible and pervasive” (p. 369). Of course, this notion can be extended to the (re)production of national identity. Billig (1995) agrees with Bakhtin in that a study of “objective psychology must be grounded in the study of ideology” (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 13) and views language as an essential component for the creation of ideology. Furthermore, to study ideology and ultimately the social psychology regarding identity, one must examine the “concrete operations of language,” although it is not clear what Billig (1995) refers to exactly by it. It appears to be that he is referring to ideological discourse about nationhood and not necessarily about ways of using language to index a certain nationality (e.g. using *vos* to index Honduran national identity).

Two cases in point include the perception of the Putonghua dialect as a medium whereby Chinese national identity can be bespoken (Dong, 2010) and the display of Tetum and Portuguese in the linguistic landscape of Dili, East Timor as a reminder of the citizenry’s Timorese nationhood (Taylor-Leech, 2012). Dong (2010), after analyzing (socio)linguistic exchanges of migrant pupils in a public school in Beijing, concluded that the Putonghua dialect is assumed to be a medium of Chinese culture and thus a medium for acquiring

membership into the imagined Chinese community.<sup>97</sup> All other dialects are seen as markers of regional ethnolinguistic communities. Taylor-Leech (2012) observed that in the city of Dili, capital of East Timor, local languages are absent from its linguistic landscape, while the co-official languages of Tetum and Portuguese are very readily used in public signs. The researcher concluded that these languages are being used as tools for nation-building, “to promote a bilingual and biliterate identity, to promote national unity and pride and to act as a model for language [standardization] and literacy development” (p. 31). Both cases demonstrate the use of language to create certain ideologies necessary for the (re)production of a national identity, whether it occurs tacitly (banally) as in the case described by Dong (2010) or as part of clear efforts toward language policy as described by Taylor-Leech (2012). To recapitulate, it is argued here that just as language can be used to (re)produce cultural identity, it can also be used to (re)produce national identity as a rooted practice in the *habitus* (or “psychology of the routine without imagination”) of an individual and as a system of semiotic structures indexically correlated to certain social categories.

### 2.4.3. National identity

“National identity is not a cognitive inner state, but a set of discourses and practices, much of which are engaged in routinely within established nation-States” (Billig & Núñez, 1998, p. 37; my translation). Undoubtedly, there is a psychological element to national identity, but it is more a way of being in a nation-State and a way of talking about oneself in

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<sup>97</sup> Dong (2010) does not use the term ‘imagined’, but it is essentially the concept she describes when she explains that all rural and urban identities are overlaid with a Chinese national identity.



relation to one's nationhood. In order to claim a certain national identity, one needs to hold certain ideological assumptions of what it is to be a nation and what it is to be patriotic. Therefore, as Billig (1995) states, the question should be "what does it mean to claim to have a national identity?" (p. 61).

Claiming a nationality involves an ideology about the natural organization of the world and the categorization of the self, in this case the nation, versus the other, or other nations. Billig (1995) claims that "[...] there is no nationalism without theory. Nationalism involves assumptions about what a nation is: as such, it is a theory of community, as well as a theory about the world being 'naturally' divided into such communities" (p. 63). These communities must be imagined since their members will never meet every member with whom they are shared. In the words of Benedict Anderson, the individual members of a nation "will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (1983, p. 15). Moreover, the community is imagined with all its cultural and historical traditions that connect its current members to members from the past, as well as new traditions to come that will connect them with members from the future. In this way, the nation is imagined "as a community stretching through time, with its own past and own future destiny; it is imagined across space, embracing the inhabitants of a particular territory" (Billig, 1995, p. 70).

To claim a national identity also involves classifying oneself as a member of a nation, much like any other social group. Billig (1995) analyzes this self-classification while adopting Tajfel's conceptualization of social identity, which he elaborated in his Social Identity Theory. Tajfel (1978) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group" (p. 63). Identifying oneself as a

member of a certain social group, then, entails a categorization of different comparable social groups, as well as making a distinction with members of those other social groups. Oftentimes, these distinctions are made through stereotypes that become shared cultural knowledge, contributing to the positive identification of one's group. According to Billig (1995), "the national community can only be imagined by also imagining communities of foreigners" (p. 79) in which "the foreigner is the one who does not belong to the state in which we are, the one who does not have the same nationality" (Kristeva & Roudiez, 1991, p. 96). These characterizations, or stereotypes, of the foreigner are juxtaposed to those of one's own nation to construct its necessary uniqueness, which in turn contributes to the (re)production of one's own positive identity. As Tajfel explains "it can be assumed that an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of his[/her] social identity" (1981, p. 256). This is essential in the formation and maintenance of a nation, as a nation only exists if its citizenry thinks of itself as a nation. In the words of Rupert Emerson (1960), "the simplest statement that can be made about a nation is that it is a body of people who feel that they are a nation [...]" (p. 102).

## **2.5. Summary and Research Questions**

The principal purpose of this dissertation is to answer the overarching question of why *voseo* is still so prevalent in Honduran Spanish, given the prescriptive ideological forces acting against the use of *vos* in favor of *tú* (presented in Chapter 1). To offer an answer to this

question, it was essential to lay the theoretical foundation on which the analysis of pronominal address forms will be based. This theoretical framework is integrated in nature inasmuch as it incorporates theoretical frameworks from different subfields of linguistics with the objective of conducting a thorough analysis that would provide a more complete panorama of the variation and possible change in the Honduran address system. Evidently, the main theoretical basis for this dissertation comes from address research, which has conventionally focused on describing the use of pronominal forms along the two sociopragmatic dimensions proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960): the vertical, or power semantic, and the horizontal, or solidarity semantic. Within this framework, address selection is constrained by extralinguistic factors related to the addressee and the type of relationship that exists between the speaker and the addressee, mainly. Furthermore, pronominal forms of address are viewed as either familiar (T), or polite (V) ([cp. Braun, 1988] Brown & Gilman, 1960). Because address systems are developed in all languages (Braun, 1988), varying in the number of variants available and the sociopragmatic functions they can perform, and because, consequently, forms of address are expressions of politeness (evident in the 'polite' label given to V forms), politeness research provides key theoretical concepts, such as face, face threatening acts, and ethos of communication (Brown & Levinson, 1987), that will help to understand address form use more clearly and to uncover any changes that might be underway in the Honduran address system. This variation and possible change will additionally be examined from a variationist approach and a Speaker-based model of language change. Because address use is also significantly conditioned by the social characteristics of the speaker (cp. Braun, 1988), this framework is not only consistent with this view, but also provides the methodological tools that are necessary for empirically

establishing the factors constraining address form use regarding the speaker, the addressee, and the type of relationship between them, and for detecting any change in progress ([cp. Labov, 1972; 1981; 2001] Bailey, 2006; D'Arcy, 2013). Finally, the analysis would not be complete without investigating any motivations driving said variation that transcend the specific extralinguistic constraints included in the study to the entire Honduran speech community through its shared social psychology. Such motivations will be explored by adopting Billig's (1995) theory of banal nationalism, which asserts that national identity is produced and reproduced through daily social practices, arguing that linguistic behavior, including address form use, is part of the set of social practices that (re)produce national identity.

Two major sets of questions were proposed to accomplish the research objectives alluded to above and explicitly stated in §1.3. Both sets form the basis for the research methodology presented in the following chapter. The first set corresponds to the exploratory portion of the study interested in examining the attitudes Honduran speakers exhibit toward pronominal forms of address and Honduran national identity. This set comprises the following three questions:

**EQ1:** What are the overall attitudes Hondurans exhibit in relation to *voseo*, and pronominal address in general?

**EQ2:** Is *vos* perceived as an index of Honduran national identity? If so, how is it defined? If it is not, is there a specific 'user' of *vos*?

**EQ3:** Has there been a perceived increase in the use of *vos* by Honduran speakers or is *vos* losing ground to *tú*?

The second set corresponds to the research questions that guided the quantitative portion of the study interested in determining the general formulation of the Honduran address system and in detecting any change in progress within it. This set is divided into the following three questions:

**RQ1:** What is the overall distribution of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* in the spoken variety of Honduran Spanish?

**RQ2:** What extralinguistic factors (age, gender, and/or degree of *confianza*) constrain address form selection?

**RQ3:** Is there evidence of a change in progress in the address system of Honduran Spanish? If there is evidence of change, how is this change characterized?

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0. Introduction

This chapter thoroughly describes the research methodology that was implemented with the objective of answering the principal overarching question introduced in Chapter 1: why is *voseo* still so prevalent in Honduran Spanish? To offer a comprehensive answer to this question, and additionally, to go beyond the typical descriptive study of forms of address, as was discussed in the previous two chapters, it was imperative to approach it from various perspectives. To this end, while keeping in mind the theoretical framework and the research questions discussed in Chapter 2, this study was carefully designed by integrating a methodology common to research on forms of address (cp. PRESEEA) with both quantitative and qualitative methodologies informed by variationist sociolinguistics, politeness research, and approaches to (national) identity reproduction. The resulting integrated methodology is discussed in the following sections by first presenting the extralinguistic factors that were considered in the study (§3.1), then by explaining the sampling and selection of participants (§3.2) and by detailing the selection, design, and implementation of the research instruments used to collect metalinguistic, attitudinal, and naturalistic data on the use of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* in Honduran Spanish (§3.3 – §3.4), and finally by specifying the techniques of data analysis performed on the collected data (§3.5).

### 3.1. Extralinguistic Factors Under Study

In accordance with previous studies on forms of address in Spanish (e.g. Hernández Torres, 2013; Millán, 2011; Pinkerton, 1986; Thomas, 2008; Weyers, 2009), the present investigation explores the following extralinguistic variables: gender, age/generation, and degree of *confianza*. It must be noted that degree of *confianza* has not been directly and explicitly included in studies on pronominal address; however, Benavides (2003) claims that for Hondurans, degree of *confianza* (or ‘intimacy’ as he calls it) is the second most important factor constraining address form choice. This factor was operationalized here as ‘type of relationship,’ which has been consistently included in this type of studies as an independent factor. Following is a discussion of each of the variables under study: gender in §3.1.1, age/generation in §3.1.2, degree of *confianza* in §3.1.3, and the social factors that were kept constant in §3.1.4.

#### 3.1.1. Gender

It was determined that gender should be included in this investigation for two reasons. First, gender has been proven to be a useful variable in the study of language variation and change, as stated in Labov’s Gender Paradox, or the notion that “women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed but conform less than men when they are not” (Labov, 2001, p. 293). Second, the studies on pronominal forms of address in Honduran Spanish have been discrepant. Hernández Torres (2013) reported a tendency with respect to gender only found within the family context—in all other contexts, no tendency was found. He concluded that when there is a power

differential, women tend to prefer *usted* whereas men tend to prefer *vos*; however, the researcher did not specify the social positioning of the speakers on the vertical dimension, impeding any generalization from being made. In addition, he concluded that women tend to use *vos* more and men tend to use *usted* more in interactions where the horizontal dimension takes precedence; again, no specifications about the speakers' social positioning on this dimension were provided. Furthermore, Melgares (2014) observed no effect of gender in his study, perhaps because of an interaction with age. Furthermore, a gender effect has been reported in some varieties of Spanish, such as Chilean and Guatemalan Spanish, but not in others (see §1.2.2). Consequently, the present investigation includes gender of both the speaker and the addressee to corroborate whether it plays a role in pronoun choice and to serve as additional evidence of a change in progress in Honduran Spanish, if there is one, assuming that “women are the principal innovators in the process of change” ([cp. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003] Labov, 2001, p. 294).

### **3.1.2. Age/Generation**

According to Benavides (2003) and Melgares (2014), age appears to be the most important factor in pronoun choice in Honduran Spanish. Melgares (2014) reports that “*vos* is categorically the most frequently used pronoun when addressing a younger/same-age individual and *usted* is categorically the most frequently used pronoun when addressing an older individual” (pp. 22-23), except in the family domain where *vos* may be also used to address older individuals with whom “extreme” *confianza* is shared. Melgares (2014) corroborated this trend with the comments provided by his participants. He quotes one of



his participants who said, “*yo siempre respeto a los mayores, por eso uso usted, al menos que haya extrema confianza* (‘I always respect my elders, which is why I use *usted*, unless there is extreme *confianza*’)” (p. 23). For this reason, both age of speaker and age of addressee were taken into consideration in the present study. In addition, this variable will be useful in examining symmetrical and asymmetrical generational relationships (Schwenter, 1993; Spencer-Oatey, 1996). Hernández Torres (2013) observed a tendency in relationships dominated by the vertical dimension, where older individuals use *vos* more (to address younger interlocutors) and younger individuals use *usted* more (to address older interlocutors).

Furthermore, age is essential in examining generational differences in language change as the bedrock of the apparent-time construct, discussed in §2.3.2 (cp. Bailey, 2006; Boberg, 2004; Chambers, 2006; D’Arcy, 2013). A synchronic analysis of the linguistic behavior of different generational groups would mirror its diachronic evolution where the change advanced gradually with each new generation. Accordingly, the participants were divided into three age groups (also see §3.2), partially following Hernández Torres (2013), while adopting the three most recent social generations of the Western world (cp. Strauss & Howe, 2008): group Young Adults ([YA hereafter] Millennials: ages 18 – 29), group Middle Adults ([MA hereafter] Generation X: ages 30 – 49), and group Old Adults ([OA hereafter] Baby Boomers: ages 50 – 69). Although Hernández Torres (2013) divided his informants into two generational groups—younger generation (ages 18 – 36) and older generation (ages 55 and above)—it was decided to refine these age groups to assess better any generational differences. It must be mentioned that group YA includes a smaller range of ages because the pilot study with teenagers had already been conducted (Melgares, 2014); therefore, it was

deemed unnecessary and otherwise redundant to collect data from teenagers for the purposes of this study. Nonetheless, data from the pilot study was included in the quantitative portion (the sociolinguistic questionnaire described in §3.3.2) of the investigation for two reasons: (1) to present a complete panorama of the correlation between age and address form use and, most importantly, (2) because a significantly higher use of the innovative form (in this case, *vos*) among adolescents is now accepted “as a general requirement of change in progress” (Labov, 2001, p. 455). Accordingly, data from 10 adolescents (5 male and 5 female) were randomly selected for inclusion in the study (with respect to all three extralinguistic factors under analysis);<sup>98</sup> these participants comprised the additional age group: Teen.

### 3.1.3. Degree of *confianza*

As was mentioned above, according to Benavides (2003), degree of *confianza* is the second most important factor in pronoun selection in Honduran Spanish.<sup>99</sup> This claim has been corroborated indirectly by other studies, such as Hernández Torres (2013) and Melgares (2014), as it is closely associated with the variable of type of relationship, assuming that different relationships entail different degrees of *confianza* (e.g. friends share *confianza*, but strangers do not). In addition, because degree of *confianza* figures as a function of the horizontal sociopragmatic dimension (cp. Spencer-Oatey, 1996; see §2.1 and §2.2.4), this variable is useful in examining close and distant horizontal relationships. To do so, this

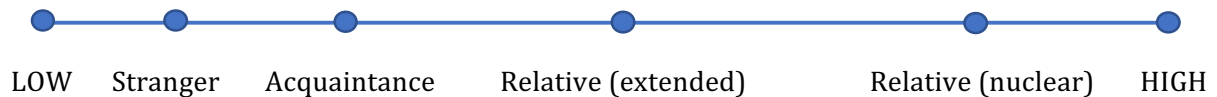
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<sup>98</sup> Recall here that a total of 100 adolescent informants participated in the pilot study.

<sup>99</sup> Benavides (2003) does not provide an explanation of how he measured degree of *confianza*.

variable was operationalized as a categorical continuum ranging from high degree of *confianza* to low degree of *confianza*, depicted in Figure 12 below, through an examination of the types of relationships included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire (detailed in §3.3.2).

**Figure 12. Continuum of *Confianza*<sup>100</sup>**



This continuum roughly adopts Benavides’s (2003) distinction between *familiar* (friends, acquaintances) and *familial* (family members, relatives) relationships. Each point on the continuum comprises a set of types of dyadic relationships (e.g. parent-child, sibling, and partner relationships). ‘Relative (nuclear)’ encompasses familial relationships found in the nuclear family domain, including partners (i.e. spouses), parents, children, siblings, and siblings-in-law. ‘Relative (extended)’ encompasses familial and familiar relationships found outside of the nuclear family domain, including grandparents, uncles/aunts, cousins, grandchildren, nephews/nieces, and additionally (best) friends and love interests (i.e. boy/girlfriend). ‘Acquaintance’ encompasses familiar relationships in the public domain, including individuals with whom one comes into regular contact, but are not considered friends (or as close as friends), such as co-workers, friends of friends, neighbors, and doctors. ‘Strangers’ encompasses non-familiar relationships in the public domain, including

<sup>100</sup> The distances between ‘types of relationships’ are not meant to be indicative of different weights on their corresponding degrees of *confianza*. The apparent separations are a result of formatting.

individuals with whom one has had no prior contact, such as security guards, cab drivers, waiters/waitresses, and strangers in general.

Type of relationship has been a common variable explored by itself in many studies on forms of address (e.g. Hernández Torres, 2013; Melgares, 2014; Millán, 2011; Thomas, 2008). However, as was mentioned above, this variable was used to operationalize degree of *confianza* with the objective of corroborating Benavides's (2003) claim that degree of *confianza* is the second most important factor constraining address form selection in Honduran Spanish—a systematic analytical tool not previously employed in this type of investigation. The 'type of relationship' categories included in this dissertation are based on those explored in the pilot study (Melgares, 2014), which in turn, represent a modified version of the sociolinguistic questionnaire from PRESEEA, implemented by Millán (2011), adapted to the Honduran sociolinguistic context (see Appendix C; more on this in §3.3.2 below). It should be clarified that the participants were instructed to comment on any deviations from this continuum (e.g. they are closer to a friend than a sibling or they never met their grandfather). If no comments were provided, it was assumed that this continuum was true for the participants at the time of data collection.

#### **3.1.4. Controlled social factors**

Certain social factors were kept constant or controlled to ensure the collection of sound data and to limit the number of extralinguistic factors considered, in turn, limiting the required number of participants, which would facilitate the in-depth analysis of the factors under study as well as the entirety of the collected data. These factors comprised the

participant selection criteria presented below in §3.2 and included: Spanish variety (§3.1.4.1), geographic region (§3.1.4.2), and socioeconomic class (§3.1.4.3).

#### **3.1.4.1. Spanish variety**

It was important that all participants included in the study be native speakers of Honduran Spanish to obtain valid and reliable data, not heavily influenced by linguistic practices and ideologies that are present in other varieties of Spanish, different from those in the Honduran variety. This variable was controlled by selecting only participants born and raised in Honduras, who had lived in Honduras all or most of their lives. Their exposure to other varieties of Spanish was not controlled for since the vast majority of Hondurans are exposed, at least minimally, to other varieties through television channels from other Spanish-speaking countries, including Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina. These channels are the most popularly watched in Honduras, since national channels do not provide a varied, mainly Honduran program. In fact, most national channels air shows from other countries as part of their program schedule, including the famous telenovelas, cartoons, and sitcoms. Therefore, finding an urban, native speaker who has never been exposed to any other variety other than Honduran Spanish, is a nearly impossible task. Nevertheless, as was discussed in §1.4.2, the great majority of *sampedranos* (95.96%) are L1 speakers of Honduran Spanish and at least 72.00% are L1 speakers of the urban variety. Furthermore, only 0.61% are foreign born and 3.43% identify with a native ethnic group, who may or may not speak other varieties of Spanish or other languages. Thus, it is safe to say that even though the variable of Spanish variety was not controlled in this way,

*sampedranos* rarely come in contact with other Spanish varieties or other languages on a daily basis; ergo, any variation and changes observed in their speech could not be attributed to contact with other varieties/languages.

### **3.1.4.2. Geographic region**

All participants were either born and raised in one of the three major cities in Honduras—Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, or La Ceiba—or had lived in one of those cities for 5 or more years at the time of data collection. As described in §1.4.1 and §1.4.2, due to the high mobility that exists among cities and the social networks that connect them, all cities in Honduras virtually share a common dialect different from the varieties found in rural regions. It can be speculated that this common urban dialect is a product of dialect leveling and hierarchical diffusion of innovations. As Britain (2006) explains,

interaction between urban centers in modern societies is likely to be greater, and therefore a more frequent and effective conduit for accommodation and transmission of innovations, than between urban and rural. Transportation networks tend to link urban with urban, the socioeconomic and consumer infrastructure tends to be based in and oriented towards urban centers, with the ensuing consequences for employment and commuting patterns, and these obviously feed the hierarchical nature of diffusion. (pp. 623-624)

The interconnection between cities, and the resulting linguistic features that characterize them, can be so strong that it “[creates] a (sic) new dynamics which can stand up or even run

counter to the increasing impact of the standard language” (Vandekerckhove, 2010, p. 318) or what was also referred to in Chapter 1 as legitimate language, following Bourdieu.

One of the noticeable linguistic features of the urban variety that appears to be running counter to standard/legitimate Spanish (i.e. *tuteo*) is *voseo*. The ‘overuse’ of *vos* differentiates the urban variety from rural varieties insomuch that *vos* is perceived as a more urban address form, whereas *usted* is perceived as more rural. This distinction was frequently reported by the participants in the interviews, as exemplified in the following quotes from Participants 03-M.MA and 24-M.OA,<sup>101</sup> respectively:

(1) *[...] en las partes más interiores del país, ellos sí, tienen su, diferencian su acento y al igual, en la manera de expresarse... dentro de la ciudad es muy poca la diferencia realmente. Yo creo que, que nuestra manera de expresarnos, o de hablar, va a depender mucho de con la persona que uno está también (.) La forma de trato cambia.*

[...] in the interior of the country, they do have their own, they differentiate their accent and the way they express themselves, as well... within the city there is very little difference, really. I think that, that the way we express ourselves, or the way we speak, is also going to depend a lot on with whom one is (.) The way one addresses someone changes.

(2) *[...] cuando de vengo de Ocotepaque, allá usted, usted, usted y usted. Decir vos es ya como una falta de respeto.*

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<sup>101</sup> For anonymity purposes, participants are referred herein by their ID number (01-32), followed by their gender M(ale) or F(emale) and their age group (Teen, YA, MA, or OA).

[...] when I come back from Ocotepaque [a Department in the interior of the country], there, *usted, usted, usted* and *usted*. To say *vos* would be almost like a lack of respect.

Because of this distinction, it was important that all participants be born or raised in one of the three major cities or had lived in the urban setting for at least 5 years (determined through self-report in the sociodemographic questionnaire in Appendix A) to assure that all participants spoke a consistent dialect and held similar ideological assumptions about the urban variety where *vos* is reportedly more ubiquitous.

In addition, thanks to research in dialectology and early Labovian sociolinguistics (or what has been labeled as ‘urban dialectology’), the consensus among researchers had been that rural varieties are mostly static and that urban varieties are mostly dynamic/innovative. On the one hand, this assumption was evident in that dialectologists, until a few decades ago, concerned themselves with recording authentic rural dialects by aiming at obtaining representative data from rural speakers, considered to be “the best guardians of the old local varieties” (Vandekerckhove, 2010, p. 315). Specifically, these rural speakers were what Chambers and Trudgill (1980) termed NORMs or Non-mobile Old Rural Males. Urban speakers were avoided since it was considered that their speech was not representative due to the contact of various social groups (Vandekerckhove, 2010). On the other hand, the urban/rural dichotomy was reinforced by Labovian sociolinguistic studies centered on investigating social language variation in the urban setting, especially bolstered by their implementation of the apparent-time construct, which brought much interest to the study of language change in progress (Vandekerckhove, 2010). Consequently, as Britain (2006) states,



researching in the city was most probably seen as the way to gain access to the most fluid and heterogenous communities, and therefore to tackle the issue of the social embedding of change 'where it's all happening' [... and the rural] is still portrayed as the insular, the isolated, the static, as an idyll of peace and tranquility rather than as composed of heterogeneous communities, of contact, of change and progress, and of conflict. (pp. 607-608)

However, as Vandekerckhove (2010) explains, more recent research has demonstrated that the dichotomy between urban and rural is nowadays difficult to sustain given the level of contact that exists between the urban and the rural. Citing Auer and Hinskens (1996, p. 4), Vandekerckhove (2010) asserts that "processes of industrialization, urbanization, increasing geographical mobility and ease of communication at regional and supraregional levels brought dialect contact to an extent hitherto unknown" (p. 316). What this means is that rural insularity is a thing of the past, having open social networks and being exposed to other language norms to the extent that the dialect cannot remain unvaried/unchanged. Therefore, in accordance with this 'new' perspective, it was essential to examine the speech (and attitudes) of urban speakers in the present investigation not because it is expected for innovations to be observed in the urban variety, but because the study of the urban variety would serve as a basis for future research, following the recent developments in the field of sociolinguistics, to ultimately explore the interaction between urban and rural varieties, and also the influence of urban varieties on rural varieties and vice versa.

### 3.1.4.3. Socioeconomic class

Only middle-class speakers were included in this study. Even though socioeconomic class is a variable typically examined in studies on forms of address (and sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies in general), it has been determined that for the Honduran speaker, this variable is not a significant factor in address form choice (cp. Benavides, 2003; Melgares, 2014; van Wijk, 1990). Most importantly, however, the decision to control for this variable was motivated by theoretical considerations put forth by Labov and Bourdieu. Following Labov (2001, pp. 188, 275), when dealing with language change, the middle class is at the forefront in changes from both above and below, in that in the former, the middle class's linguistic behavior regarding the innovation is oftentimes exaggerated compared to that of the upper class, and in the latter, it is believed that change originates within a central social group in the social hierarchy.

Moreover, Bourdieu's (1984 [1979]) theoretical apparatus regarding social class provides a useful framework for exploring Honduran social class structure. According to Bourdieu, class relations cannot be reduced to an analysis of material (i.e. economic) relations in society, but rather, it must simultaneously entail an analysis of symbolic relations.<sup>102</sup> In this respect, what should concern the researcher is the examination of the lifestyle of collectivities as social class practices (and not theoretical conjectures), that is, as manifestations of social class differences. Social class practices are linked to an individual's position in the social space (or hierarchy as it is traditionally referred to) through *habitus*, which provides the individual with a set of dispositions on which his/her actions are based

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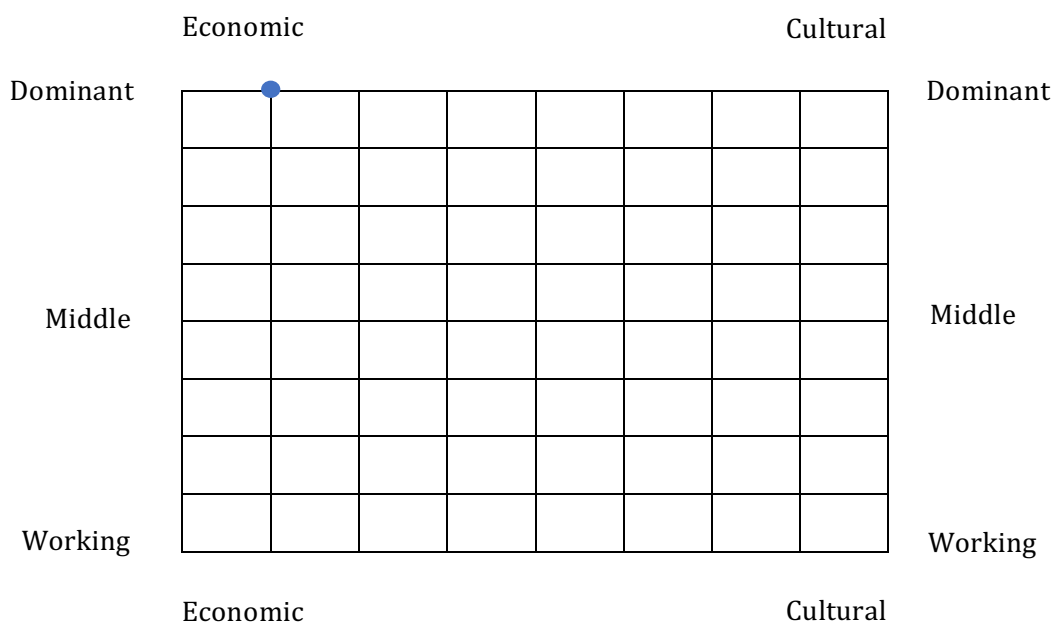
<sup>102</sup> This came as a reaction to Weber's contrast between class (economic relations) and status (symbolic relations), which he viewed as merely an analytical tool.

without conscious consideration of social class norms/rules or rational calculations of the risks/benefits of said actions. As Weininger (2005) points out, these dispositions are influenced by the individual's position in the social space, which corresponds to a set of life conditions within which *habitus* develops, or what Bourdieu calls "class condition." The individual's class condition imprints in him/her the class *habitus*, which allows him/her to consider his/her situation and act in a way that is 'appropriate.' In this sense, Bourdieu's "class condition" is reminiscent of the concept of social psychology introduced in Chapter 1.

Importantly, for Bourdieu, the social class space is constituted by three axes (Weininger, 2005). The first axis (vertical) locates the individual in the occupational system by the combined volume of economic and cultural (i.e. culturally-specific competence of social behavior) capital he/she possesses. A person's location on this axis corresponds to his/her class position, where the dominant class (or the 'bourgeoisie') possesses the most capital, followed by the middle class (or the 'petty bourgeoisie') and finally by the working class (or the '*les classes populaires*'). The second axis (horizontal) distinguishes positions within class locations based on the composition or main type of capital (either economic or cultural) that the individual possesses. For instance, within the dominant class, a college professor can be distinguished from a business executive in that the former possesses cultural capital mainly and the latter, economic capital. Those with a relatively well-balanced capital are located in the middle of this axis. The third axis follows the trajectories across time of the individuals along both the first and second axes. Alternatively, this axis locates the individual in the social class space as a function of time, that is, the individual can move vertically and horizontally over time. Bourdieu's social class space is depicted below in Figure 13, in which the height of the rectangle represents the first axis (class location), the

width represents the second axis (composition) and the grid within the rectangle represents the third axis (trajectory). The dot serves as an example of what the position of a large business tycoon who was born into that social class position is, based on Bourdieu's data and analysis (cp. Weininger, 2005, pp. 82-83).

**Figure 13. Depiction of Bourdieu's Social Class Space**



Informed by both Labov and Bourdieu's theories, it was decided to control for socioeconomic class to include only middle-class participants, positioned centrally on the vertical axis of the social class space at the time of data collection. The examination of their linguistic behavior would help detect any change in progress and that of their linguistic ideologies would provide valuable insight regarding address form use in Honduran Spanish, especially since in Honduran urban societies, members of the middle class come in contact

with members from not only their same socioeconomic class, but also from the working and dominant classes in all sorts of interactions at work, school, church, etc., depending on their social networks. Taking into account the theoretical principles discussed here, the following section describes the methodology that was utilized for participant sampling and selection based on the three, aforementioned controlled social factors (i.e. selection criteria).

### **3.2. Participant Sampling and Selection**

Informants were sampled by implementing a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling, roughly equivalent to what Tagliamonte ([cp. Milroy, 1987] 2006) calls the “social network approach.” This approach is highly effective in obtaining the right data for analysis and mitigating the observer’s paradox—two important issues to keep in mind, especially with respect to the interview portion of this study (see §3.3.3). Convenience sampling is characterized by a deliberate effort in directly or intentionally selecting members of a specific (speech) community, as well as other aspects of the research such as location and method of recruitment that make participant selection easier to perform than random sampling (Bryman, 2004; Maxwell, 2005). Snowball sampling, or chain-referral sampling, is characterized by the recruitment of participants by already existing participants from among their acquaintances (i.e. their social network) (Milroy, 1987; Morgan, 2008; Rasinger, 2011).

Participants were recruited by directly asking relatives, friends, and acquaintances of mine, the researcher, who met the eligibility criteria, to participate in the study. These

participants, then, nominated other participants who could potentially participate in the study.<sup>103</sup> The eligibility criteria (i.e. constant/controlled social variables) were the following: (1) native speaker of Honduran Spanish, (2) member of the middle class, and (3) be born or raised in one of the three major cities (Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, or La Ceiba), or had lived in the urban setting for at least 5 years at the time of data collection—§3.1.4 above discussed the justifications for controlling these three factors. Participant information concerning the previous set of criteria was gathered through a short sociodemographic questionnaire the subjects were asked to complete before participating in the main research tasks (see Appendix A). The survey asked the participants to share information such as age, gender, neighborhood where they reside, occupation, place of birth, and highest level of education.

Participant social stratification was determined via two questions: neighborhood where they reside and occupation. It was important that all participants reside in San Pedro Sula because, as was described in §1.4, it is considered not only the industrial capital of the country, but also an important cultural center. To recapitulate, San Pedro Sula is a city with a thriving commercial life based on three major industries: (1) farming, as the city is located in one of the most fertile valleys in the country, the Sula Valley; (2) the factory industry, bringing in transnational factories from all over the world as well as local industries; and (3) the port industry, closely tied to the factory industry, as the major port, Puerto Cortés, is adjacent to the city. In addition, the city has become an important cultural center due to its proximity to the most important touristic and cultural destinations in the west and the Caribbean coast. Consequently, the city has seen much migration from different regions of

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<sup>103</sup> Out of the 32 participants included in the study, 8 were unknown to the researcher prior to data collection.

the country, rendering it the second largest city (after the capital city, Tegucigalpa). As a result, multiple residential areas emerged (and continue to emerge), which tend to be predominantly working class or predominantly middle class; upper class neighborhoods, for the most part, had already been established either in the Merendón Reserve or very proximal to it, during the boom of the banana plantations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Because it was essential that all informants belong to the middle class (see §3.1.4.3), following Bourdieu's (1984) class *habitus* and class practice, only those residing in middle class neighborhoods and who possessed occupations centrally located in the Honduran social class space (see Figure 13 in §3.1.4.3) were considered for the study. The targeted neighborhoods are located throughout the Sula Valley and tend to be residential areas that feature a secured entrance with neighborhood security guards, one-story houses, or small two-story houses (compared to the bigger 'mansions,' as they are called, in the upper-class neighborhoods) without their own, private security systems, and paved streets, which differentiate them from working class neighborhoods. This factor was combined with occupation, given that members of the middle class tend to hold professional (e.g. teachers, psychologists, engineers, etc.) and entrepreneurial jobs (e.g. small business owners, administrative positions within a larger company, etc.), although women, especially older women, tend to be homemakers and sometimes have 'side jobs' such as catering businesses or volunteer positions in nonprofit organizations. It was expected that all participants would hold these types of occupations and live in middle class neighborhoods.

The total number of participants required for a sound quantitative (and qualitative) analysis was determined by calculating the sample design based on the two social attributes relevant in this study: gender and age (see §3.1). For gender, there were 2 groups—male and

female—and for age, there were 3 groups—group YA between the ages of 18 and 29, group MA between the ages of 30 and 49, and group OA between the ages of 50 and 69. This yields a total of 6 participant cell groups, and because statisticians say that having 3-5 participants per cell is enough to extrapolate inferences from the sample population (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 31), the total number of participants required for this study was 18-30. It is important to mention that this required number of participants follows the current notion of representativeness of sample populations in sociolinguistic research. According to Sankoff (1988), “[s]peech communities tend to consist of many varieties spoken by groups containing very different numbers of individuals, so that uniform sampling leads to redundancy for some groups and risks missing others entirely” (p. 900). Consequently, the notion of representativeness has been modified to be more harmonious with the study of language variation and change, requiring “not that the sample be a miniature version of the population, but only that we have the possibility of making inferences about the population based on the sample” (Sankoff, 1988, p. 900). This modified notion of representativeness has been reinforced by the “ongoing work in sociolinguistics [that has] found that relatively small samples—samples too small to be technically representative—were sufficient to account for language variation in large cities” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 23). Hence, it was necessary to obtain between 3 and 5 participants per cell in this study, which was successfully accomplished through the convenience and snowball sampling methods described above.

A total of 32 informants were included in the study, distributed as follows: 17 males and 15 females; 11 in age group YA, 11 in age group MA, and 10 in age group OA, each with a relatively equal number of male and female participants (5 female and 5-6 male). Recall



here an additional group of participants from the adolescent cohort from the pilot study was included in the study for purposes of performing the most complete quantitative analysis on the sociolinguistic questionnaire. All participants included in all portions of the study live in the city of San Pedro Sula and were born/raised in one of three major cities, Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, or La Ceiba, except for 6 of them who hail from rural regions, but have resided in the city for more than 5 years. Furthermore, it was determined that all participants are members of the middle class (see Appendix B for a description of the sociodemographic distribution of participants).

### **3.3. Research Instruments**

This section details the three research instruments that were implemented to elicit data at three distinct levels of linguistic awareness: high awareness through metalinguistic conversations, moderate awareness through self-report, and low/no awareness through spontaneous production. The three research instruments include: (1) a sociodemographic questionnaire designed to gather information concerning the social background of the participants (§3.3.1); (2) a sociolinguistic questionnaire designed to obtain pertinent information on address form use by type of relationship (§3.3.2); and (3) a group semi-directed interview designed to elicit attitudes and opinions toward Honduran speech in general as well as forms of address in particular and to observe spontaneous production of address forms (§3.3.3).

### 3.3.1. Sociodemographic questionnaire

The sociodemographic questionnaire that was used is located in Appendix A. This questionnaire was implemented to evaluate the social background of the participants to ensure that only those who met the criteria discussed in §3.2 were included in the study. The questionnaire is a short survey containing a total of 7 questions, adapted from the questionnaire used by Millán (2011) to match the Honduran sociocultural context and the objectives of the present investigation.<sup>104</sup> The first two questions collected information regarding the age and gender of the participants, followed by a question on their place of birth. For the latter, the participants were given four options—San Pedro Sula (the research site), Tegucigalpa (capital city), La Ceiba (important coastal city), and Other—and were instructed to make note of the number of years they had been residing in San Pedro Sula if they chose ‘Other’ as their place of birth. Recall here that the target group of participants must speak an urban variety of Honduran Spanish, as explained in §3.1.4. The following two questions were included to determine the socioeconomic class of the participants. As explained in §3.2, both neighborhood of residence and occupation were evaluated in conjunction in order to assess the participants’ socioeconomic class. The final two questions concern level of education and whether the participants have cable TV. These questions were originally included to corroborate the socioeconomic class of the participants; however, they were not taken into consideration because it was ascertained that these variables are not markers of socioeconomic class in Honduran society. For instance, a housewife might belong

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<sup>104</sup> Because she was collecting data from college students, Millán (2011) included a series of questions regarding the subjects’ parents. This was deemed unnecessary for the present study since all the participants are adults.

to the upper class and have only completed high school, whereas another individual might belong to the middle class and have completed an undergraduate degree in engineering. In addition, it was verified during the interview process that all social classes in Honduras now have or have access to cable TV.

### **3.3.2. Sociolinguistic questionnaire**

The second research task was a sociolinguistic questionnaire, located in Appendix C, in which the participants were asked to indicate which second person pronoun—*vos*, *tú*, or *usted*—they give and receive while interacting with different individuals. The implementation of a written questionnaire was considered the most appropriate method for collecting the data needed for several reasons: (1) questionnaires have been proven to be an effective method of data collection since the 1800s (Schilling, 2014); (2) they allow a great amount of data to be collected at once (Rasinger, 2011); (3) their standard format ensures that all participants answer the same questions (Millán, 2011); and (4) because the questionnaires were administered in person, this allowed the researcher to have more control over who responded the surveys and allowed the participants to be relaxed while responding, giving them the opportunity to ask questions during the completion of the task (cp. Schilling, 2014, p. 98).

The questionnaire is a shortened version of the questionnaire utilized in the pilot study with adolescents (Melgares, 2014), based on the questionnaire employed by Millán (2011), which, in turn, is designed following the questionnaires implemented by PRESEEA and Páez Urdaneta (1980), among others. The instrument was shortened to avoid

participant exhaustion (cp. Rasinger, 2011), from the 176-entry questionnaire used by Millán (2011). It was also adapted to the Honduran sociocultural context different from the Colombian context examined by Millán (2011), to the population different from the adolescents in the pilot study, and to the social variables under study. The survey consists of a series of entries, 52 in total, representing several types of relationships. The entries were presented in three sets: (1) family and relatives (entries 1 – 19); (2) friends and colleagues (entries 20 – 32); and (3) acquaintances and strangers (entries 33 – 52). The context provided was general and kept constant: the participants were situated contextually in a social gathering. For each entry, the participants were asked to select the form they would use to address a given interlocutor as well as the form they would be addressed with by that same interlocutor. To guarantee that the most realistic data were collected, participants were instructed to leave blank any entries that did not apply to their particular circumstances (e.g. if they did not know their grandfather) and to comment on any ‘special’ cases that deviated from the continuum presented in Figure 12 in §3.1.3 (e.g. if they are closer with a friend than with a sibling or a parent). At the end of each set of entries, a space for commentaries was provided for participants to expound on anything they deemed required further explanation.

### **3.3.3. Group semi-directed interviews**

The third research task consisted of a group semi-directed interview, implemented to accomplish three objectives: (1) to elicit information on the participants’ own understandings of their identities in relation to their use of *vos*, (2) to elicit information

regarding attitudes toward current address form use in Honduran Spanish, and (3) to explore the pronominal forms of address they use spontaneously to address other interlocutors present in the interview.

It was decided that group semi-directed interviews were the most appropriate research method to use to accomplish all three objectives. According to Henn, Weinstein, and Foard (2006), interviews are flexible enough to change as research changes, for they allow participants to develop their ideas in a dialogue with the interviewer, and permit the interviewer to explore further any issues that may arise during the interview. These usually involve a set structure of guiding questions to which the interviewer adheres to elicit relevant information. To allow for a greater degree of flexibility, a semi-directed interview structure was preferred with more than one participant other than the researcher. As the interview progressed, the researcher was able to change the way in which the questions were asked and the order in which they were asked, and to add any other questions that would allow for deeper exploration of any relevant information shared by the participants. Furthermore, because what characterizes Honduran speech is a somewhat common topic of conversation among Hondurans, it was presumed that genuine participant opinions and attitudes toward *voseo* would be easily obtained via this method. The list of interview questions is located in Appendix D.

The semi-directed interviews were conducted in groups of 2 to 4 participants at a time, in addition to the researcher. It was decided to conduct group interviews for three reasons. First, group interviews allow for a large amount of information to be collected in a shorter amount of time compared to individual interviews. Second, establishing good rapport between the researcher and the participants (Henn et al., 2006) was deemed

imperative to be able to elicit genuine information and, in turn, to minimize responses thought to be socially desirable, which is one of the limitations of interviews (Richman, Keisler, Weisband, & Drasgow, 1999). Lastly, and most importantly, group interviews offer the necessary medium for uncovering meanings and concepts not easily accessed through other, perhaps more structured, methods of data collection such as surveys or one-on-one interviews. According to Blumer (1969), a small number of informants brought together to discuss a certain topic is more valuable than studying representative samples because through the collective discussion of their way of life and through the deeper exploration of their lifestyle, once they meet each other's disagreements, the researcher is able to uncover the meanings hidden beneath the surface more effectively than through any other research device.

Groups were comprised of participants in close, intimate relationships such as couples (both married and unmarried), friends, and relatives. Moreover, it was easy to establish good rapport with the participants since the researcher knew most of them personally since they were recruited partially through convenience sampling, as was explained in §3.2. Whenever the researcher and participants were unknown to each other, the researcher was joined by the acquaintance who made the introduction to ensure that a comfortable environment was established. Importantly, the group setting allowed the participants to carry on conversations with the researcher and the other participants, in which they would naturalistically produce address forms. It must be clarified here, that the elicitation of spontaneous production of address forms was not originally an objective of the present investigation; therefore, the questions used to guide the conversations were not manipulated in such a way so as to elicit a great number of pronouns for statistical analysis.

Rather, it was later decided to analyze spontaneous production descriptively and qualitatively (see §5.1) since it would provide additional insight regarding address form use in Honduran Spanish.

### **3.4. Data Collection**

The data were collected in the following order. First, the participants were presented with an informed consent form (IRB Protocol Number 13677; see Appendices E and F for the informed consent form and the IRB approval letter, respectively), explaining the research in which they were about to partake. They were asked to read the form carefully, ask questions about the project, and sign the form if they wished to participate. Once the informants had agreed to participate—all of the recruited informants decided to participate in the study—they completed the sociodemographic questionnaire. Then, the participants were interviewed before completing the sociolinguistic questionnaire to elicit unprompted reflections and attitudes about the way Hondurans speak in general to determine if, for the participants, *voseo* is a linguistic element exclusively Honduran, ergo, a practice of which they are aware, or if it is a practice that goes unnoticed, that is taken for granted, but that reflects Honduran identity. It was presumed that the reflections regarding address form use elicited by the questionnaire might influence their attitudes. The first half of the interview involved broad questions about Honduran speech and the second half involved specific questions about forms of address, which are the questions of interest for the present investigation and which served as a transition to the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The

interviews were between 20 and 60 minutes in length, and were recorded using an H4N-Zoom Handheld 4-Track Digital voice recorder. Lastly, the participants were asked to complete the sociolinguistic questionnaire, which took them between 15 and 20 minutes to complete, while abiding by the following instructions when making their selections for each given interlocutor: (1) select the one and only form given/received in general (or the most) with respect to each interlocutor; (2) focus on the forms used in spoken, daily conversation; (3) select more than one form for cases where it is impossible to select one general form; (4) leave blank any entries that do not apply (e.g. they never met their father or mother); and (5) use the sections for comments to elaborate on any responses that require further explanations (e.g. entries with multiple form selections), or on special cases that do not follow what are considered generalized societal norms (e.g. it is considered the norm for best friends to use *vos* with each other, but *usted* is used instead). Table 7 below summarizes the order of the research tasks.

<b>Task</b>	<b>Time (minutes)</b>
1) Informed consent form	5
2) Sociodemographic questionnaire	2
3) Group semi-directed interview	20 – 60
4) Sociolinguistic questionnaire	15 – 20
TOTAL	42 – 87

The order of the research tasks was the same for all participants, except for two who did not complete the interview portion of the study. These two participants completed the sociodemographic and sociolinguistic questionnaires electronically. Most of the remaining



participants completed the tasks at their homes for their convenience and comfort, except for two groups: one group completed the tasks at a coffee shop and the other at the researcher's sister's home. A monetary compensation of 210 lempiras (~\$10) was given to all participants who completed all the tasks in their entirety, except for the two participants who did not complete the group interview (they volunteered to complete the sociolinguistic questionnaire without compensation).

### **3.5. Data Analysis**

This section discusses the analytical techniques performed on the data from the sociolinguistic questionnaires and the group semi-directed interviews. §3.5.1 explains the quantitative analysis of the data from the sociolinguistic questionnaire, including a portion of the data from the pilot study (Melgares, 2014) with adolescents, as explained above in §3.1.2. §3.5.2 describes the qualitative analysis of the interview data, obtained from the participants in age groups YA, MA, and OA (no interview data are available for group Teen).

#### **3.5.1. Quantitative analysis**

Data gathered from the sociolinguistic questionnaire were analyzed by way of descriptive and inferential techniques. The first step in doing so entailed coding the responses. Two data sets were created: one for pronouns given to the interlocutors and one for pronouns received from them. The data sets were organized in Excel 2016 spread sheets by participant (in rows) recording their sociodemographic characteristics (in columns) and

tallying each pronoun selection per type of relationship (in columns) as follows: each token of *vos* was coded as V, *tú* as T, *usted* as U, and no-response as N. Once the data sets were organized, they were entered in R, an open source programming language and software used for statistical computations.

Token counts and frequencies of each pronoun were calculated and organized in frequency tables, located in Appendix G. Frequency tables were then used to create visualizations for trend examination. Statistical tests were then run on the token counts; these were of two types: marginal tests of independence and a logistic regression. The marginal tests of independence, namely Fisher's exact test and Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yate's continuity correction, were initially performed on the data to detect the significance of the effects of the extralinguistic factors (independent variables) or predictors. When token counts in any cell were lower than 5, Fisher's exact test was run, in all other cases a Pearson's Chi-squared test was employed.

Regarding the logistic regression, as is described in detail in §4.2.1, because token counts of *tú* were extremely low, it was decided to eliminate *tú* from the analysis. Accordingly, a fixed-effects logistic regression, which specifically compares binary dependent variables, in this case V vs. U, was run on each data set. This tool "predicts binary outcomes using one or more independent predictor(s)... [and] allows the user to include what are generally called interaction effects, predictors that are derived from the combinations of other predictors" (Gorman & Johnson, 2013, p. 5). The predictors included were: gender of speaker (participant), gender of addressee (interlocutor), age group of speaker, relative age of addressee, and degree of *confianza*, in addition to interactions among them. The response, pronoun (address form), was coded as 1 if pronoun = U and 0 if pronoun

= V. Essentially, the objective was to determine the probability or likelihood of using U, through the following logistic model (in Figure 14):

**Figure 14. Equation of the Logistic Model**

$$\log \frac{P(\text{Pronoun} = U)}{1 - P(\text{Pronoun} = U)} = \text{Main effects} + \text{Interactions}$$

It should be mentioned that this type of inferential statistics is not typically utilized in address research. Most studies only explore data descriptively, although some have done so inferentially by way of tests of sampling distribution such as Chi-squared tests (e.g. Millán, 2011) and multivariate analyses or Varbrul (e.g. Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010) to explore the strength of correlations between independent and dependent variables or the magnitude or the weight of the effects of independent variables on dependent ones. Running a logistic regression in R is not only innovative in address research but a necessary step in the precise examination of the constraints on address selection by determining the probabilities of selecting one form over another in relation to specific extralinguistic factors.

### **3.5.2. Qualitative analysis**

The interview data were analyzed through the implementation of a methodology common in qualitative research, namely thematic analysis (King & Horrocks, 2010). This type of analysis entails reviewing the data to identify common ideas among the narratives, thoughts, perceptions, and attitudes shared by the participants, and grouping those ideas

into themes. Before beginning the analysis of the data, it was necessary to transcribe it. For the purposes of this dissertation, no special transcription conventions were deemed necessary to employ (except for the use of (.) to signal long pauses). Accordingly, the interview recordings were simply transcribed by interview, making note of the participants by their ID number and recording in writing what they said.

According to King and Horrocks (2010), the process of thematic analysis occurs in three stages, once transcription is completed. In the first stage, *descriptive coding*, the transcript is read several times, keeping in mind the research question(s), to identify sections that offer answers to them. It is customary to highlight and add comments next to the most salient ideas, from which codes (and eventually themes) will emerge after further exploration and after all transcripts have been descriptively coded. Of course, the editing (e.g. merging or dividing) of comments and codes is common during this stage after (re)reading all the transcripts. In the second stage, *interpretive coding*, the common codes from the first stage are scrutinized with the objective of advancing from merely describing the findings to uncovering the meanings that underlie what was said. The task of the researcher is to interpret the codes objectively based on the actual information shared by the participants and not by attempting to make them fit a particular theoretical framework. This is achieved by grouping codes into more general ones that share a common meaning or concept and that encompass what the participants are trying to say either consciously or subconsciously. Like the first stage, this stage is repeated several times until the transcripts have been thoroughly examined. The final stage, *defining overarching themes*, is accomplished by delving into the codes from the second stage to extrapolate more abstract themes in relation to the theoretical framework of the investigation, as long as their

connection is supported by the analysis. The abstract themes should be general enough so as to encapsulate multiple codes clearly and accurately. Consequently, the number of themes will be low—between 2 and 5, according to King and Horrocks—given that the design of the research instrument utilized to collect the data (group interviews in this case) was focused and guided by the research question(s).

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS: SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the descriptive and inferential statistical analyses performed on the data gathered from the sociolinguistic questionnaire (described in §3.3.2). Recall here that this research instrument comprised a series of entries that represented several types of dyadic relationships (52 in total) for which the participants reported the pronoun, *vos*, *tú*, or *usted*, they generally use to address the interlocutors ('given') and the pronoun the interlocutors generally use to address them ('received'). Also note that the data reported and discussed here were collected from a total of 42 participants, including the additional group of adolescents from the pilot study (as previously explained in §3.1.2 and §3.2).

As explained in §3.5.1, the data were coded as follows. Each pronoun selection was tallied as one individual response, separating the cases where more than one form was selected (i.e. 'mixed' responses) into individual tokens. It was determined that it was statistically advantageous to code mixed responses separately because they represented only a very small percentage of the data set: 2.69% given and 3.04% received—*vos-tú* 0.09% given and 0.18% received, *vos-usted* 2.37% given and 2.69% received, *tú-usted* 0.26% given and 0.04% received, and *vos-tú-usted* 0.00% given and 0.13% received. After counting the raw numbers of tokens, it was determined that the total was 4,668: 2,329 given and 2,339

received. This total includes not only the pronouns given/received, but also the number of no-responses: 262 given and 270 received, totaling 532. Consequently, the actual total token count considered for analysis was 4,136—2,067 given and 2,069 received—, resulting in a well-balanced number of given and received tokens, allowing comparisons between both token sets to be straightforward.

The results presented here and their analysis aim to answer the following research questions (proposed in §2.5):

**RQ1:** What is the overall distribution of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* in the spoken variety of Honduran Spanish?

**RQ2:** What extralinguistic factors (age, gender, and/or degree of *confianza*) constrain address form selection?

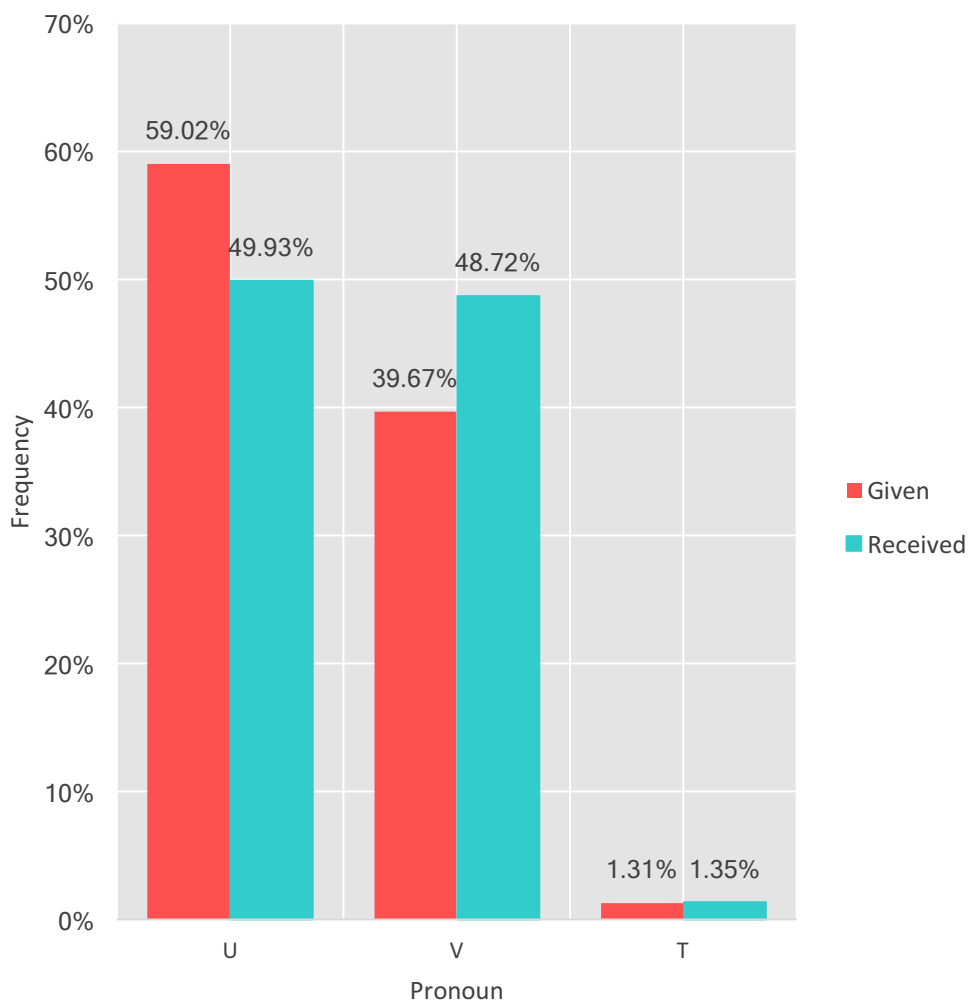
**RQ3:** Is there evidence of a change in progress in the address system of Honduran Spanish? If there is evidence of change, how is this change characterized?

To that end, the following sections provide an overview of the overall distribution of pronominal forms of address in Honduran Spanish as reported by the participants, in §4.1, followed by a close examination of the distribution by independent variable (extralinguistic factor) under study, complemented by an analysis of significant interactions between them, in §4.2. §4.3 offers summary conclusions for each research question.

#### 4.1. Overall Distribution of Address Forms

This section presents the overall distribution of pronominal forms of address in the data reported by the sample population, that is, from the perspective of the speaker. Figure 15 below shows the overall frequencies of both given and received pronouns.

**Figure 15. Overall Frequencies of Pronouns from Speakers' Perspective**





As can be noted in Figure 15, overall trends are clearly observable from the reported use of address forms. With respect to given pronouns, *usted* was reported as the most frequently used pronoun in general, followed by *vos* and almost imperceptibly by *tú*. To examine the statistical significance of this distribution, a Chi-square test was run on the given token counts (all frequency tables are located in Appendix G). Results of the Chi-square test revealed that the difference in distribution of given pronouns is statistically significant:  $\chi^2=1.07 \times 10^3$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.0001$ . Importantly, the significance remains after removing *tú* from the test, as prompted by its ostensible low frequency:  $\chi^2=78.43$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.0001$ . This distribution is expected based on Hernández Torres' (2013) findings, in which his participants reported giving *usted* at an overall frequency of 69.07%, followed by *vos* and lastly by *tú*—no overall frequencies for *vos* or for *tú* were offered. Notably, the frequency of *usted* observed here is approximately 10% lower than that reported by Hernández Torres. This difference can be attributed to the fact that Hernández Torres included data from rural regions, where *usted* appears to be used more frequently, as discussed in §1.2.2.4 and §3.1.4.2.

With respect to received pronouns, both *usted* and *vos* are received at virtually the same frequency; albeit, *usted* is received at a higher frequency (frequency difference of 1.21%). *Tú* was reported very minimally. As with the distribution of given pronouns, a Chi-square test was run on the received token counts. The results of the test revealed that the difference in distribution of received pronouns is statistically significant:  $\chi^2=952.65$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.0001$ . However, after removing *tú* from the test, the results revealed that the difference between received *vos* and *usted* is statistically negligible:  $\chi^2=0.31$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=.58$ . These results indicate that the participants generally expect to receive *vos* and *usted* at essentially equal

frequencies, but very rarely expect to receive *tú*. No points of comparison can be offered here in relation to previous studies because no other study in Honduran Spanish, to my knowledge, has explored frequencies of received pronouns.

When considering both given and received pronouns, it is evident that the distribution of both sets of pronouns is different. This comparative distribution can be described as follows. Even though participants report giving *usted* at a higher frequency than *vos*, they report giving and receiving both pronouns at similar frequencies. Consequently, they report giving *usted* at a higher frequency than receiving it and conversely, they report giving *vos* at a lower frequency than receiving it. *Tú* was reported at essentially the same frequency for both given and received instances. This pattern can be interpreted as a preliminary indication of a possible change within the address system of Honduran Spanish. Importantly, a third Chi-square test ran on given and received token counts revealed that the proportion of given pronouns was statistically different from that of received pronouns:  $\chi^2=68.95$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.0001$ . Moreover, it was determined that after removing *tú* from the test, the statistical significance of the difference in distribution of given and received *vos* and *usted* remained:  $\chi^2=68.92$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.0001$ . In order to examine the trends described above more precisely and explore this possible change, the following section offers an analysis of the results of inferential statistics performed on the data while exploring the effect of each of the extralinguistic factors (independent variables) included in the study—gender and age of both speaker and addressee, and the degree of *confianza* between them—on pronominal address. However, before proceeding, a word needs to be said regarding the low frequencies of *tú* observed in the data.

In agreement with previous studies in Honduran Spanish (Benavides, 2003; Hernández Torres, 2013; van Wijk, 1990; and partially Castro, 2000), *tú* was essentially imperceptible in the usage patterns reported by the sample population. Moreover, the frequencies of *tú* encountered in this study are the lowest that have been reported for the variety (cf. Castro, 2000; Hernández Torres, 2013). Importantly, its low frequencies suggest that the use of *tú* reported by some of the participants is neither representative of the sample population nor of the entire (urban) Honduran population. This is corroborated by the descriptive statistics obtained for the data (for both given and received pronouns), summarized in Table 8 below.

<b>Table 8. Summary of Descriptive Statistics of Token Counts</b>			
	<b>V</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>U</b>
Mean	<b>19.52380952</b>	<b>0.642857143</b>	<b>28.52380952</b>
Standard Error	1.248105694	0.480540526	1.327909159
Median	19.5	0	29
Mode	12	0	29
Standard Deviation	<b>8.088649365</b>	<b>3.114258543</b>	<b>8.605834933</b>

The values of import have been bolded, which are the mean and standard deviation of the token counts of each pronoun in the entire data set. A comparison of the mean with its corresponding standard deviation not only offers an indication of the degree of homogeneity among responses, but also their representativeness. The rules are the following: (1) the larger the standard deviation is, the more heterogenous the sample is; and (2) if the value of the standard deviation exceeds that of the mean, it cannot be assumed that the responses are representative. As it is evident in Table 8, a comparison of the means and standard deviations

of token counts of *vos* and *usted* reveals that there is some variation in the sample population, which is expected and is at the subtext of this investigation on address variation, and that the responses of the sample population are representative of the (urban) Honduran population. This last point, however, cannot be claimed for *tú*. The value of the standard deviation corresponding to *tú* exceeds that of the mean, suggesting that the responses regarding *tú* do not reflect the linguistic behavior of the Honduran population. Accordingly, it was deemed statistically judicious to eliminate all data of *tú* due to its unrepresentativeness from the inferential statistics model, results of which are discussed in the following section.

Nonetheless, one question remains: who is the user of *tú*? After examining the token counts by participant, it was determined that the tokens of *tú* overwhelmingly come from one participant (71.43%): 11-M.OA. His use of *tú* can be attributed to his formation as a poet, which has, in turn, molded his ideology regarding Honduran Spanish *vis-à-vis* other varieties, and more specifically, regarding forms of address. According to this participant, Peninsular Spanish, which lacks *vos*, is classic Spanish in its purest form. Hondurans, on the other hand, speak a ‘mixed’ variety of Spanish:<sup>105</sup>

(3) *[El español peninsular] es el clásico. Es que es el español clásico. Nosotros tenemos un, un español castizo (sic), mestizo, ah.*

[Peninsular Spanish] is classic. The thing is that it is classic Spanish. We have an, an untainted (sic), mixed type of Spanish, huh.

---

<sup>105</sup> Quotes from Participant 11-M.OA were gathered in the group semi-directed interviews discussed in Chapter 5.

Therefore, addressing others with *vos* is incorrect as it is vacuous; the pronoun that must be used is *tú*:

- (4) *Y está mal empleado, está mal empleado porque vos no, no significa nada. Eh, también, tal vez viene de una, de una, de una palabra, vosotros, vaá, de un pronombre que se ha, que se ha apocopado. Entonces, no, no está bien usado. Para mí que es el tú. Yo, yo acostumbro hablar así. Sí, yo lo acostumbro. El vos casi no lo uso.*

And it's misused, it's misused because *vos* doesn't, doesn't mean anything. Um, also, maybe it comes from a, from a, from a word, *vosotros*, ok, from a pronoun that has been, has been shortened. So, it's not, it's not used correctly. To me it should be *tú*. I, I normally speak that way. Yes, I normally do. *Vos*, I almost never use it.

(3) and (4) instantiate this participant's ideology, which has resulted from the prescriptive notions of a correct/legitimate Spanish spoken where the language originated, in Spain, that he was exposed to in his literary formation. Thus, *vos* is illegitimate/incorrect. This is evidenced by the fact that the participant ignores that, in actuality, *vosotros* (only used in Peninsular Spanish) derived from *vos* (see §1.1), as well as the dialectal, sociopragmatic, and morphosyntactic differences between *vosotros* and *vos*. Consequently, he deems *vosotros* the original, correct form and not *vos*.

The remaining tokens of *tú* (28.57%) come from 4 other participants: (1) Participant 12-F.OA, who is Participant 11-M.OA's wife and who reports only using *tú* with him. (2) Participant 09-F.MA, who reported using *tú* only with her nieces and nephews, who were all born and live outside of Honduras; therefore, it can be safely assumed that her use of *tú* with

them is motivated by their foreign identity (see §5.2.2 for a discussion). In this sense, the *tú* she uses is a *tú* of accommodation, as proposed by Castro (2000; see §1.2.2.4.1). (3) Participant 22-M.YA, who claims (in the group interviews) that having lived in the United States for a year when he was younger affected his linguistic behavior. His use of *tú* as observed in the data set could be categorized as intermediate *tú* when addressing doctors and strangers (both male), and his girlfriend (cp. Castro, 2000); however, this categorization is merely speculative since he provides no commentary regarding his use of *tú* in the questionnaire. (4) Participant 37-F.TEEN, who only reports 1 token of *tú* when addressing a cab driver. Again, this could be a use of *tú* as intermediate, but this speculation cannot be confirmed from the questionnaire since she also did not provide any comments. Alternatively, it could also be an error of selection.

#### **4.2. Constraints on Pronominal Address in Honduran Spanish**

This section delves into the distribution of given and received pronouns described above with the combined objective of exploring the extralinguistic factors that constrain pronominal address in Honduran Spanish, as well as all emerging trends for possible change in progress within an apparent-time construct. To that end, the following section describes the inferential techniques that were employed (§4.2.1), followed by an analysis of the frequency distributions of both given and received pronouns by independent variable, that is, extralinguistic factor (§4.2.2) and by an examination of significant interactions between independent variables (§4.2.3).

#### 4.2.1. Methodology of analysis

As was detailed in §3.5.1, a fixed-effects logistic regression (or logistic regression) was run in R after performing a model selection using the Stepwise AIC function with address form as dependent variable (V vs. T vs. U) testing for fixed effects of all predictors (independent variables) and interaction terms as the initial model, including gender of speaker (male vs. female), gender of addressee (male vs. female), age group of speaker (Teen vs. YA vs. MA vs. OA), relative age of addressee (older vs. younger), and degree of *confianza*, which was divided into two separate predictors, familial domain (family vs. non-family; coded as large *confianza*) and smaller familial domain (nuclear family vs. extended family vs. acquaintances vs. strangers; coded as small *confianza*). Then, a backwards model selection was performed with only statistically significant predictors remaining in the final model, including significant interactions among them. Three models were fitted to the data, ultimately determining that the fixed-effects logistic regression model was the best fit, as suggested by the ANOVA tables generated by the regression presented below (Tables 9 and 10). Bolded in each table is the last row, which shows that after sequentially adding each variable/interaction term listed in the model, for given pronouns, the residual deviance is 1644.0 with 1974 residual degrees of freedom, and for received pronouns, the residual deviance is 1914.7 with 1969 degrees of freedom. Since this follows a Chi-squared distribution with residual degrees of freedom, a Chi-squared test was run on each to test for significance where significance ( $p \leq 0.05$ ) confirms lack of fit and where insignificance ( $p$ -value between 0.05 and 1) confirms evidence of fit. Results of the Chi-squared tests revealed that the logistic regression model best fitted the data from both given and received sets:

$\chi^2=1644$ ,  $df=1974$ ,  $p=0.8059$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=1914.7$ ,  $df=1969$ ,  $p=1$  for received pronouns. Note that random effects were originally included in the initial model; however, their significance was negligible. Additionally, recall that *tú* was excluded from the model because of its extremely low frequencies. In addition to the unrepresentativeness of its occurrences, as previously expounded, including *tú* in the model would have rendered it highly imbalanced, leading to inaccurate model estimations and to unreliable fitting coefficients.

	df	Deviance	Residual df	Residual Dev.
NULL			1994	2678.7
Gender	1	0.43	1993	2678.3
Gender_Addressee	1	0.02	1992	2678.2
Age Group	3	174.61	1989	2503.6
Relative Age	2	297.39	1987	2206.2
Small <i>Confianza</i>	3	513.57	1984	1692.7
Gender : Gender_Addressee	1	7.92	1983	1684.8
Age Group : Relative Age	6	34.12	1977	1650.6
<b>Gender : Age Group</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6.61</b>	<b>1974</b>	<b>1644.0</b>

	df	Deviance	Residual df	Residual Dev.
NULL			1999	2772.1
Gender	1	2.498	1998	2769.6
Gender_Addressee	1	0.091	1997	2769.6
Age Group	3	211.609	1994	2557.9
Relative Age	2	112.325	1992	2445.6
Large <i>Confianza</i>	1	265.683	1991	2179.9
Small <i>Confianza</i>	3	134.717	1988	2045.2
Gender : Gender_Addressee	1	4.654	1987	2040.6
Age Group : Relative Age	6	73.034	1981	1967.5



	df	Deviance	Residual df	Residual Dev.
Gender : Age Group	3	10.637	1978	1956.9
Gender : Large <i>Confianza</i>	1	2.525	1977	1954.4
Age Group : Large <i>Confianza</i>	3	18.861	1974	1935.5
<b>Relative Age : Small <i>Confianza</i></b>	<b>5</b>	<b>20.803</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>1914.7</b>

The results of the logistic regression are presented in Table 11 for given pronouns and in Table 12 for received pronouns. Note that *usted* was treated as application value because of its overall higher frequency; thus, the goal was to determine the probability of giving and receiving *usted*, using the logistic model. Positive coefficient estimations indicate a higher probability of giving/receiving *usted* compared to the intercept. Additionally, because all independent variables are categorical, one level of each was treated as reference, comprising the intercept in the model. Consequently, the intercept is teenage female speakers interacting with female strangers whose age relative to that of the speakers cannot be determined.

	Coefficient	Std. Error	z value	p value
(Intercept)	0.23354	0.26380	0.885	0.376003
Male	0.05152	0.29204	0.176	0.859967
Male Addressee	0.25465	0.17849	1.427	0.153676
<b>Age Group MA</b>	<b>1.81798</b>	<b>0.36772</b>	<b>4.944</b>	<b>7.66e-07 ***</b>
<b>Age Group OA</b>	<b>2.80092</b>	<b>0.45044</b>	<b>6.218</b>	<b>5.03e-10 ***</b>
<b>Age Group YA</b>	<b>0.73519</b>	<b>0.32451</b>	<b>2.265</b>	<b>0.023482 *</b>
<b>Older Addressee</b>	<b>1.51499</b>	<b>0.28851</b>	<b>5.251</b>	<b>1.51e-07 ***</b>
<b>Younger Addressee</b>	<b>-4.05411</b>	<b>1.02745</b>	<b>-3.946</b>	<b>7.95e-05 ***</b>
Acquaintances	0.04585	0.19574	0.234	0.814820
<b>Extended Family</b>	<b>-2.64675</b>	<b>0.21051</b>	<b>-12.573</b>	<b>&lt; 2e-16 ***</b>

<b>Table 11 (Cont.)</b>				
	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>z value</b>	<b>p value</b>
<b>Nuclear Family</b>	<b>-3.36218</b>	<b>0.25401</b>	<b>-13.236</b>	<b>&lt; 2e-16 ***</b>
<b>Male : Male Addressee</b>	<b>-0.69920</b>	<b>0.24798</b>	<b>-2.820</b>	<b>0.004809 **</b>
Age Group MA : Older Addressee	-0.37886	0.41933	-0.903	0.366268
Age Group OA : Older Addressee	-0.75141	0.51180	-1.468	0.142058
Age Group YA : Older Addressee	0.18755	0.37708	0.497	0.618917
<b>Age Group MA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>3.28130</b>	<b>1.07658</b>	<b>3.048</b>	<b>0.002305 **</b>
<b>Age Group OA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>2.60861</b>	<b>1.10510</b>	<b>2.361</b>	<b>0.018249 *</b>
<b>Age Group YA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>3.51647</b>	<b>1.06396</b>	<b>3.305</b>	<b>0.000949 ***</b>
Male : Age Group MA	0.08428	0.35810	0.235	0.813927
<b>Male : Age Group OA</b>	<b>0.81675</b>	<b>0.37883</b>	<b>2.156</b>	<b>0.031085 *</b>
Male : Age Group YA	0.53321	0.34186	1.560	0.118827

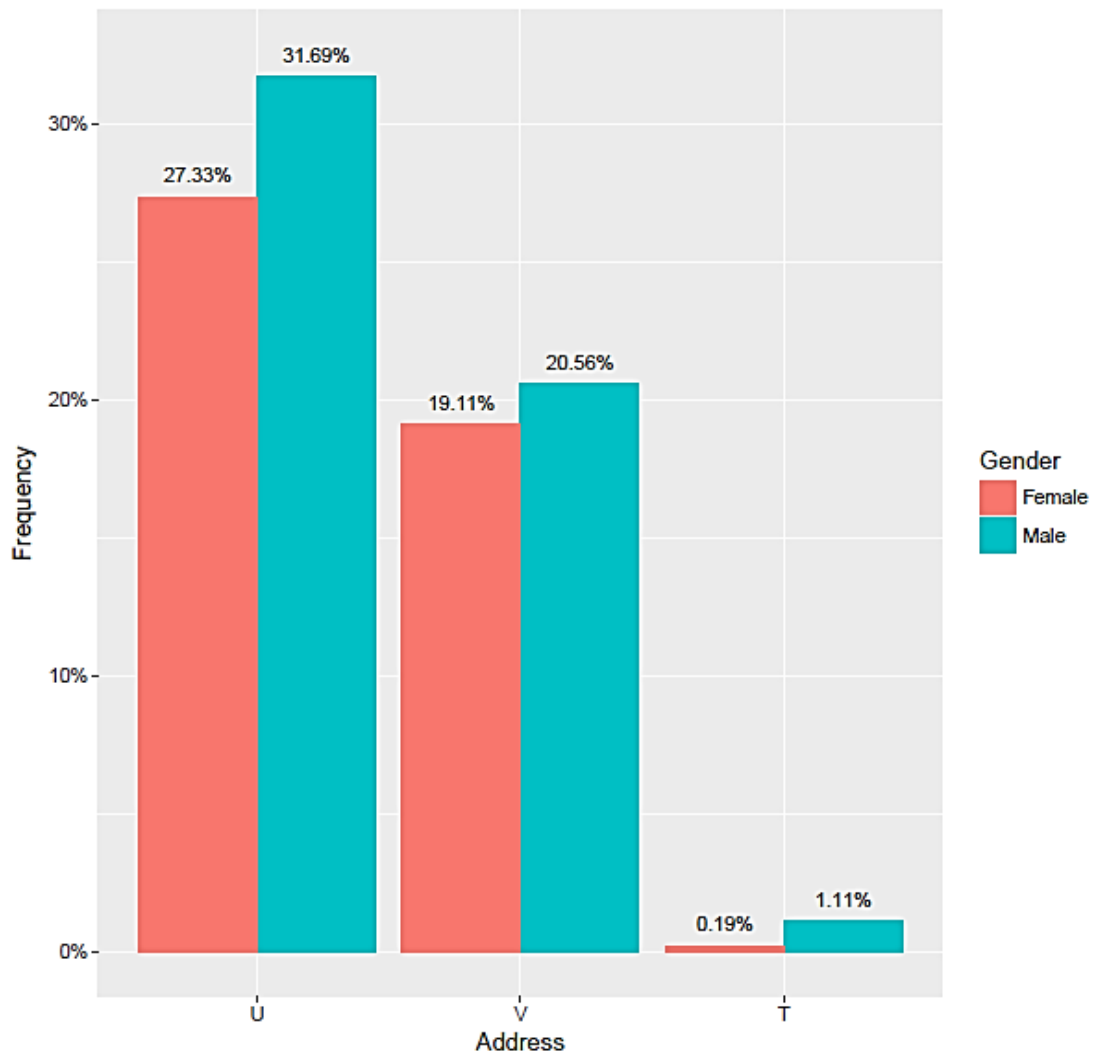
<b>Table 12. Summary of Logistic Regression Model Fitted to Received Pronouns</b>				
	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>z value</b>	<b>p value</b>
<b>(Intercept)</b>	<b>0.5832</b>	<b>0.2740</b>	<b>2.129</b>	<b>0.033280 *</b>
<b>Male</b>	<b>-0.7038</b>	<b>0.2969</b>	<b>-2.371</b>	<b>0.017749 *</b>
Male Addressee	0.1489	0.1685	0.884	0.376670
<b>Age Group MA</b>	<b>1.1060</b>	<b>0.3305</b>	<b>3.346</b>	<b>0.000820 ***</b>
<b>Age Group OA</b>	<b>2.8033</b>	<b>0.4401</b>	<b>6.370</b>	<b>1.89e-10 ***</b>
<b>Age Group YA</b>	<b>1.0851</b>	<b>0.3240</b>	<b>3.349</b>	<b>0.000812 ***</b>
Older Addressee	0.2295	0.4785	0.480	0.631490
<b>Younger Addressee</b>	<b>-4.4392</b>	<b>1.0622</b>	<b>-4.179</b>	<b>2.92e-05 ***</b>
Family Domain	0.3157	0.5954	0.530	0.595912
<b>Acquaintances</b>	<b>-0.9657</b>	<b>0.2388</b>	<b>-4.043</b>	<b>5.27e-05 ***</b>
<b>Extended Family</b>	<b>-2.3147</b>	<b>0.3205</b>	<b>-7.223</b>	<b>5.10e-13 ***</b>
<b>Nuclear Family</b>	<b>-3.1299</b>	<b>0.5517</b>	<b>-5.673</b>	<b>1.40e-08 ***</b>
<b>Male : Male Addressee</b>	<b>-0.4833</b>	<b>0.2271</b>	<b>-2.128</b>	<b>0.033344 *</b>
<b>Age Group MA : Older Addressee</b>	<b>-1.0863</b>	<b>0.4259</b>	<b>-2.550</b>	<b>0.010760 *</b>
<b>Age Group OA : Older Addressee</b>	<b>-1.2537</b>	<b>0.5487</b>	<b>-2.285</b>	<b>0.022312 *</b>
Age Group YA : Older Addressee	-0.2605	0.4231	-0.616	0.538072
<b>Age Group MA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>2.9251</b>	<b>1.0734</b>	<b>2.725</b>	<b>0.006427 **</b>
<b>Age Group OA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>3.8593</b>	<b>1.1377</b>	<b>3.392</b>	<b>0.000693 ***</b>
<b>Age Group YA : Younger Addressee</b>	<b>3.2692</b>	<b>1.0689</b>	<b>3.059</b>	<b>0.002224 **</b>
<b>Male : Age Group MA</b>	<b>0.8662</b>	<b>0.3397</b>	<b>2.550</b>	<b>0.010774 *</b>
<b>Male : Age Group OA</b>	<b>0.8014</b>	<b>0.3836</b>	<b>2.089</b>	<b>0.036710 *</b>
Male : Age Group YA	0.3600	0.3416	1.054	0.291987
Male : Family Domain	0.3751	0.2497	1.502	0.132987

<b>Table 12 (Cont.)</b>				
	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>z value</b>	<b>p value</b>
<b>Age Group MA : Family Domain</b>	<b>0.9900</b>	<b>0.4834</b>	<b>2.048</b>	<b>0.040571 *</b>
Age Group OA: Family Domain	-0.7113	0.5262	-1.352	0.176468
Age Group YA : Family Domain	0.1640	0.4913	0.334	0.738582
<b>Older Addressee : Acquaintances</b>	<b>0.8532</b>	<b>0.4289</b>	<b>1.989</b>	<b>0.046692 *</b>
<b>Younger Addressee : Acquaintances</b>	<b>1.5490</b>	<b>0.4222</b>	<b>3.668</b>	<b>0.000244 ***</b>
Older Addressee : Extended Family	-0.5251	0.6114	-0.859	0.390452
Younger Addressee : Extended Family	-0.1561	0.5520	-0.283	0.777328
Older Addressee : Nuclear Family	-0.5870	0.5637	-1.041	0.297780

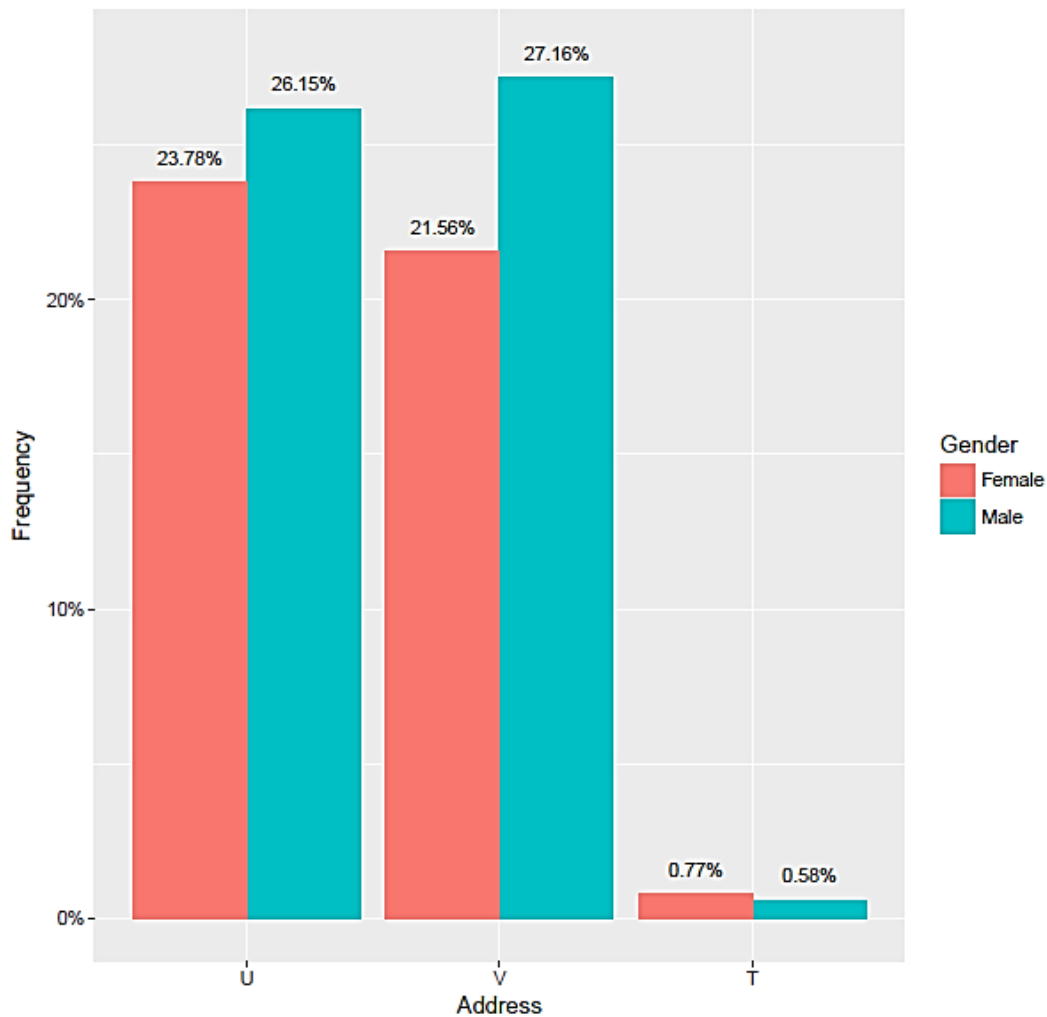
With respect to given pronouns, as Table 11 shows, the model returned significant main effects (bolded) of age group of speaker, relative age of addressee, and degree of *confianza* (small *confianza*), in addition to three (significant) interactions: (1) gender of speaker and gender of addressee, (2) age group of speaker and relative age of addressee, and (3) gender of speaker and age group of speaker. With respect to received pronouns, as Table 12 shows, the model returned a marginal main effect of gender of speaker and significant effects of age group of speaker, relative age of addressee, and degree of *confianza* (small *confianza*), in addition to five significant interactions: (1) gender of speaker and gender of addressee, (2) age group of speaker and relative age of addressee, (3) gender of speaker and age group of speaker, (4) age group of speaker and familial domain (large *confianza*), and (5) relative age of addressee and degree of *confianza* (small *confianza*). Given the complexity of this model, the findings will be discussed separately, first by main effect of predictors (§4.2.2) and then by interaction effects (§4.2.3).

#### 4.2.2. Main effects of extralinguistic factors on pronominal address

This section begins by discussing the effects of gender, of both the speaker and the addressee. As observed in Figures 16 and 17 below, men report generally giving and receiving *usted* and *vos* more frequently than women do, albeit, this difference appears to be minimal with respect to given *vos* (19.11% women vs. 20.56% men). Nonetheless, the overall trend is undoubtedly that men report higher frequencies of both pronouns compared to women. Also note that both men and women report giving *usted* more frequently than *vos*, but men report receiving *vos* more frequently than *usted*, whereas women report receiving *usted* more frequently than *vos*. Initially, to determine the statistical significance of these patterns, a Fisher's exact test and a Pearson's Chi-squared test were performed. The results of the Fisher's exact test revealed a strong association between gender and given pronouns ( $p=0.00174$ ), but no significant association between gender and received pronouns ( $p=0.1563$ ). However, after removing all counts of *tú* from the analysis, no correlation between gender and given pronouns was observed, which was corroborated after running the Pearson's Chi-squared tests— $\chi^2=0.60785$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.4356$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=2.2156$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.1366$  for received pronouns—in turn, preliminarily confirming the failure to claim a significant correlation between gender of speaker and pronoun selection.

**Figure 16. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Gender of Speaker**

**Figure 17. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Gender of Speaker**



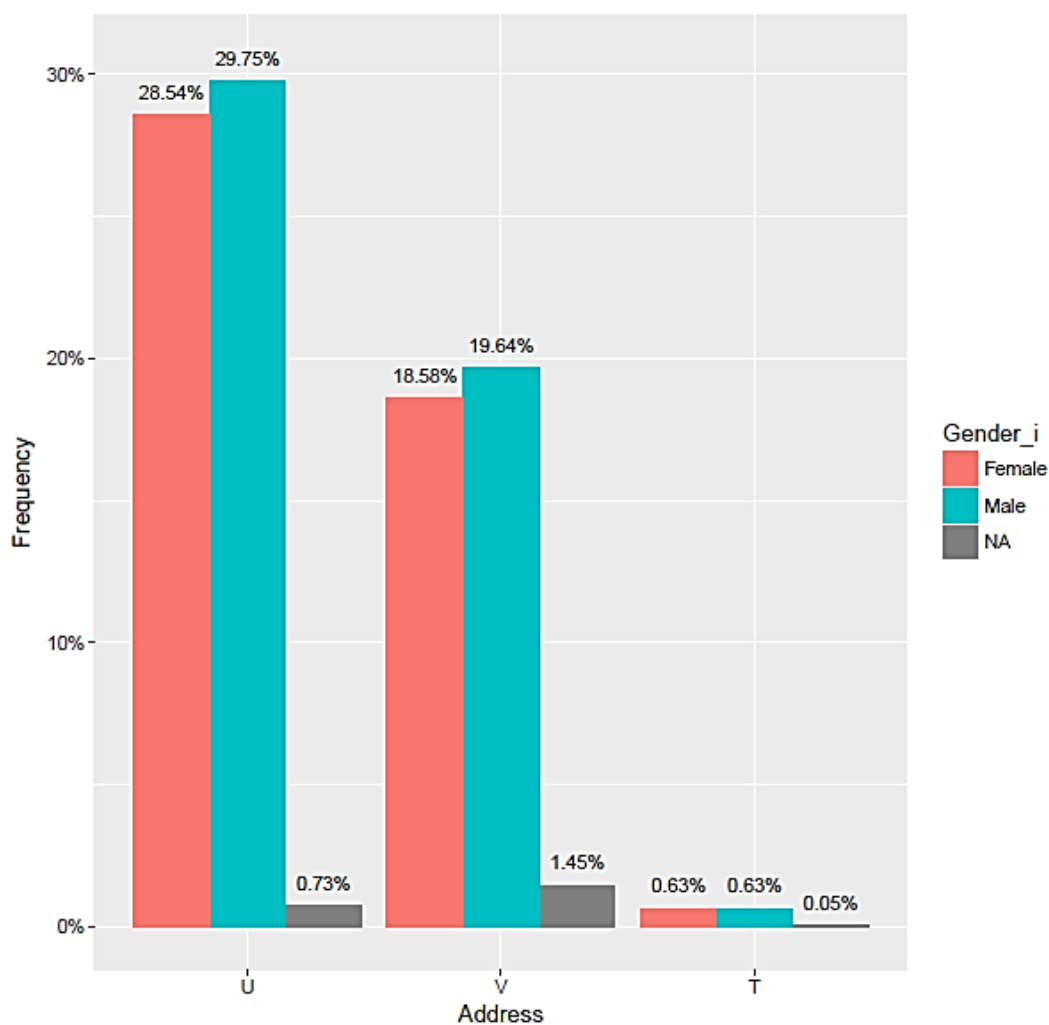
The logistic regression, however, did return a marginal main effect of gender of speaker on received pronouns in that the probability of receiving *vos* is marginally higher for men than for women. This finding serves as a preliminary indication that there may be a gender of speaker effect on the pronouns expected to be received from interlocutors. As this effect did not reach full statistical significance, this interpretation must be taken with caution. Nonetheless, these findings provide unambiguous evidence that the speaker's gender does not play a significant role in constraining pronoun choice when addressing an

interlocutor, an indication that contradicts previous studies. Hernández Torres (2013) found effects of gender only in the family domain in which women tend to give *usted* more frequently, but men tend to give *vos* more frequently. Castro (2000) reports the same tendencies for certain types of interactions (e.g. when addressing an older friend), although she does not offer general tendencies. It must be noted that both Hernández Torres and Castro only discuss their findings descriptively, therefore, their statistical significance remains undetermined.

With respect to gender of addressee, Figures 18 and 19 below show that the sample population reports generally giving *usted* and *vos* more frequently to men than to women; similarly, they report receiving *usted* and *vos* more frequently from men than from women. Notably, with respect to given and received *vos*, this tendency appears to be minimal: 19.64% to men vs. 18.58% to women, and 23.97% from men vs. 23.63% from women. Note that all interlocutors included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire were gendered, appearing in binaries in most cases (e.g. 'mother' vs. 'father', or 'female doctor' vs. 'male doctor'), except for 'maid', 'security guard', and 'cab driver,' given that there are neither male maids nor female security guards nor female cab drivers in Honduran society. The only interlocutor that was 'not gendered' was 'boy/girl,' which constitutes the 'NA bar' in the graphs below, not included in the statistical analyses. Results of both the Fisher's exact test (including *tú*) and the Pearson's Chi-square test (excluding *tú*) revealed no effect of gender of addressee on given pronouns:  $p=0.9831$  and  $\chi^2=0.01196$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.9129$ , respectively. Likewise, the statistical tests revealed no effect of gender of addressee on received pronouns:  $p=0.8412$  and  $\chi^2=0.09184$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.7618$ , respectively. These findings were confirmed by the logistic regression, which returned no main effect of gender of addressee on given or received

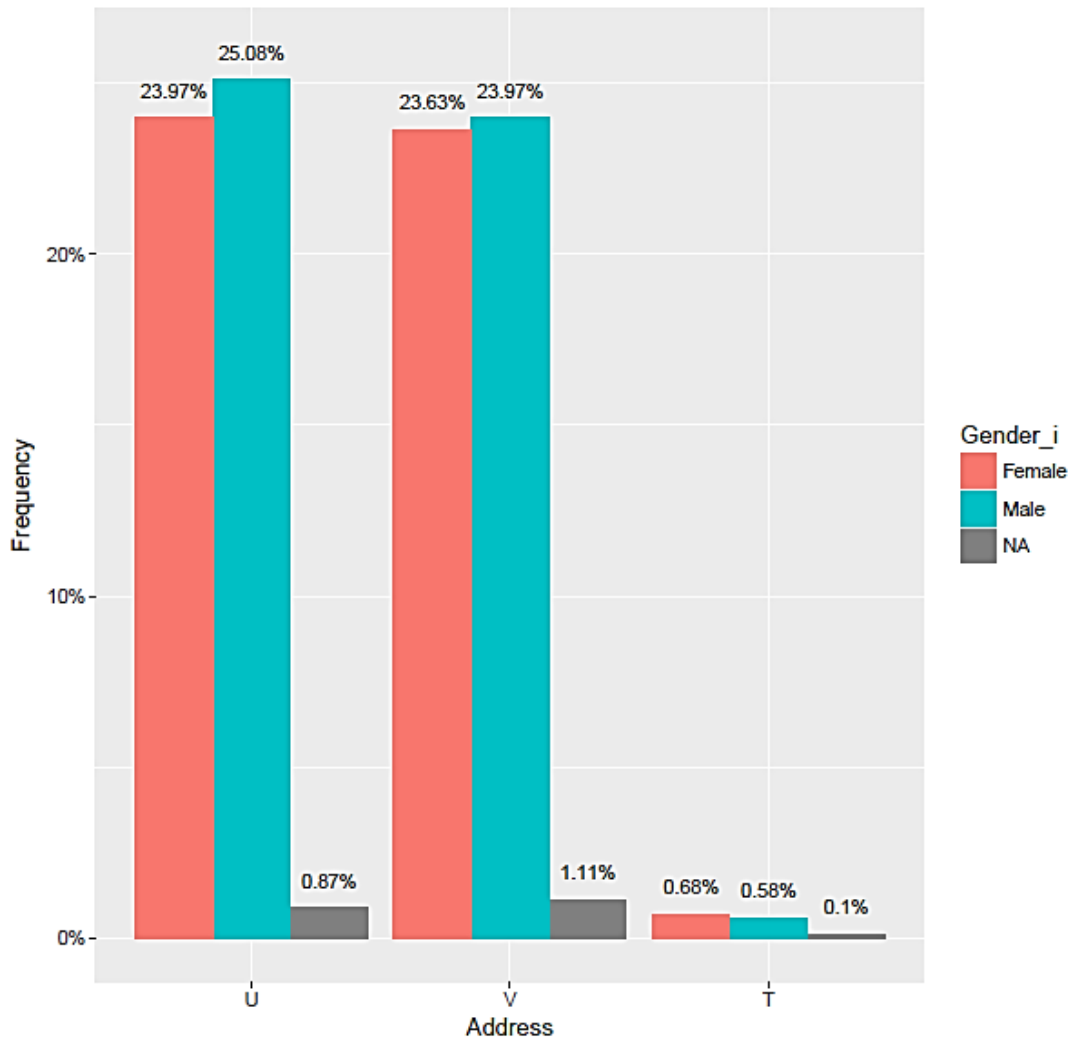
pronouns, thus serving as incontrovertible evidence that gender of addressee is inconsequential in constraining pronominal address. Additionally, they provide evidence against the aforementioned marginal gender of speaker effect on received pronouns since there is no statistical evidence that the probability of giving *vos* to male addressees is higher compared to female addressees. Thus, it can be safely concluded that gender (of both speaker and addressee) does not play a role in mediating pronominal address.

**Figure 18. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Gender of Addressee**





**Figure 19. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Gender of Addressee**



Even though gender effects were not detected statistically, gender can also be examined in terms of gender match, that is, whether the speaker and addressee share the same gender. As Figure 20 below shows, the sample population reports giving *vos* at similar frequencies to interlocutors of same and opposite gender, whereas they report giving *usted* slightly more frequently to interlocutors of opposite gender than to interlocutors of same gender. A Fisher's exact test revealed a significant effect of gender match ( $p=0.00356$ );

however, after removing *tú* from the analysis, a Pearson's Chi-squared test revealed only a marginal effect ( $\chi^2=14.335$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0.04958$ ).

**Figure 20. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Gender Match**

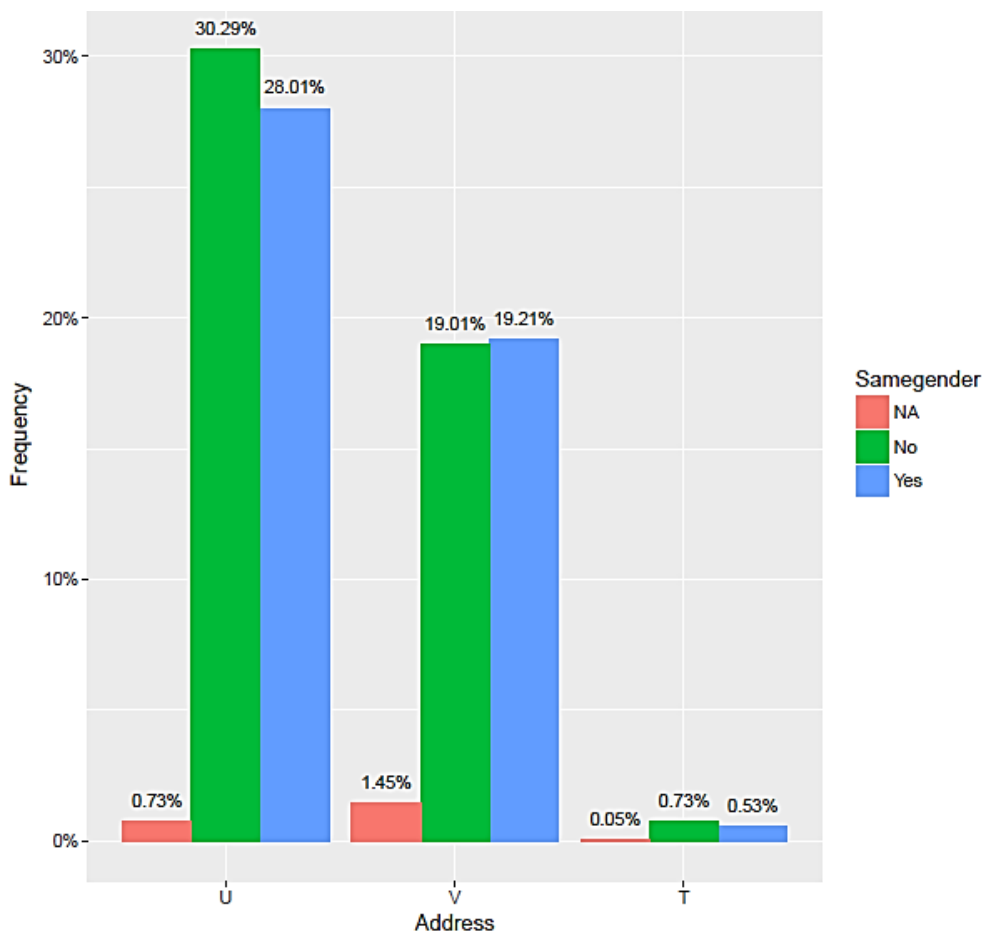
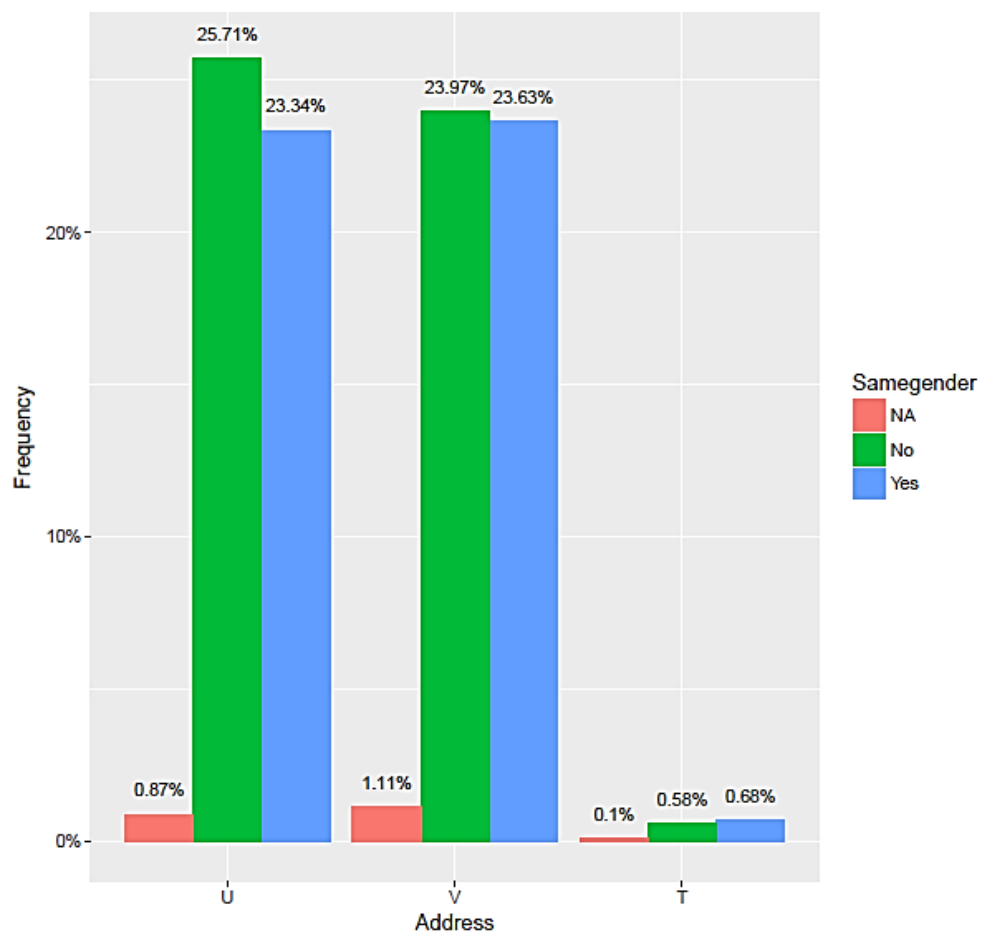


Figure 21 below illustrates a somewhat different distribution of received pronouns. The trend parallels with that of given pronouns with respect to *usted*, but is the opposite with respect to *vos*—that is, the participants report receiving *vos* slightly more frequently from the opposite gender than from the same gender. Unlike the patterns of given pronouns, patterns of received pronouns came out statistically negligible:  $p=0.2325$  in a Fisher's exact

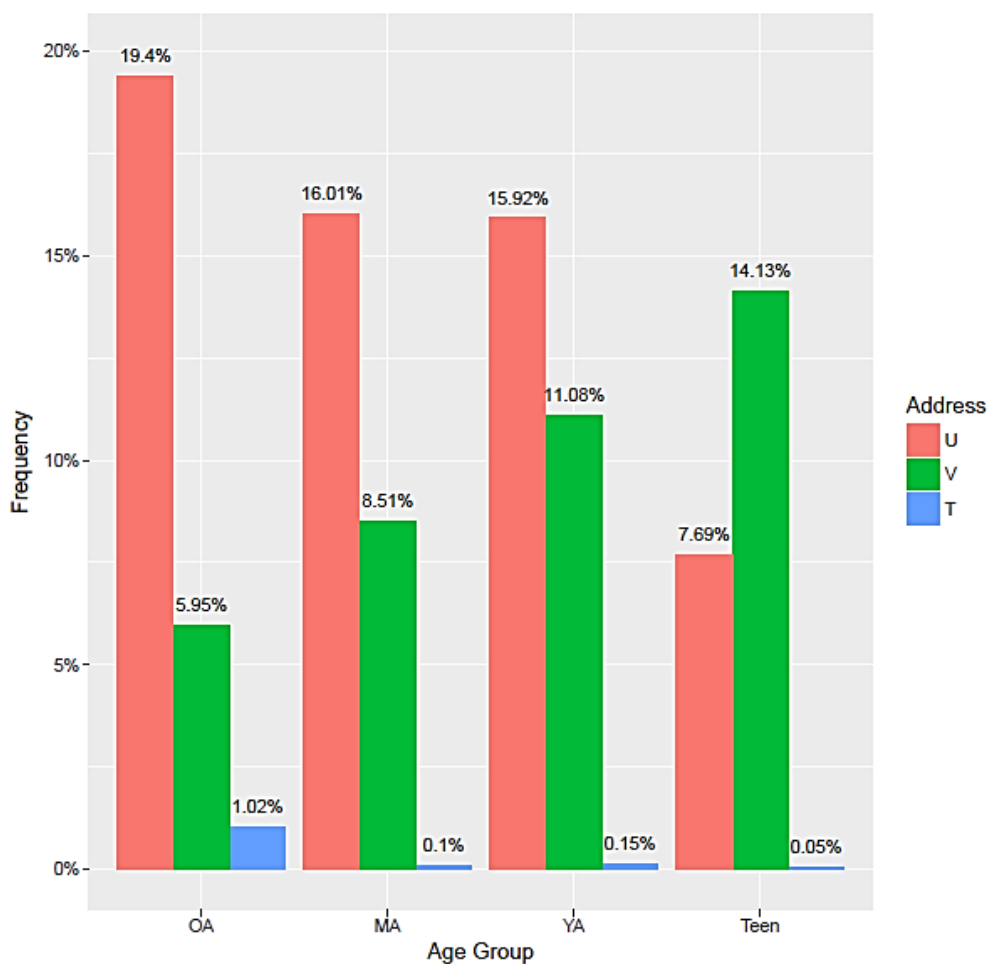
test including *tú* and  $\chi^2=1.6015$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0.449$  in a Pearson's Chi-squared test excluding *tú*. Results for both given and received pronouns in combination indicate that pronoun choice, even if not contingent upon the gender of speaker/addressee, may be constrained by gender match. However, this interpretation is not conclusive based solely on the evidence furnished by the marginal effect of gender match on given pronouns. Nonetheless, as will be discussed later, because significant interactions were detected between gender of speaker and gender of addressee on both given and received pronouns, it can be momentarily claimed that gender match does seem to play a role in address form selection.

**Figure 21. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Gender Match**

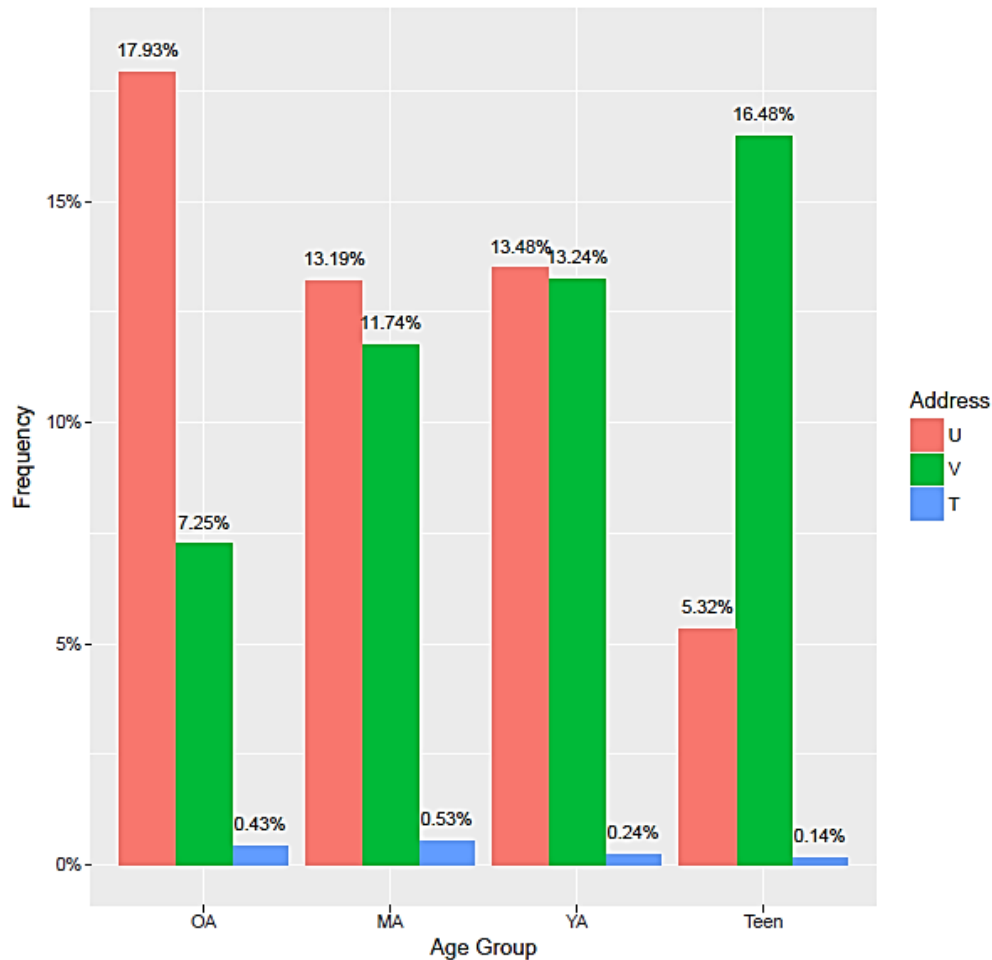


As Figures 22 and 23 below show, there appears to be an association between age of speaker and pronoun choice. The general trend can be described as follows: regarding *vos*, there is a negative correlation inasmuch as age increases its frequencies decrease, whereas regarding *usted*, there is a positive correlation inasmuch as age increases its frequencies also increase.

**Figure 22. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Age Group of Speaker**



**Figure 23. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Age Group of Speaker**



Initially, results of Pearson's Chi-squared tests including *tú* revealed a strong correlation between age group and both given and received pronouns:  $\chi^2=217.69$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=219.23$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for received pronouns. This degree of statistical significance remained after excluding *tú*:  $\chi^2=180.53$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=213.58$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for received pronouns. This significant correlation was confirmed by the results of the logistic regression, which returned a significant main effect of age group on both given and received pronouns. These

results not only provide concrete evidence of an age of speaker effect on pronominal address, but also corroborate the expectation based on a previous claim that age is a principal factor in the conditioning of address form selection in Honduran Spanish (Benavides, 2003; Melgares, 2014; and implicitly Castro, 2000). Furthermore, since language change in progress is detectable through statistically significant differences among age cohorts of speakers in apparent-time manner (cp. Bailey, 2006; Boberg, 2004; Chambers, 2006), these data can be safely interpreted as suggesting that the use of *vos* is becoming more frequent over time to the detriment of *usted*. However, this interpretation is inconsistent with the aforementioned lack of a gender effect inasmuch that women are expected to lead language change ([cp. Labov, 2001] ‘Gender Paradox’), suggesting that both men and women effectuate this (type of) change in this particular context at a similar pace. Additionally, these findings are in accordance with those reported by Hernández Torres (2013), who observed higher frequencies of *vos* among younger participants and higher frequencies of *usted* among older participants.<sup>106</sup>

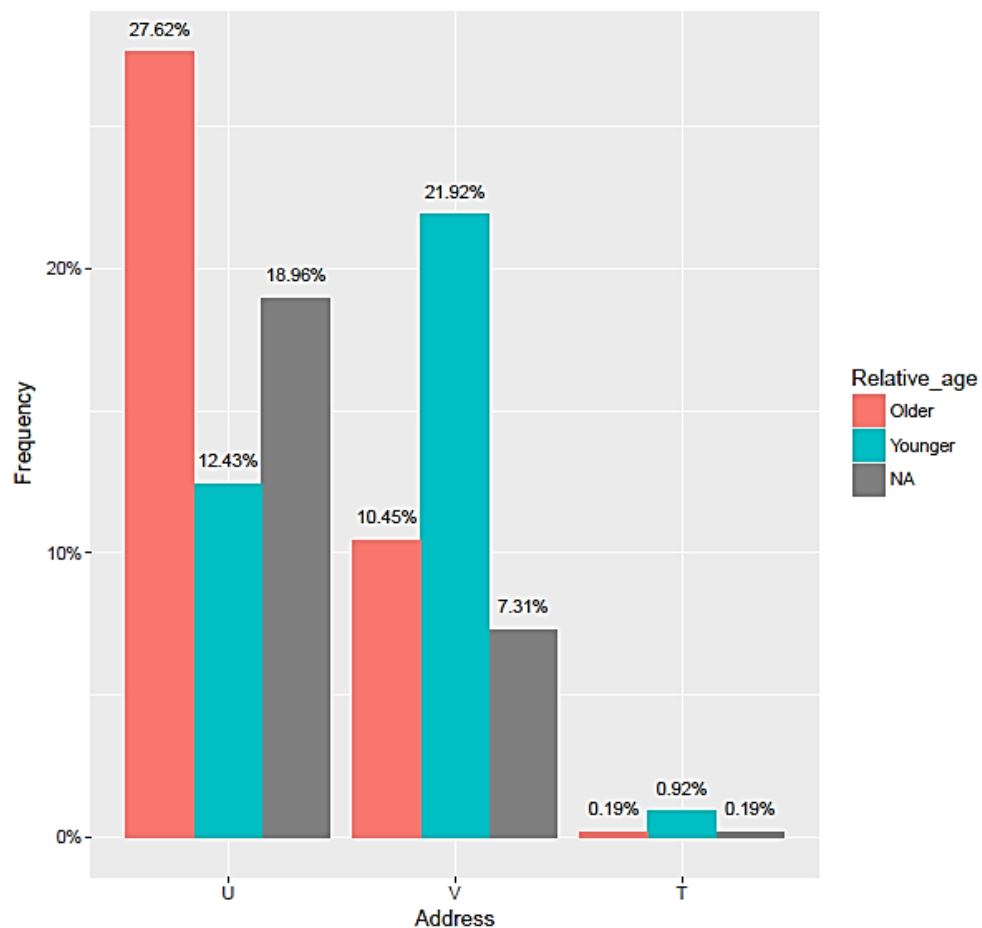
Figures 24 and 25 below depict the distributions of given and received pronouns, respectively, by relative age of addressee. This factor was determined either by its implicitness—for example, the participants’ parents are older than they are but their children are younger—or by its explicitness in the adjectives ‘older’ or ‘younger/same-age’ used to describe the interlocutors (e.g. ‘younger brother’ or ‘older female neighbor’). Interlocutors whose relative age could not be unproblematically determined (e.g. ‘waiter’ or

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<sup>106</sup> Recall that Hernández Torres (2013) divided his informants into two generational groups: younger generation (ages 18 – 36) and older generation (ages 55 and above).

'cab driver') are not included in the present discussion (13 in total), but are part of the intercept of the logistic model, and constitute the 'NA bars' in the graphs.

**Figure 24. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Relative Age of Addressee**



Given that older age has been associated with high social power (cp. Brown & Gilman, 1960; Brown & Levinson, 1987) and conventionalized deference (cp. Schwenter, 1993), Figure 24 above shows the expected trend. The sample population reports higher frequencies of *usted* compared to *vos* when addressing older interlocutors, and conversely, higher frequencies of *vos* compared to *usted* when addressing younger/same-age

interlocutors. These apparent differences came out statistically significant after running a Fisher's exact test including *tú* ( $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) and remained after removing all counts of *tú* and running a Pearson's Chi-square test:  $\chi^2 = 198.14$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ . This statistical significance was corroborated by the logistic regression, which returned a significant main effect of relative age whereby the probability of giving *usted* to an older interlocutor is higher than giving *vos*, whereas the probability of giving *vos* to a younger/same-age interlocutor is higher than giving *usted*. Consequently, these findings provide additional evidence of an age effect on address form selection.

**Figure 25. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Relative Age of Addressee**

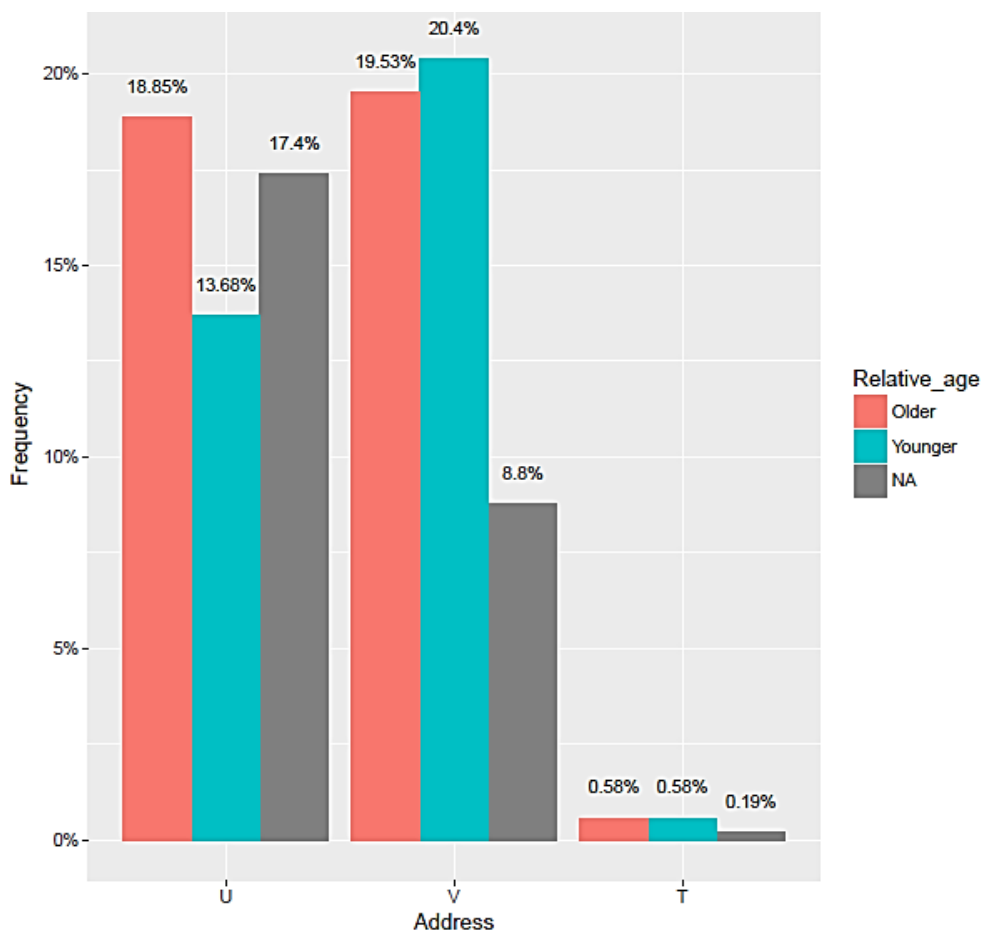




Figure 25 above, however, presents an unexpected trend: the sample population reports receiving *usted* and *vos* at similar frequencies from older interlocutors, but receiving *vos*, and not *usted*, more frequently from younger/same-age interlocutors. As with the frequencies of given pronouns, it was determined that the differences in distribution of pronouns between older and younger/same-age interlocutors are statistically significant. While including token counts of *tú*, the Fisher's exact test revealed a significant effect of relative age of addressee on received pronouns:  $p=0.002104$ . This significance remained after removing all counts of *tú* and running a Pearson's Chi-square test:  $\chi^2=11.803$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.001$ . The logistic regression partially confirmed the significance of these correlations. While the probability of receiving *vos* from younger/same-age interlocutors was significantly higher than receiving *usted*, the probability of receiving *usted* from older interlocutors was not statistically significant. These results can be safely interpreted as evidencing that *vos* is generally associated with the speech of younger generations, but only suggestive that *usted* is associated with the speech of older generations. This interpretation is consistent with the aforementioned effect of age of speaker inasmuch as frequencies of *vos* increase as age of speaker decreases, a trend that is indicative of a change in progress (cp. Bailey, 2006; Boberg, 2004; Chambers, 2006;). Additionally, the trends for both given and received pronouns seem to be in agreement with Benavides's (2003) claim that age is the principal factor constraining pronoun selection in Honduran Spanish.

With respect to *confianza*, to examine its effect on pronominal address, distributions were first plotted by familial domain following Benavides (2003: family vs. non-family) to initially detect any general trend differences between familial and non-familial relationships, and later scrutinize these differences (if at all statistically compelling) by smaller domains,

following the continuum of degree of *confianza* proposed in §3.1.3, in which the family domain was subdivided into nuclear and extended family (including friends) and the non-family domain was subdivided into acquaintances and strangers. Recall here that *confianza* has been defined as “the ethnolinguistic phenomenon which compels the speakers to use familiar/colloquial rhetorical strategies, so as to display a positive attitude” (Ardila, 2006, p. 13). This phenomenon has been associated with the overuse of *tú* in European Spanish (cp. Ardila, 2006; Hickey & Vázquez Orta, 1994; Márquez Reiter, 2000; Vázquez Orta, 1995); thus, it could be hypothesized that greater degrees of *confianza* would be reflected in higher frequencies of *vos*.<sup>107</sup> This was preliminarily confirmed in the overall distribution of given and received pronouns by familial domain.

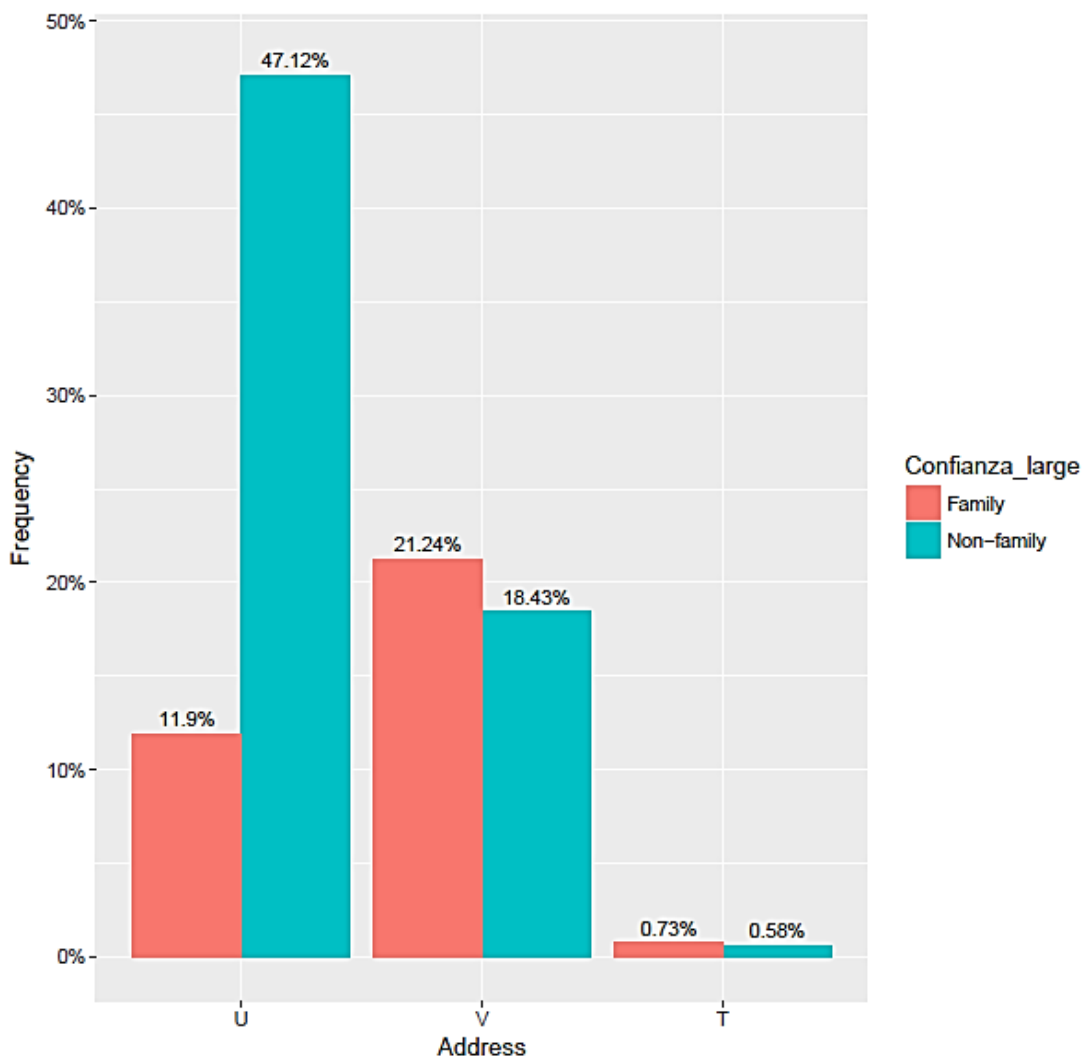
As Figures 26 and 27 below show, the frequency distributions appear to be similar for both given and received pronouns. As expected, the participants report giving and receiving *vos* at higher frequencies than *usted* in the family domain, and conversely, they report giving and receiving *usted* at higher frequencies than *vos* in the non-family domain. Importantly, this apparent correlation between familial domain and pronominal address was determined to be statistically significant. While including token counts of *tú*, the Fisher’s exact tests revealed a significant effect of domain:  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for both given and received pronouns. This significance remained after removing all counts of *tú* and running Pearson’s Chi-squared tests:  $\chi^2 = 243.39$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2 = 281.26$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for received pronouns. However, the logistic regression returned no significant main effect of domain on neither given nor received pronouns. Since logistic regressions aid

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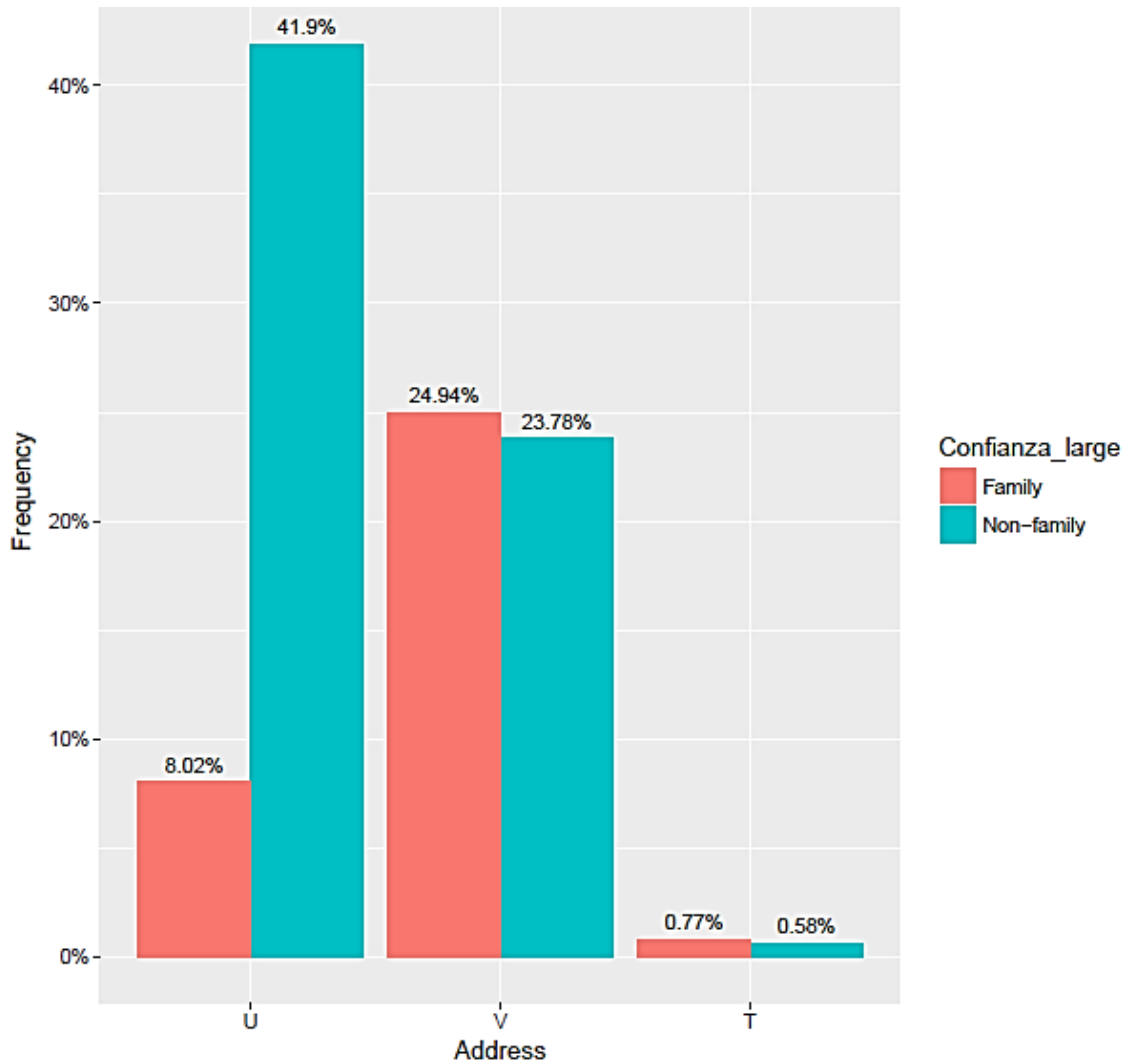
<sup>107</sup> Although, this hypothesis can be admittedly fallacious since *usted* can also be used to express intimacy and *cariño* (cp. Castro, 2000).

in predicting the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable and not simply provide evidence of correlation between two variables, it would be salutary to accept the results of the logistic regression. Nonetheless, the discrepancy between tests begs for closer inspection.

**Figure 26. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Familial Domain**



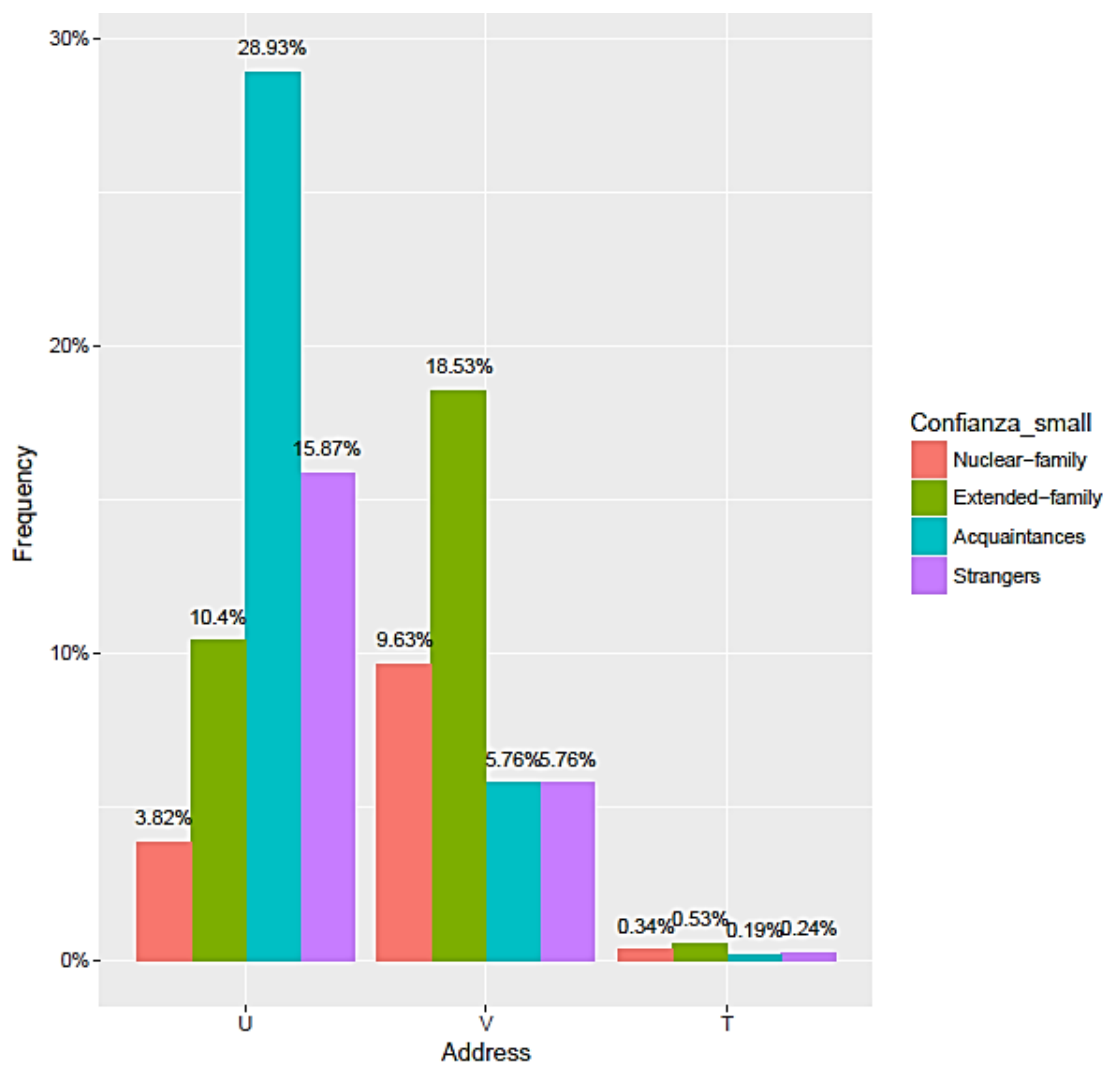
**Figure 27. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Familial Domain**



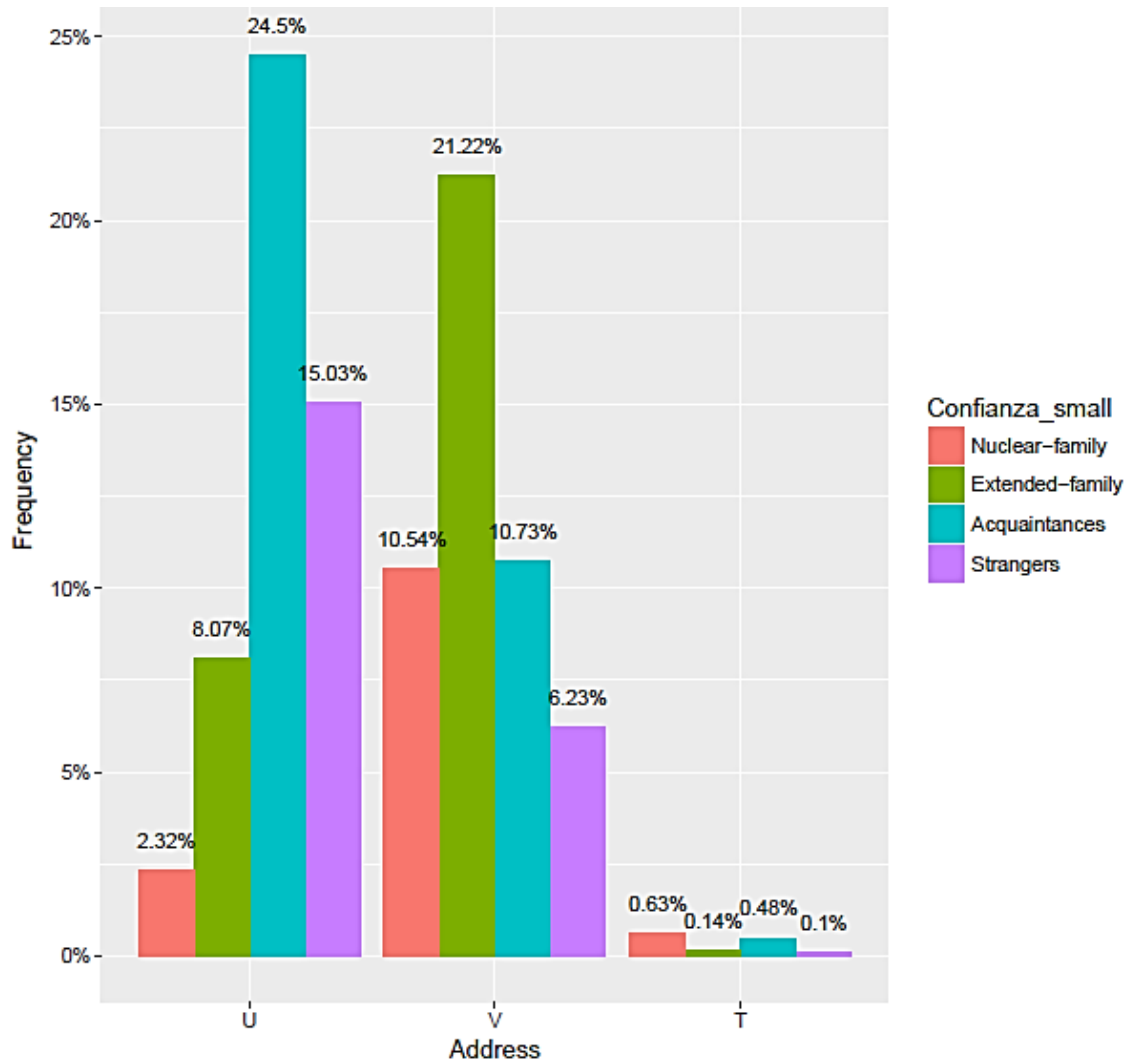
A closer inspection by smaller domains provides a more precise understanding of the effect of *confianza* on pronominal address. As can be observed in Figures 28 and 29 below, *vos* is given and received at higher frequencies within the domains of nuclear family and extended family/friends, whereas *usted* is given and received at higher frequencies within the non-familial domains of acquaintances and strangers. These differences in the distribution of pronouns across domains came out statistically significant in Pearson's Chi-

square tests including and excluding *tú* for both given and received sets:  $\chi^2=462.50$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for given pronouns including *tú*,  $\chi^2=455.81$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for given pronouns excluding *tú*,  $\chi^2=444.09$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for received pronouns including *tú*, and  $\chi^2=417.19$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<2.2 \times 10^{-16}$  for received pronouns excluding *tú*. Importantly, the results of the logistic regression also returned a main effect of degree of *confianza* on both given and received pronouns. Specifically, the probability of giving and receiving *vos* in the nuclear and extended family domains (also from acquaintances only with respect to received *vos*) is significantly higher compared to strangers (the intercept). These findings provide empirical evidence of the different degrees of *confianza* that exist within larger familial domains; thus, exploring each domain more closely was not only wise but a necessary step in determining the direction of the effect of *confianza* on pronominal address, which is in alignment with Benavides's (2003) claim that degree of *confianza* is the second most important factor in constraining address form selection in Honduran Spanish. Furthermore, these findings attest the key role of degree of *confianza* in mediating address form selection, which in light of the aforementioned change in progress in favor of *vos*, could be preliminarily interpreted as indicative of the originating contexts of the expansion of *vos* (and decline of *usted*), namely, relationships within the nuclear family and the extended family/friends.

**Figure 28. Distribution of Given Pronouns by Degree of *Confianza***



**Figure 29. Distribution of Received Pronouns by Degree of *Confianza***

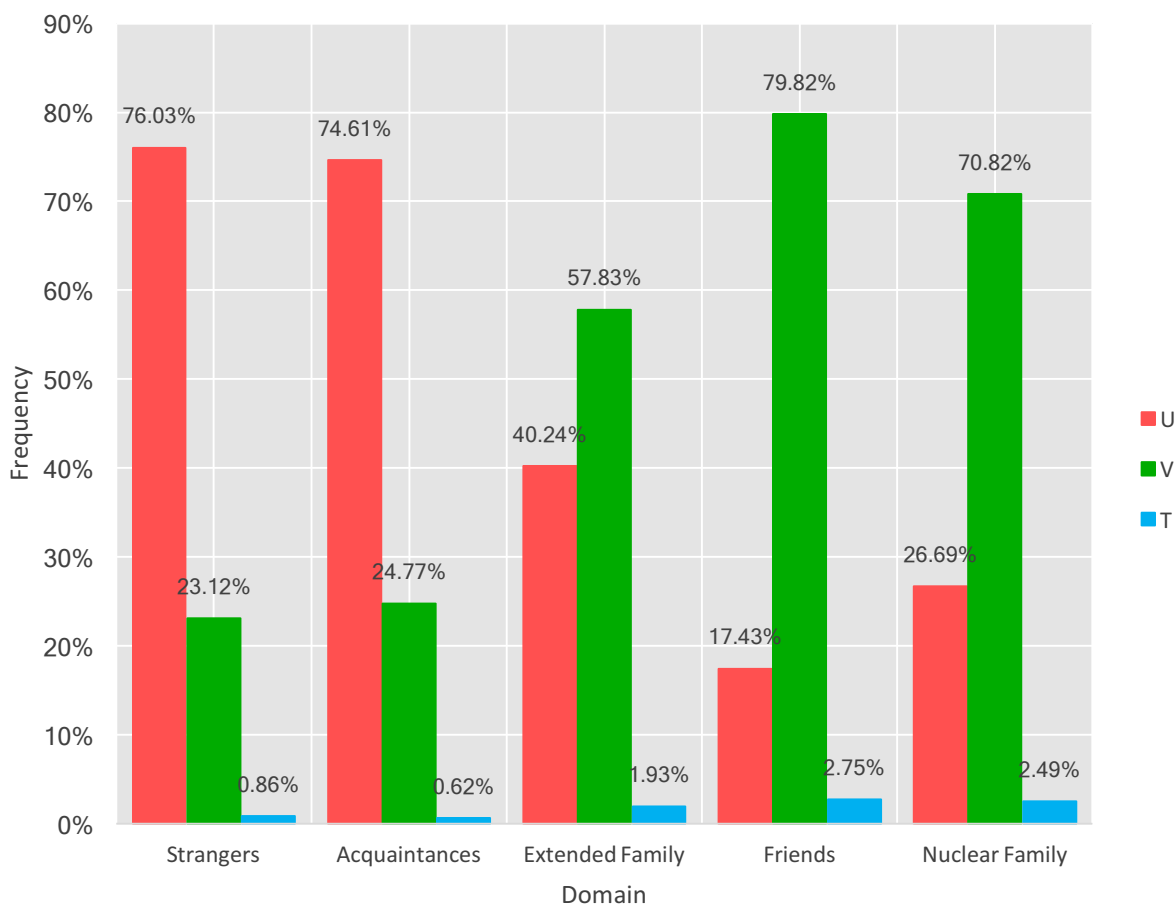


The above preliminary observation regarding the originating locus of the expansion of *vos* is especially noticeable in Figures 30 and 31 below,<sup>108</sup> in which the domain of extended family/friends is further subdivided into extended family and friends, where friends show the highest frequencies of given and received *vos*, followed by nuclear family, then extended

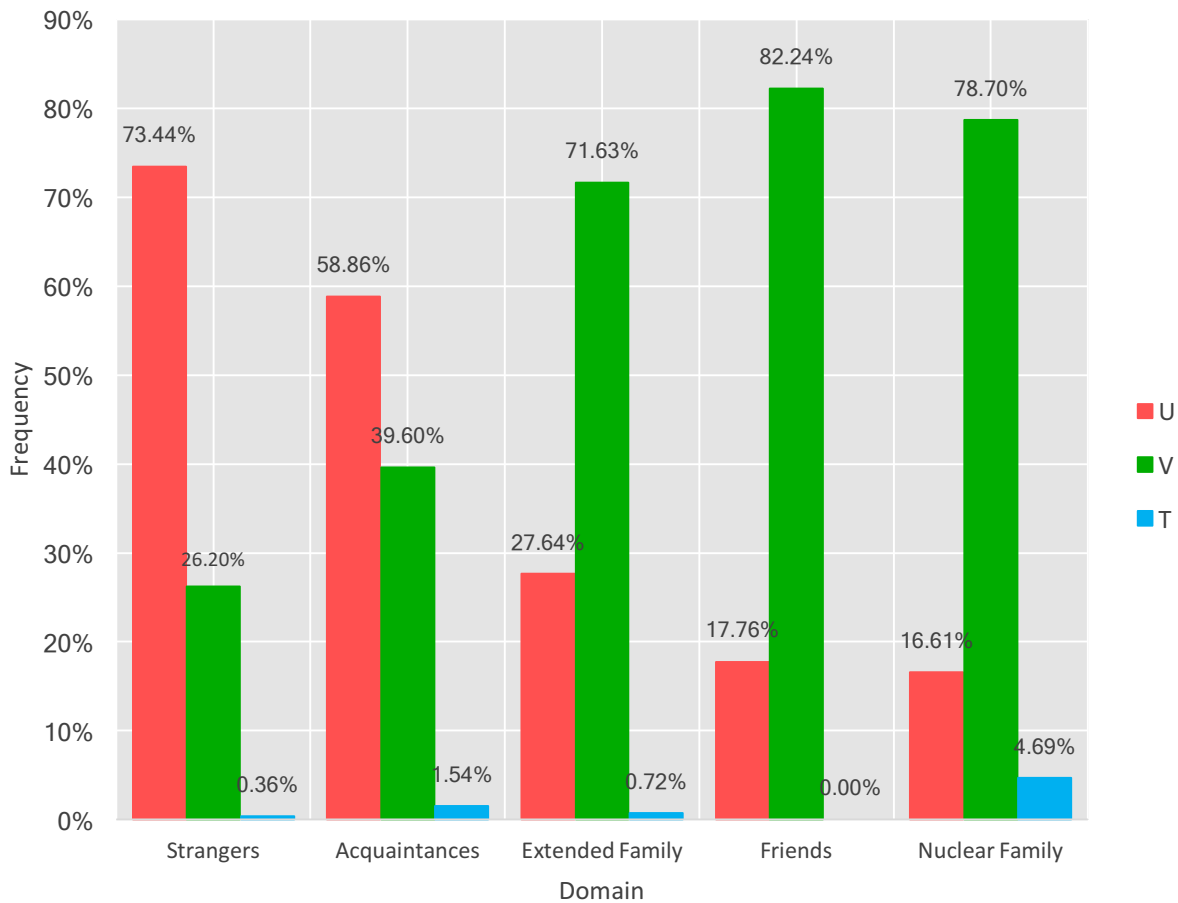
<sup>108</sup> For visualization purposes, the frequencies depicted in figures 30 and 31 were calculated relative to the totals of token counts per domain and not to the overall total of token counts, which has been the norm in all previous distributions for statistical analysis.

family, acquaintances, and finally strangers. This pattern suggests that nuclear family and extended family/friends might be the contexts where *vos* is expanding.

**Figure 30. Closer Distribution of Given Pronouns by Degree of *Confianza***



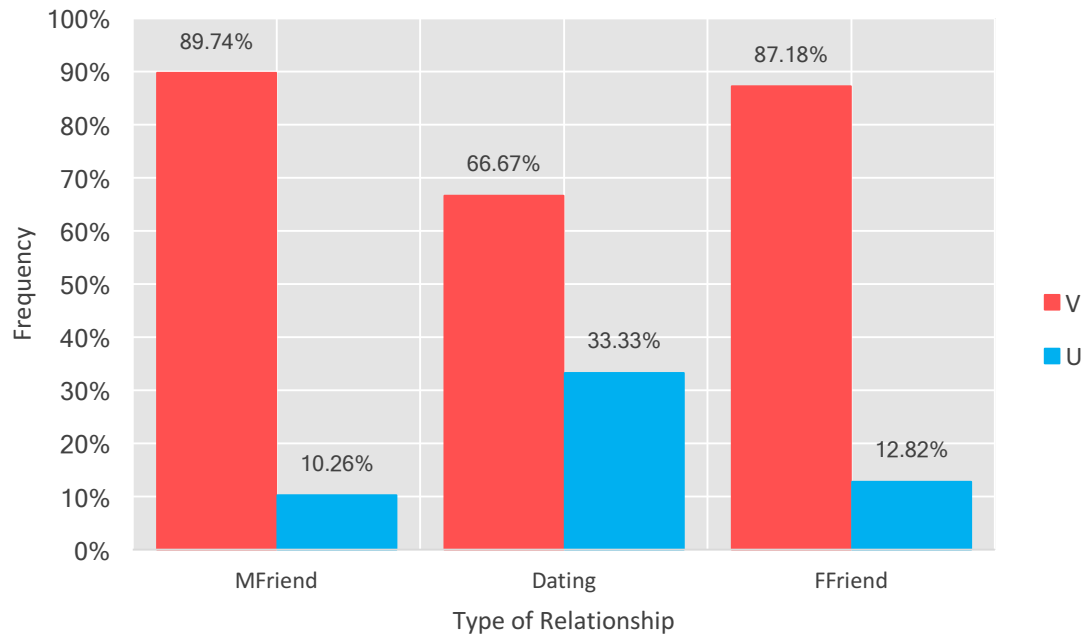


**Figure 31. Closer Distribution of Received Pronouns by Degree of *Confianza***

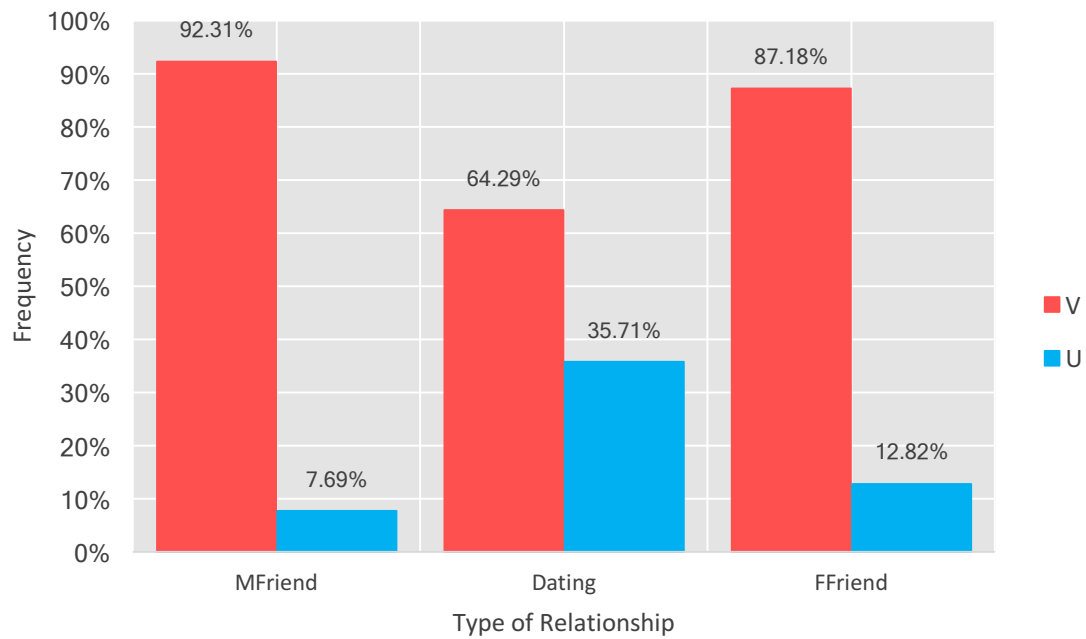
To further explore the above preliminary observation regarding the expansion of *vos*, frequencies of both given and received pronouns were plotted by nuclear family, extended family, and friends separately to examine the patterns that emerge by type of relationship within each smaller domain. These appear below in Figures 32 and 33 for friends, Figures 34 and 35 for nuclear family, and Figures 36 and 37 for extended family.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> For conciseness and visualization purposes, these figures only depict frequencies of *vos* and *usted*.

**Figure 32. Distribution of Given Pronouns Among Friends**

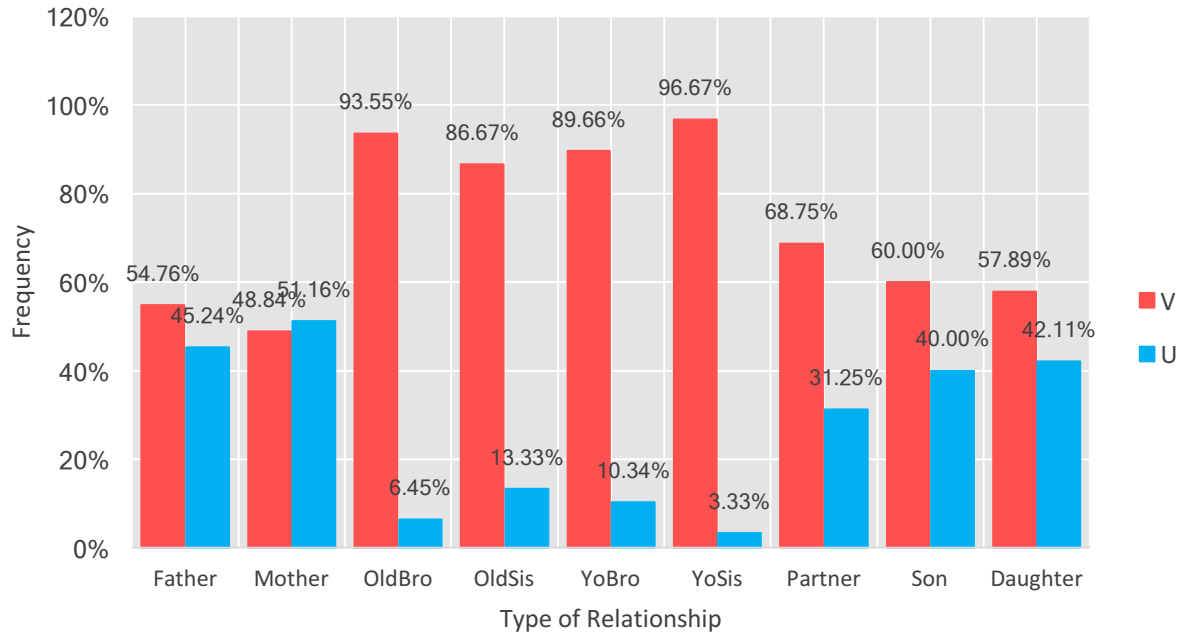


**Figure 33. Distribution of Received Pronouns Among Friends**



As Figures 32 and 33 above show, the distributions for both given and received pronouns depict an almost equivalent trend. Both male ('MFriend') and female ('FFriend') friends are given and give *vos* at much higher frequencies than they are given and give *usted*. These high frequencies of *vos* are considerably lower, yet still higher than *usted*, for a romantic interest not yet a boyfriend/girlfriend ('Dating'). This higher frequency of *usted* compared to friends can be attributed to the romantic component of this type of relationship. The *usted* that is used among romantic couples is an *usted* of intimacy, according to Castro (2000), not an *usted* of distance or deference; although, it is normally regarded as an *usted* of respect in Honduran society (for a brief description of this type of *usted* refer to §1.2.2.4.3). Similar uses of *usted* have been observed in other varieties of Spanish, such as Nicaraguan (Christiansen, 2014) and Costa Rican (Cabal, 2012) Spanish. Importantly, the difference in address expression between friendships and romantic relationships is statistically different. Chi-squared tests revealed a marginal correlation between type of relationship and pronoun choice in this domain:  $\chi^2=0.069$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0.03397$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=0.0073$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0.01468$  for received pronouns. Given that 'type of relationship' was excluded from the logistic regression model by the stepwise model selection function and that the correlations are marginally significant, this difference in address expression can only be accepted with caution. Nonetheless, the use of *usted* with romantic interests can be safely interpreted as suggestive of an inherent difference in the type of relationship between friends and romantic interests.

**Figure 34. Distribution of Given Pronouns Among Nuclear Family Relationships**



**Figure 35. Distribution of Received Pronouns Among Nuclear Family Relationships**

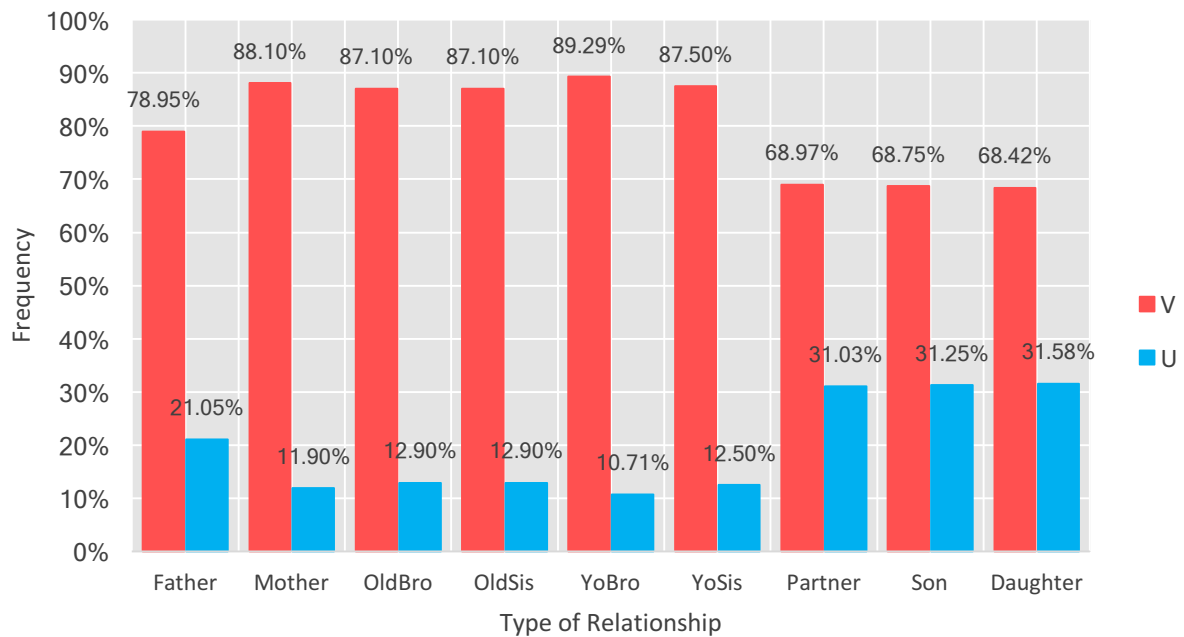


Figure 34 above illustrates an interesting pattern of given pronouns within the nuclear family domain. Based solely on the visualization of frequencies, it is evident that there are three distinct types of relationships in the nuclear family: parents, siblings, and children/partner. Parents and children/partner show competition between *vos* and *usted*, although it is much more apparent for parents than it is for children/partner. *Vos* dominates interactions with siblings, both older ('OldBro[ther]' and 'OldSis[ter]') and younger ('Yo[unger]Bro[ther]' and 'Yo[unger]Sis[ter]'). Figure 35 above depicts a somewhat different distribution inasmuch that *vos* is received at the highest frequencies (all similar in value) from both parents and siblings, yet *vos* and *usted* are received at similar frequencies from children/partners as they are given to these interlocutors. Because these trend differences came out statistically significant only for given pronouns on Chi-squared tests (recall that they were excluded from the logistic model)— $\chi^2=0.174$ ,  $df=9$ ,  $p<0.001$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=5.0250$ ,  $df=9$ ,  $p=0.1679$  for received pronouns—they can be unproblematically interpreted as indicative of the preponderance of *vos* in nuclear family relationships. It must be pointed out that the relationship of parent-child shows relatively high frequencies of *vos*, especially regarding received pronouns.<sup>110</sup> This was unexpected provided that this type of relationship has been traditionally governed by asymmetrical *vos-usted* either due to the higher power of the parent (cp. Brown & Gilman, 1960; Brown & Levinson, 1987) or due to conventionalized deference (cp. Schwenter, 1993) when children are older, but that has been traditionally governed by symmetrical *usted* when children are younger—Castro (2000) regards this *usted* as an *usted* of *cariño* ('affection') as part of Honduran 'baby talk,' which

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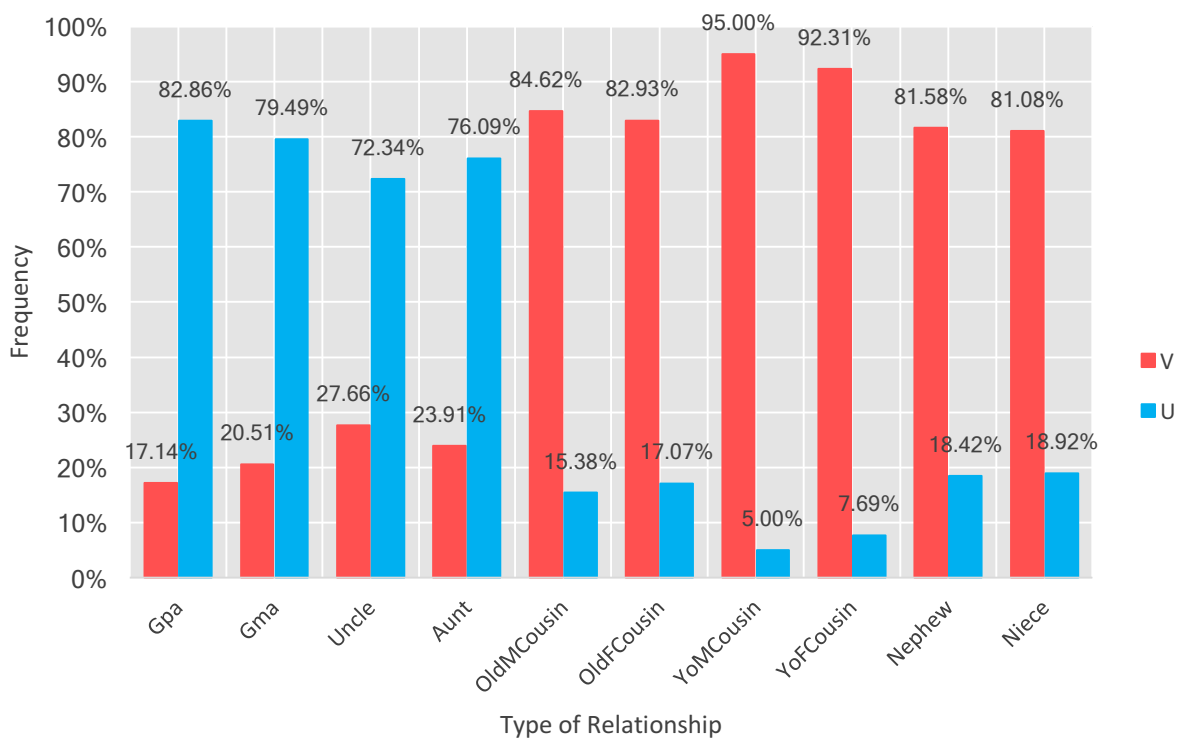
<sup>110</sup> It is unsurprising that the sample population reports receiving *vos* at much higher frequencies than *usted*, however, following traditional norms.

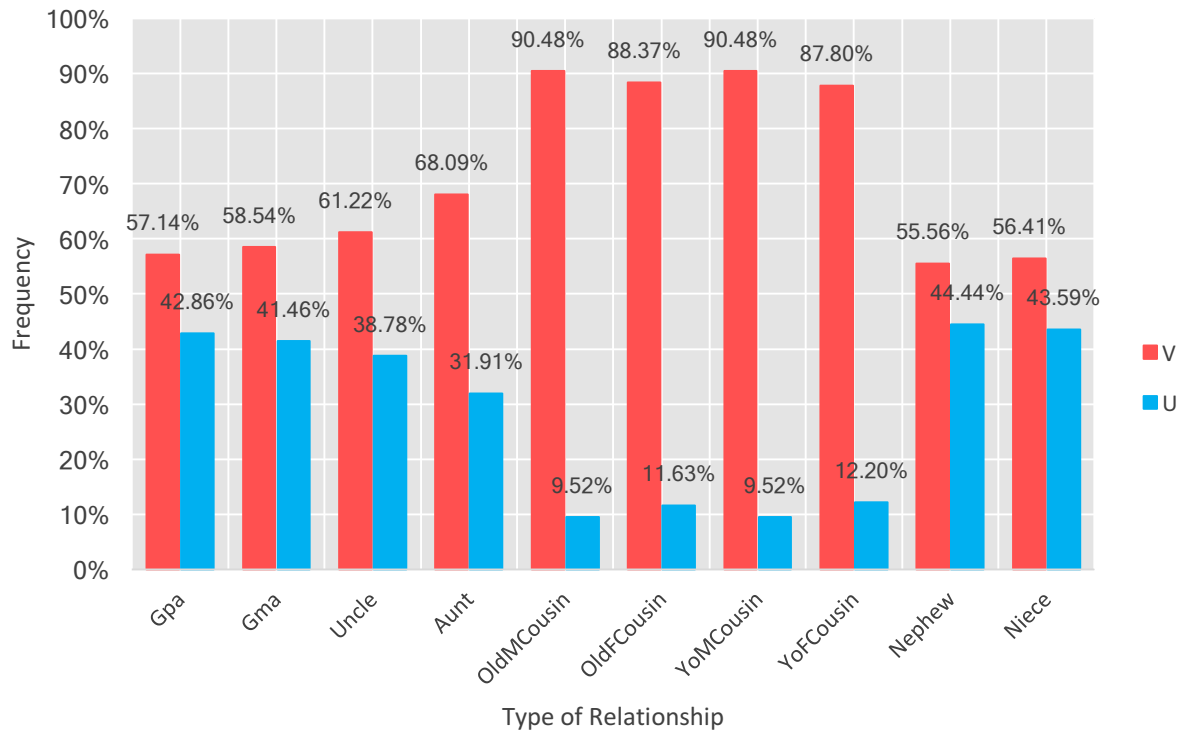
can also be used with older children as ‘baby talk’ or with certain pragmatic functions, such as when offering advice. Thus, because of this unexpected distribution, and in conjunction with the aforementioned age effect, this trend suggests that parent-child interactions are the contexts where *usted* is starting to decline giving way to *vos*. This is specifically evidenced by the relatively high frequencies of *vos* given to parents and received from children. Additionally, it should be noted that the frequency distributions regarding partners (spouses or girlfriends/boyfriends) parallel with those of romantic interests, indicating that no matter the level of commitment the relationship entails, *usted* (of intimacy) is also a viable option for address.

With respect to extended family relationships, as Figures 36 and 37 below depict, there appears to be evidence that *vos* may be expanding in this domain as well. The distribution of given pronouns (in Figure 36) shows a clear divide between older and younger interlocutors: *usted* is given at much higher frequencies than *vos* to older relatives (except older cousins), whereas the opposite is true for younger/same-age relatives. Figure 37, however, depicts a somewhat different distribution of received pronouns inasmuch as older interlocutors give *usted* at relatively higher frequencies than expected and younger interlocutors, namely nieces and nephews, give *vos* at relatively higher frequencies than expected (assuming traditional societal norms of deference). Following Castro (2000), the use of *usted* by older interlocutors can be understood as an *usted* of *cariño*, similar to its use in the nuclear family domain. The use of *vos* by nieces and nephews does point, nonetheless, to the innovative use of *vos* with parents observed in the nuclear family domain, suggesting that this type of relationship (i.e. uncle/aunt-nephew/niece) may be the locus of expansion of *vos* in this domain. This claim is supported by the fact that a strong correlation between

pronoun choice and type of relationship was revealed by Chi-squared tests— $\chi^2=3.25 \times 10^{-6}$ ,  $df=10$ ,  $p<0.001$  for given pronouns and  $\chi^2=0.331$ ,  $df=10$ ,  $p<0.001$  for received pronouns—albeit, type of relationship was excluded from the logistic regression model.

**Figure 36. Distribution of Given Pronouns Among Extended Family Relationships**



**Figure 37. Distribution of Received Pronouns Among Extended Family Relationships**

In sum, the results of the inferential statistical analyses performed on the data revealed that certain extralinguistic factors mediate address form selection in Honduran Spanish, including age of speaker, relative age of addressee, and degree of *confianza*. *Vos* is favored by younger speakers to address younger/same-age interlocutors and in the nuclear and extended family domains, where it is greatly favored in interactions with certain interlocutors, namely, siblings and cousins, but is also a viable option (in competition with *usted*) in interactions with other types of interlocutors where *usted* is expected to govern, namely, parent-child and uncle/aunt-nephew/niece relationships. The combination of age and degree of *confianza* effects is indicative of a change in progress in which the preference for *vos* is increasing over time, expanding in the family domain. This interpretation shall be

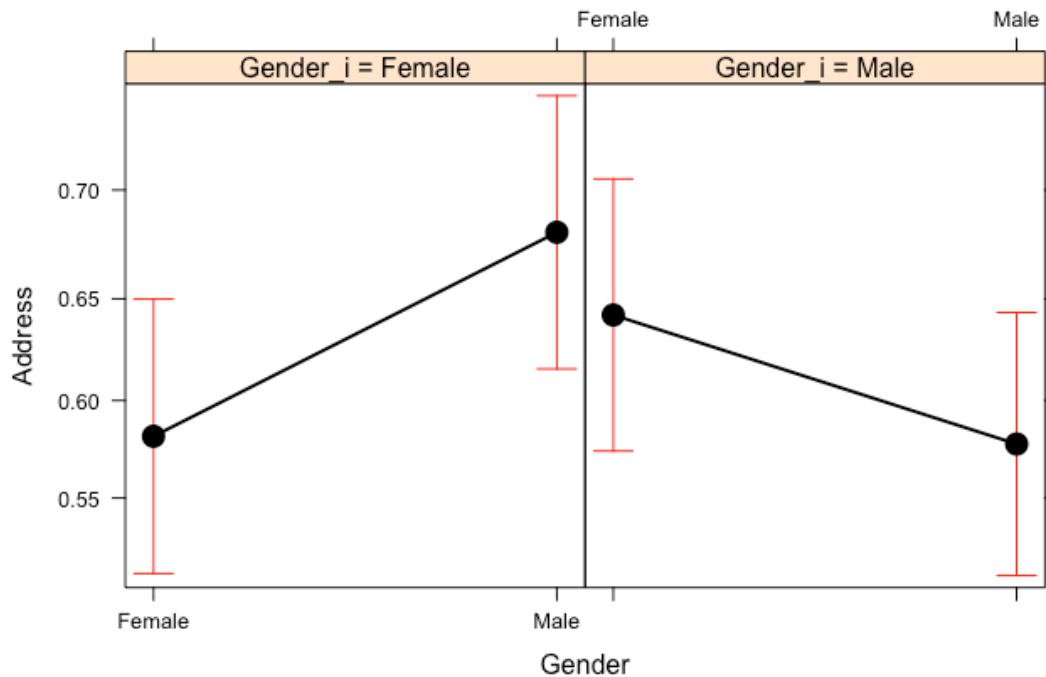


corroborated later after analyzing the findings of the group semi-directed interviews, as the attitudes toward address forms in Honduran Spanish and spontaneous usage patterns observed in the interview interactions will aid in understanding more precisely the patterns of use discussed herein. Lastly, even though gender of speaker and gender of addressee effects were not detected statistically, a gender match effect appears to also constrain address form selection, although marginally. To corroborate the existence of a gender match effect and to further explore the main effects presented in this section, significant interactions will now be explored in the following section.

#### **4.2.3. Interaction effects on pronominal address**

As was mentioned in §4.2.1, five interaction effects were detected by the logistic regression model; these were: (1) gender of speaker and gender of addressee, (2) age group of speaker and relative age of addressee, (3) gender of speaker and age group of speaker, and only concerning received pronouns, (4) age group of speaker and familial domain (large *confianza*) and (5) relative age of addressee and degree of *confianza* (small *confianza*). This section begins by discussing the gender of speaker and gender of addressee effect, which directly addresses the aforementioned marginal gender match effect. As Figure 38 below demonstrates, the probability of giving *usted* is significantly higher when addressing an interlocutor of the opposite gender than an interlocutor of the same gender. More specifically, when the gender of the interlocutor is female (left plot) male speakers tend to use *usted* more frequently than female speakers, and conversely, when the interlocutor is male (right plot), female speakers tend to use *usted* more frequently than male speakers.

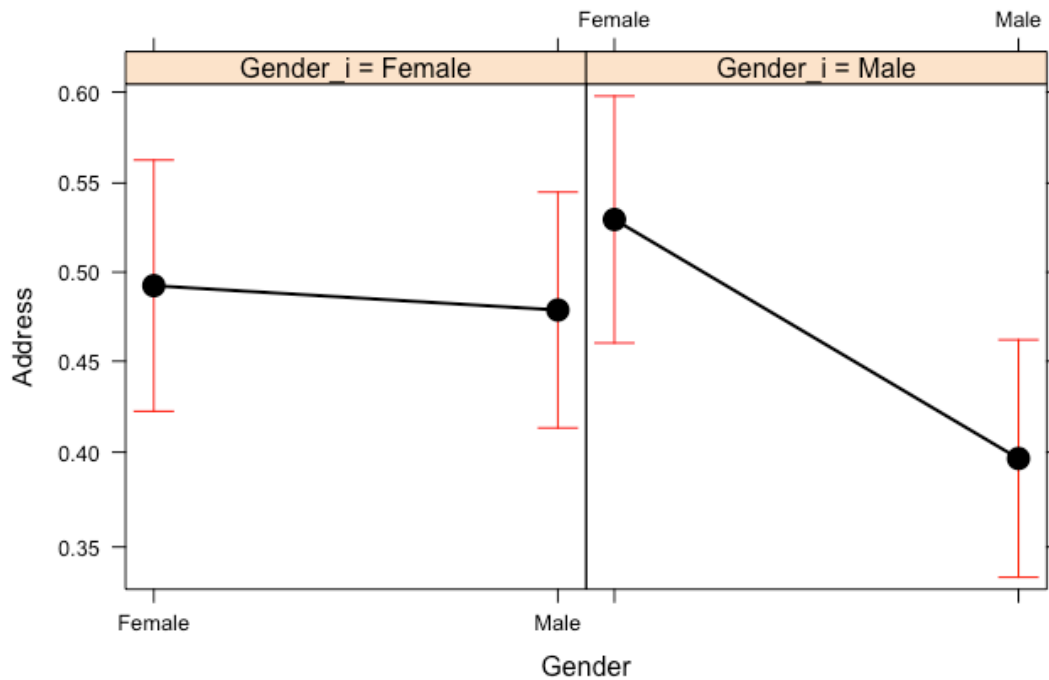
**Figure 38. Gender of Speaker-Gender of Addressee Interaction for Given Pronouns**



\*On this and all subsequent figures, the y-axis represents the probability of using *usted*, ranging from 0 to 1.

Figure 39 below shows the same trend for received pronouns whereby when the interlocutor is male (right plot), the probability that he uses *usted* to address a female speaker is higher than to address a male speaker. The probability of receiving *usted* from women (left plot) is not statistically different for both men and women speakers. These findings confirm that gender match does play a role in address form choice, even when the genders of the speaker and the addressee independently are irrelevant, suggesting that *usted* is more appropriate than *vos* in interactions with interlocutors of the opposite gender and that *vos* is more appropriate than *usted* in interactions with interlocutors of the same gender.

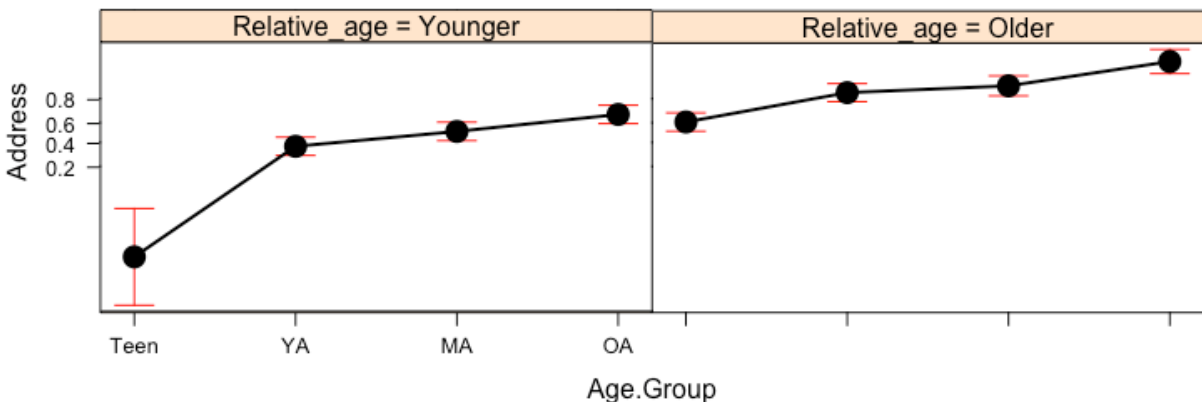
**Figure 39. Gender of Speaker-Gender of Addressee Interaction for Received Pronouns**



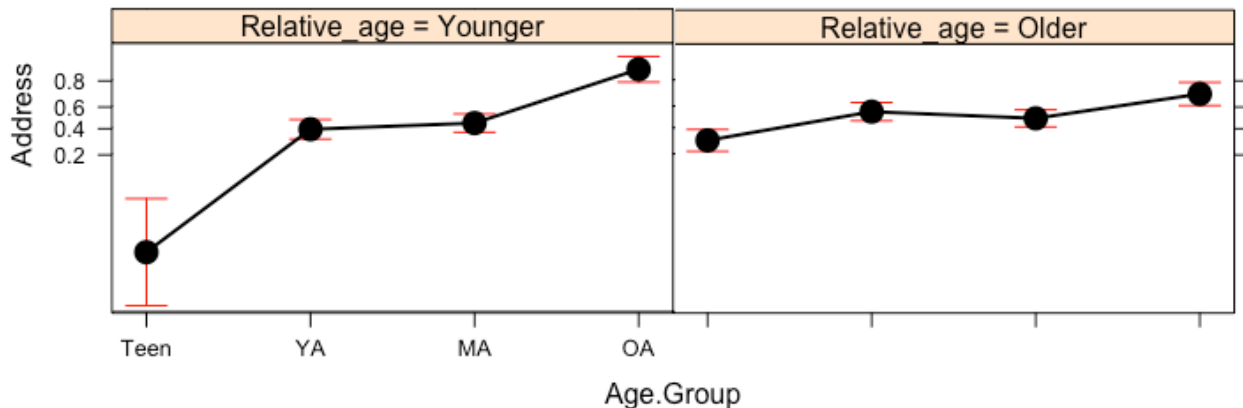
With respect to the interaction between age group of speaker and relative age of addressee, the data show similar tendencies of both given and received pronouns. As Figures 40 and 41 below illustrate, regarding younger/same-age addressees (left plots), the probability that they receive and give *usted* increases as the age of the speaker increases, interactions with adolescents (age group Teen) showing the lowest probabilities, suggesting preference for *vos*. Similarly, regarding older addressees (right plots), the probability that they receive and give *usted* increases as age of speaker increases; although notably, all probabilities are closer in magnitude compared to those of given pronouns. Importantly, these findings serve as conclusive evidence of an age effect of both speaker and addressee on address form selection, providing additional support for the aforementioned claim of a change in progress, given the positive correlation between probabilities of *usted* and age

group of speaker with respect to older addressees, that is, the decrease in probabilities of *usted* as age of speaker decreases.

**Figure 40. Age of Speaker-Age of Addressee Interaction for Given Pronouns**



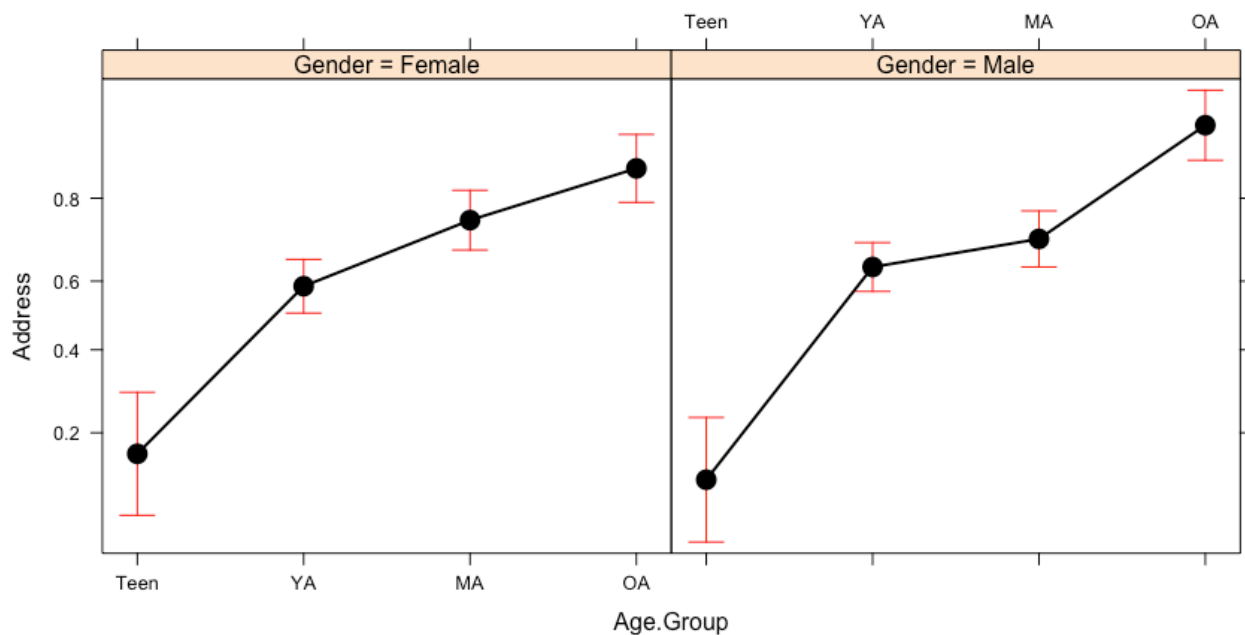
**Figure 41. Age of Speaker-Age of Addressee Interaction for Received Pronouns**



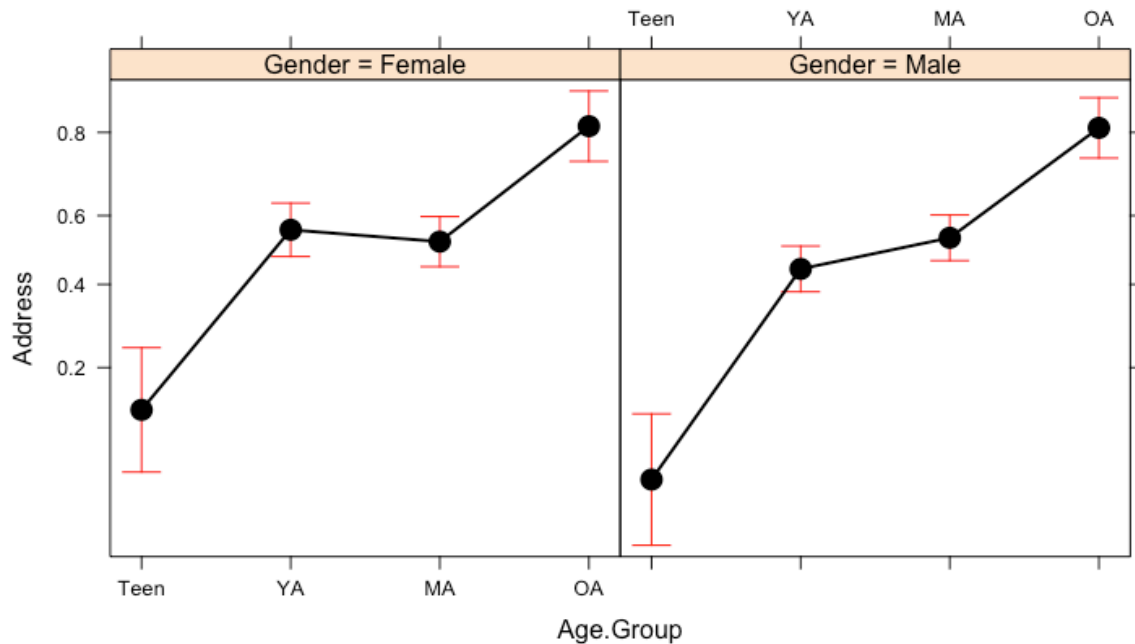
With respect to the interaction between gender and age group of speaker, the logistic regression returned marginal interaction effects of these two factors for both given and

received pronouns. As Figures 42 and 43 below depict, the probability that older male speakers (of age group OA) give *usted* is higher compared to female adolescent speakers (the intercept), and the probability that older male speakers (of age groups MA and OA) receive *usted* is higher compared to female adolescents. Importantly, the fact that the logistic regression returned marginal interaction effects of only these groups (not for other gender-age group interactions) suggests that gender of speaker in interaction with age of speaker only very marginally has an effect on address form selection and that age of speaker is a more relevant constraint largely irrespective of gender of speaker. This interpretation lends support to the aforementioned lack of gender (of speaker) effect.

**Figure 42. Gender and Age of Speaker Interaction for Given Pronouns**

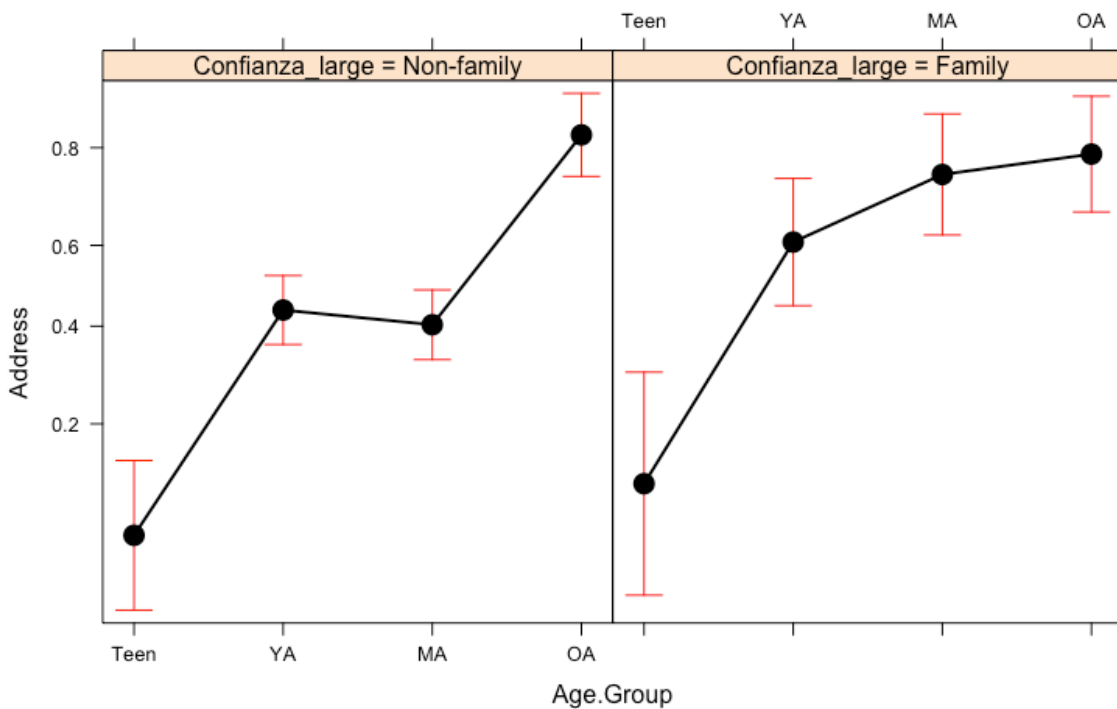


**Figure 43. Gender and Age of Speaker Interaction for Received Pronouns**

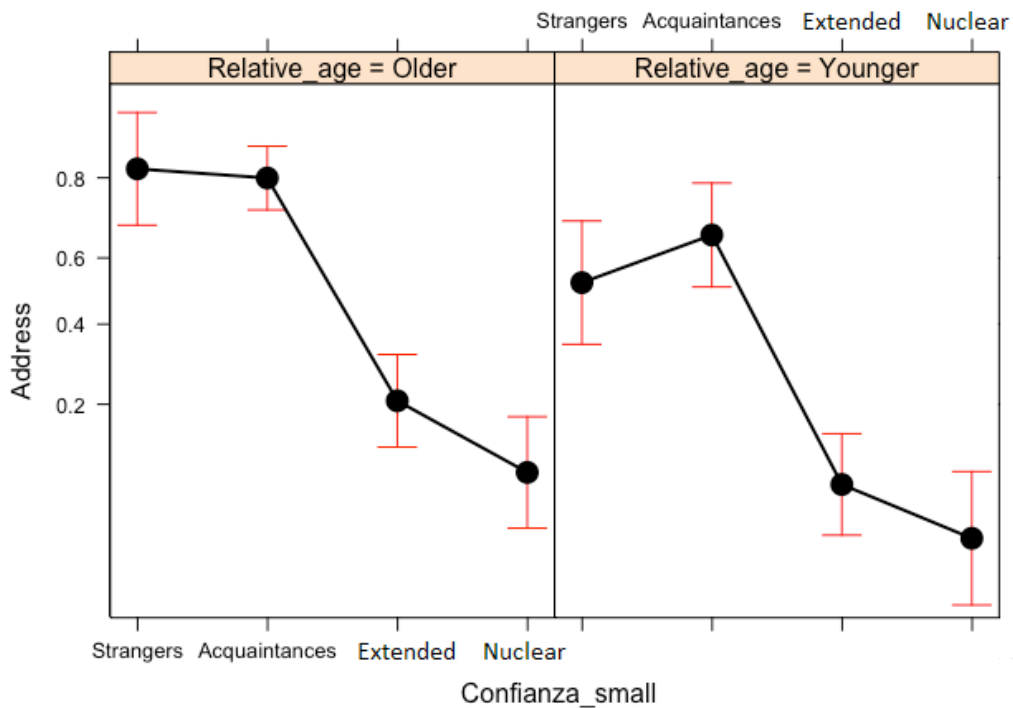


Lastly, the logistic regression returned marginal interaction effects only for received pronouns of age group MA of speaker and the family domain ( $p=0.0406$ ) and of older addressees and acquaintances ( $p=0.0467$ ), albeit between younger addressees and acquaintances the effect was significant ( $p<0.001$ ). As these interaction effects were mostly marginal and only concern received pronouns, the interpretations offered here are merely suggestive. The directions of the effects can be described as follows. Compared to the intercept, adolescent strangers, the probability that middle adult relatives (nuclear and extended) receive *usted* is higher. Furthermore, the probability that acquaintances both older and younger than the speaker receive *usted* is higher than strangers whose age cannot be determined. Figures 44 and 45 below offer visualizations of these interaction effects.

**Figure 44. Age of Speaker-Familial Domain Interaction for Received Pronouns**



**Figure 45. Relative Age of Addressee-Degree of *Confianza* Interaction for Received Pronouns**



In sum, the interaction effects of certain extralinguistic factors presented in this section provide insight into some of the main effects discussed in the previous section, offering additional evidence for previously stated claims. The significant interaction effect between gender of speaker and of addressee corroborates a main effect of gender match on address form selection—a finding that diverges from the patterns Schwenter (1993) observed in Southern European Spanish in which women receive *usted* from men but in turn address men with *tú*. Likewise, the significant interaction between age of speaker and relative age of addressee confirms the important role that age plays in pronominal address. Furthermore, the observed trend whereby the probability of older addressees receiving *usted* decreases as age of speaker decreases serves as additional confirmation of a change in progress, namely, one in which *vos* is increasingly favored over time. The very marginal effect of gender and age of speaker—very marginal inasmuch as it came out marginal only for older speakers—highlights the mostly inconsequential effect that gender (of speaker and of addressee) has on pronominal address. Moreover, the marginal interaction effects on received pronouns of age of speaker and familial domain and of relative age of addressee and degree of *confianza* suggest that strangers receive *usted* less often than relatives and acquaintances—a trend that could be explained by the lack of familiarity with strangers, which would not necessitate the expression of politeness through the use of *usted* (cp. “bulge theory:” Wolfson, 1988<sup>111</sup>), and by the use of *usted* of *cariño* and intimacy in the family

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<sup>111</sup> Adapting bulge theory to pronominal address, the extremes of the *confianza* continuum (nuclear family and strangers) would elicit similar responses. The relationships in the middle of the continuum, because they are less certain than the relationships on extreme ends, would elicit more negotiation, that is, higher degrees of politeness (e.g. higher frequencies of *usted*).



domain (Castro, 2000). However, this interpretation is offered with caution given the marginal and not all-encompassing significance of these interaction effects.

### 4.3. Summary of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire Results

This chapter discussed the findings from the sociolinguistic questionnaire by presenting visualizations of the observable distributions of given and received pronouns while descriptively and inferentially examining the effects of the extralinguistic factors under study on pronominal address. What follows is a presentation of summary conclusions for each of the research questions proposed in Chapter 2.

**RQ1:** What is the overall distribution of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* in the spoken variety of Honduran Spanish?

An examination of the overall frequencies of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* revealed different distributions of given and received pronouns. Regarding given pronouns, higher frequencies of *usted* were found, followed by *vos*, whereas regarding received pronouns, virtually equivalent frequencies of *usted* and *vos* were found. Frequencies of *tú* were almost imperceptible in both given and received distributions. The comparative differences between the distributions of given and received pronouns demonstrate that *usted* is received at lower frequencies than it is given while *vos* is received at higher frequencies than it is given. This signals a possible change in the overall distribution of address forms (i.e. the pronominal

address system); an interpretation that became more transparent after exploring several factors that constrain address form selection (summarized below). With respect to *tú*, its negligible frequencies suggest that its use is essentially nonexistent in the urban variety of Honduran Spanish. Moreover, its frequencies were only reported by a select group of participants, whose sociodemographic descriptions and social networks suggest that their use of *tú* can be attributed to ideological assumptions regarding *tú* as the (prescriptive) correct form and/or to their social interactions/networks with foreigners. This interpretation will be revisited in the analysis of the group interviews in Chapter 5.

These findings are in accordance with previous studies that have reported similar patterns of given pronouns, suggesting that *usted* is the most frequently used address form in Honduran Spanish (Castro, 2000; Hernández Torres, 2013). Unlike these previous studies, however, the incorporation of received pronoun data sheds light on the overall distribution of pronouns, evidencing the strong presence of *vos* in this variety; a presence that is becoming more conspicuous over time, as indicated by the aforementioned change in the pronominal address system. Additionally, the low frequencies of *tú* reported here parallel with its low frequencies found by previous studies, albeit, the frequencies found in the present study are even lower, suggesting that *tú* is statistically unrepresentative of the (sample) population. Thus, it can be concluded that the pronominal system of (spoken) Honduran Spanish is primarily bipartite, *vos-usted*.

**RQ2:** What extralinguistic factors (age, gender, and/or degree of *confianza*) constrain address form selection?

Address form selection in Honduran Spanish was found to be constrained by a series of extralinguistic factors: gender match between interlocutors, degree of *confianza*, age (group) of speaker, and relative age of addressee. No effect of gender of speaker or of addressee was detected.

Regarding the gender match effect, both male and female participants favored using *usted* to address interlocutors of the opposite gender and using *vos* to address interlocutors of the same gender. Furthermore, they report the same pattern when addressed by their interlocutors; however, women and men report receiving *usted* at similar frequencies from female interlocutors. This effect was corroborated by the statistically significant interaction between gender of speaker and gender of addressee. The lack of gender (of speaker and of addressee) effect paired with these findings suggests that gender itself does not play a role in address form selection but that it does play a role in interaction, that is, when compared to the gender of the interlocutor.

The effect of *confianza* was not detectable when examining the data by familial domain, but when it was analyzed by degree of *confianza*—when operationalized by subdividing the two familial domains into more nuanced groupings. Consequently, the findings showed higher frequencies of *vos* in domains where stronger degrees of *confianza* are expected, namely, the nuclear and extended family (including friends) domains, whereas higher frequencies of *usted*

were found in domains where weaker/no degrees of *confianza* are expected, namely, acquaintances and strangers. Thus, it can be concluded that *confianza* plays a key role in address form mediation; a conclusion that echoes Benavides's (2003) claim that *confianza* is the second most important factor constraining pronominal address.

Benavides (2003) claims that age is the principal factor constraining address form selection in Honduran Spanish, which was supported by the present findings of an age effect of both speaker and addressee. With respect to the age of speaker effect, a negative correlation was found between frequencies of *vos* and the age of the speaker insofar as age of speaker decreases, frequencies of *vos* increase, evident in the fact that the oldest participants reported the lowest frequencies of *vos* whereas the youngest participants reported the highest frequencies. With respect to the relative age of addressee effect, higher frequencies of *usted* were found to be given to older interlocutors, whereas higher frequencies of *vos* were found to be given to younger/same-age interlocutors. This trend is somewhat different regarding received pronouns inasmuch that higher frequencies of *vos* are received from younger interlocutors, but virtually equivalent frequencies of *vos* and *usted* are received from older interlocutors. Importantly, these findings are suggestive of the possibility for *vos* to propagate throughout the speech community, since it is not only given at high frequencies by younger speakers but also received at high frequencies from younger interlocutors.

**RQ3:** Is there evidence of a change in progress in the address system of Honduran Spanish? If there is evidence of change, how is this change characterized?

As mentioned above, a significant effect of age was found on both given and received pronouns insomuch that frequencies of *vos* increase as age decreases, that is, the probability that younger generations give *vos* is higher than that of older generations and the probability of receiving *vos* from younger generations is higher than from older generations. Within an apparent-time construct (Bailey, 2006; Boberg, 2004; Chambers, 2006; Labov, 1972), these trends can be interpreted as evidence of a change in progress whereby *vos* is increasingly favored over time to the detriment of *usted*. Should *vos* not be stigmatized in Honduran Spanish and should there be no negative social connotations attached to it, this finding could be interpreted as conclusive evidence of a change in progress. Attitudes toward *vos* are analyzed in the following chapter.

Furthermore, the observed distribution of *vos* across varying degrees of *confianza* sheds light on the locus of expansion of the pronoun. Upon closer inspection of friendships and nuclear and extended family relationships, it appears that certain relationships traditionally governed by asymmetrical *vos-usted* (or symmetrical *usted* in some cases) within the nuclear and extended family domains, namely, parent-child and uncle/aunt-nephew/niece relationships, now present higher frequencies of *vos* (in some instances higher than *usted*) given by the younger interlocutor to the older interlocutor when high frequencies of *usted* are expected. In combination with the aforementioned age effect, these findings

suggest that these types of relationships are the contexts where *vos* is expanding and conversely, where *usted* is declining. Once more, the findings of the group semi-directed interviews discussed in the following chapter will provide additional insight into this claim.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS: GROUP SEMI-DIRECTED INTERVIEWS

#### 5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the second research instrument, described in §3.3.3: the group semi-directed interviews. §5.1 focuses on the descriptive quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analyses of the address forms encountered in the interview interactions to determine whether naturalistic production of pronominal forms of address parallels with the usage patterns reported in the sociolinguistic questionnaire by way of the examination of spontaneous pronoun use with respect to the extralinguistic factors under study (gender, age, and degree of *confianza*) as well as other contextual features of the interactions. §5.2 centers on the qualitative (thematic) analysis of the discussions and narratives obtained from the interviews with the objective of uncovering the attitudes Hondurans exhibit toward pronominal forms of address and toward Honduran identity.

#### 5.1. Spontaneous Production of Address Forms

This section examines the occurrences of the pronouns *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* as they were produced naturalistically by the participants when addressing others present in the group interviews. These occurrences are analyzed here in an attempt to corroborate the usage patterns reported by the participants themselves in the sociolinguistic questionnaire,

discussed in Chapter 4, and to offer a systematic approach for analyzing spontaneous address form usage in Honduran Spanish, not yet available for the variety, while concurrently testing Brown and Gilman's (1960) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) postulations, discussed in §2.1 and §2.2, respectively. To that end, §5.1.1 describes the methodology of analysis; §5.1.2 presents an overview of the findings; and §5.1.3 presents an in-depth qualitative analysis of the pronoun usage encountered in the data, by offering general patterns, complemented by the discussion of individual cases. §5.1.4 summarizes the findings.

#### **5.1.1. Methodology of analysis**

The analysis of the interview data consisted in determining the frequency, that is, the number of tokens of each of the pronouns used by the participants to address the other participant(s) present in the interview, as well as me, the researcher, relative to the overall total number of tokens from all 13 interviews. These frequencies were examined in relation to the extralinguistic factors discussed in §3.1 by tabulating frequencies of pronouns used by age and gender of both the speaker and the addressee, and the type of relationship between them. These crosstabulations were then organized in tables, that is, frequency distributions. Frequency distributions are a simple, descriptive statistical tool for organizing raw counts or absolute frequencies of data to obtain general patterns found therein and to detect any unusual or extreme values (Imdadullah, 2014; Rasinger, 2011). These absolute frequencies can be standardized by calculating the relative frequencies of each category in relation to all instances of a particular category being produced (Rasinger, 2011, p. 90). Thus, this type of



analysis allows usage patterns to be detected, correlations between extralinguistic factors and pronouns used to be observed, and possible inferences to be made qualitatively about the operative values of the vertical and horizontal dimensions (Power and Solidarity: Brown & Gilman, 1960; or P and D: Brown & Levinson, 1987) that may have an effect on address form use.

The implementation of frequency distributions outlined above was determined to be the best method of analysis of the data at hand. This was dictated by: (1) the nature of the research instrument and (2) the total number of tokens obtained. As was discussed in §3.3.3, the group interviews were semi-directed in the sense that instead of following a rigid question-answer modality, the participants were guided in their discussion through certain probing questions. This was done with the objective of obtaining the most authentic, unprompted data regarding address form usage in Honduran Spanish as perceived by the participants themselves. This, in turn, was detrimental for the production of pronominal forms because the interviews were not controlled so as to elicit the high numbers of tokens required for a comprehensive quantitative analysis (Rasinger, 2011). In fact, the total number of tokens obtained was 230—there were some participants who produced numbers as low as only 1 token for the entirety of the interview. Therefore, to avoid a Type II error—“rejecting a relationship/difference when in fact there is one” (Rasinger, 2011, p. 161) due to a small sample size—it was decided to analyze the data descriptively and qualitatively. As Imdadulla (2014) explains, frequency distributions can be made for all sorts of data, including qualitative data; hence, the combination of frequency distributions and a qualitative analysis can provide an in-depth understanding of the use of pronominal forms encountered in the interviews. Furthermore, as Tagliamonte (2006) points out, “excessively

large corpora require an immense outlay in research hours for data transcription and processing” (p. 33), and analyzing a smaller sample size is not only inevitable, but also optimal for a detailed analysis. Therefore, for the purposes of the present dissertation, exploring the number of tokens, small as it is in the interviews, is, in fact, advantageous for providing a detailed qualitative analysis of the interactions observed.

As mentioned above, the data were compiled in tables to examine the frequencies of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* produced by the participants. Initially, all instances of each pronoun were counted and entered in an Excel 2016 spreadsheet by participant, also noting the addressee who received the forms. Because Spanish is a pro-drop language, both explicit pronoun and dropped pronoun instances were counted. In the cases where the pronoun was explicitly used, both the pronoun and its corresponding verb were counted together as 1 token, as in (5).

- (5) ...*vos*      *dijiste*      *limitaciones...*      (Participant 02-F.OA)  
       you-*vos* say.PAST.2SG-*vos* limitation.PL  
       ‘...you said limitations...’

In the cases where the pronoun was dropped, the verb inflection was used to determine its corresponding pronoun, as in (6), and each was counted as 1 token.

- (6) *La*      *chiquita*, *la*      *nieta*,      *nos*      *vosea*      *a*      *todos*,  
       ART.FEM small.DIM ART.FEM granddaughter us.ACC use vos.PRES.3SG to all.PL  
       *imagínese*.      (Participant 12-F.OA)  
       imagine.IMP.REFL-*usted*  
       ‘The little one, our granddaughter, uses *vos* with all of us, imagine.’

There were cases in which the verb inflection was ambiguous as to which pronoun it corresponded because there are certain tense inflections that are shared between *tú* and *vos*, as in (7).

- (7) *Estás hablando con alguien profesional...* (Participant 15-F.YA)  
 be.PRES.2SG-*vos*/*tú* speak.PROG with someone professional  
 '(You) are talking with a professional...'

To determine which pronoun the verb inflection corresponded to, it was necessary to establish the pronoun used with a particular addressee immediately prior to the use of the subject-less verb. If no pronoun could be established, the subject-less verb was not included in the overall count. It must be mentioned that these cases occurred very minimally in the data. In addition to these, other exclusions included pronouns/verb inflections that were part of quoted speech or sample phrases, as in (8), and references to the pronouns themselves, as in (9).

- (8) *[Ella] me dice, "pasame un vaso de agua vos..."* (Participant 26-M.OA)  
 [She] me tells, "pass.IMP.1.DAT-*vos* a glass of water you-*vos*..."  
 '[She] tells me, "hey you, give me a glass of water..."'

- (9) *Es que el vos es lo más usado en nuestro medio...* (Participant 18-M.MA)  
 Is that the vos is the most used in our medium...  
 'The thing is that vos is what is used the most in our context...'

It was important to include only the pronouns that were actively used in the conversations to address an interlocutor in order to analyze real, uninflated numbers of tokens.

### 5.1.2. Overview of findings: Descriptive analysis

Table 13 below summarizes the overall findings and Table 14 presents the frequencies of pronouns per interview based on the total number of tokens (230 tokens).

<b>Pronoun</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>% Frequency</b>
V	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87</b>
T	2	0.87
U	88	38.26
TOTAL	230	100.00

<b>Interview</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	
1	5	2.17%	0	0.00%	16	6.96%	21	9.13%
2	27	11.74%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	27	11.74%
3	7	3.04%	0	0.00%	40	17.39%	47	20.43%
4	35	15.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	35	15.22%
5	0	0.00%	2	0.87%	4	1.74%	6	2.61%
6	37	16.09%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	37	16.09%
7	23	10.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	23	10.00%
8	1	0.43%	0	0.00%	5	2.17%	6	2.61%
9	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
10	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13	5.65%	13	5.65%
11	5	2.17%	0	0.00%	10	4.35%	15	6.52%
12	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
13	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
TOTAL	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

As Tables 13 and 14 show, *vos* was the pronoun that was used the most by the participants at a relative frequency of 60.87%, followed by *usted* at a relative frequency of 38.26%. *Tú* was absent from the speech of all participants, except for one who produced the

2 tokens reported here. Furthermore, Table 14 shows an unbalanced number of tokens per interview, ranging from 0 to 47; interviews 3, 4, and 6 present the highest numbers of tokens. Notably, in all three interviews, it was (one of) the female participant(s)—one from each age group: OA in interview 3, MA in interview 4, and YA in interview 6—who spoke the most and who produced the higher number of tokens. For instance, the (only) female participant in interview 3 produced the highest number of tokens of all the participants: 35 tokens (15.22%). Moreover, *vos* was more preponderant in some interviews while *usted* was more preponderant in others. As will be explained later, both age of the interlocutors and type of relationship between them (i.e. degree of *confianza*) are factors constraining the observed production. It should be pointed out that it was determined that the linguistic behavior of the participant who used *tú* in the interview is not representative of the Honduran population (Participant 11-M.OA; see §4.1), as observed in the results of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Thus, his use of *tú* does not figure in what is considered spontaneous, oral speech of the Honduran speaker.

All instances of *voseo* were authentic in nature and of the monophthongized (Argentinian, as classified by Carricaburo, 2004) type. Recall here that authentic *voseo* refers to the use of the pronoun *vos* and its corresponding verb desinences (Benavides, 2003; Carricaburo, 2004). Of course, the cases of subject-less verbs are ambiguous as they may be authentic or verbal (i.e. using *tú* with the verb desinences of *vos*); however, since verbal *voseo* has not been reported for Honduran Spanish (e.g. Benavides, 2003; Carricaburo, 2004; Lipski, 1998), it can be safely concluded that the type of *voseo* used by the participants is authentic. Furthermore, all instances of *voseo* include monophthongized, reduced verb inflections (e.g. *usás*, ‘you-*vos* use’; or *decíle*, ‘you-*vos* tell him/her’) different from the

original, diphthongized and unreduced verb inflections (e.g. *usáis*, ‘you-*vos* use’; or *decidle*, ‘you-*vos* tell him/her’) observed in some *voseante* regions, such as the Andean region of Colombia, and in conjunction with the plural pronoun *vosotros* in Peninsular Spanish (see §1.1 and §1.2.1).

The frequencies reported here come from a relatively well-balanced number of participants with respect to gender and age, and from a variety of types of relationships. Out of the 30 participants that were interviewed, 23 produced pronouns that were included in the frequency distributions—12 of these were male and 11 were female, and 7 were from age group YA, 7 from age group MA, and 9 from age group OA. Pronouns were produced in a total of 31 speaker-addressee interactions, which were synthesized into 9 different types of relationships. An overview of the findings by gender, age, and type of relationship is presented in what follows.

Tables 15 and 16 below show the findings by gender of speaker and of addressee, respectively. Included in Table 16 are the numbers of tokens directed to me, the researcher. Both tables provide the raw token numbers and their relative frequencies based on the total number of tokens (230 tokens).

<b>Gender</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>Total</b>	
Male	<b>55</b>	<b>23.91%</b>	2	0.87%	43	18.70%	100	43.48%
Female	<b>85</b>	<b>36.96%</b>	0	0.00%	45	19.56%	130	56.52%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

<b>Gender</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>Total</b>	
Researcher	<b>113</b>	<b>49.13%</b>	2	0.87%	87	37.83%	202	87.83%
Male	<b>18</b>	<b>7.83%</b>	0	0.00%	1	0.43%	19	8.26%
Female	<b>9</b>	<b>3.91%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	3.91%
TOTAL	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

As can be observed in Tables 15 and 16 above, overall, female participants produced more tokens than male participants did by a 13.05% difference. Even though the production of *usted* appears to be essentially the same between men and women, *vos* seems to be preferred more by women than by men. However, these frequencies are relative to the total number of address forms produced by gender. Consequently, the actual tendency here (out of the total number of tokens produced by women: 130 tokens) is that women preferred *vos* with a relative frequency of 65.38% over *usted*, which they produced at a relative frequency of 34.62%. Men also preferred *vos* over *usted*, but at a lower frequency than women, and preferred *usted* more than women. The male participants produced *vos* with a relative frequency of 55.00% and *usted* with a relative frequency of 43.00% (out of the total number of tokens produced by men: 100 tokens). With respect to the gender of the addressees, no true tendency can be offered because most of the address forms were directed to me. In fact, over 87.00% of the forms were directed to me; only 3.91% of the address forms were directed to female participants and 8.26% to male participants.

Tables 17 and 18 below show the findings by age (age group) of speaker and of addressee, respectively. Table 18 includes the numbers of tokens directed to me. Both tables provide the raw token numbers and their relative frequencies based on the total number of tokens (230 tokens).

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>Total</b>	
YA (18-29)	<b>80</b>	<b>34.78%</b>	0	0.00%	2	0.87%	82	35.65%
MA (30-49)	<b>48</b>	<b>20.87%</b>	0	0.00%	8	3.48%	56	24.35%
OA (50-69)	<b>12</b>	<b>5.22%</b>	2	0.87%	78	33.91%	92	40.00%
TOTAL	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>Total</b>	
Researcher	<b>113</b>	<b>49.13%</b>	2	0.87%	87	37.83%	202	87.83%
YA (18-29)	<b>6</b>	<b>2.61%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	2.61%
MA (30-49)	<b>13</b>	<b>5.65%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13	5.65%
OA (50-69)	<b>8</b>	<b>3.48%</b>	0	0.00%	1	0.43%	9	3.91%
TOTAL	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

The frequencies observed in Table 17 demonstrate that the younger participants greatly preferred using *vos* over *usted*, whereas the older participants greatly preferred using *usted* over *vos*. Participants in both age groups YA and MA produced *vos* at relative frequencies of 97.56% and 85.71%, respectively (out of the total number of tokens produced by each age group: 82 and 56 tokens, respectively). Participants in age group OA produced *usted* at a relative frequency of 84.78% and *vos* at a relative frequency of 13.04% (out of the total number of tokens produced by this age group: 92 tokens). As was explained above, no true tendencies can be offered with respect to the age group of the addressees since most of the address forms were directed to me, who belonged to age group YA at the time of data collection. However, in general, the participants preferred to address others with *vos* if they were (perceived to be) contemporaneous in age with them or with *usted* if they were not (perceived to be) contemporaneous in age with them.



Table 19 below summarizes the findings by type of relationship between speaker and addressee. The types of relationships present in the interviews and in which pronouns were produced are grouped by familial domain, that is, familial and non-familial relationships, for subsequent closer inspection by type of relationship within each domain. This grouping is also employed in the qualitative analysis that follows, in §5.1.3. Moreover, Table 19 provides the raw token numbers and their relative frequencies based on the total number of tokens (230 tokens).

<b>Table 19. Pronouns by Type of Relationship</b>								
<b>Type of Relationship</b>	<b>V</b>		<b>T</b>		<b>U</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<i>Family Domain</i>								
Parent-child	<b>4</b>	<b>1.74%</b>	0	0.00%	17	7.39%	21	9.13%
Siblings	<b>18</b>	<b>7.83%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18	7.83%
Spouses	<b>8</b>	<b>3.48%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	3.48%
Siblings-in-law	<b>34</b>	<b>14.78%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	34	14.78%
Cousins	<b>7</b>	<b>3.04%</b>	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	3.04%
TOTAL							88	38.26%
<i>Non-family Domain</i>								
Old Church Members	<b>36</b>	<b>15.65%</b>	2	0.87%	4	1.74%	42	18.26%
Old Neighbors	<b>32</b>	<b>13.91%</b>	0	0.00%	39	16.96%	71	30.87%
Old Acquaintances	<b>1</b>	<b>0.43%</b>	0	0.00%	1	0.43%	2	0.87%
Strangers	<b>0</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	0	0.00%	27	11.74%	27	11.74%
TOTAL							142	61.74%
GRAND TOTAL	<b>140</b>	<b>60.87%</b>	2	0.87%	88	38.26%	230	100%

All of the relationships discussed here have been established for a long period of time with the exception of one of them: strangers. Some characterizations imply a longstanding relationship, such as parent-child, siblings, and spouses; however, other longstanding relationships needed to be qualified with the adjective 'old' to clarify the longevity of the

relationship. The only type of relationship that did not span an extended period of time was ‘strangers.’ In this case, the interlocutors met for the first time at the time of the interview. ‘Old church members’ comprise interlocutors that have known each other for a long time, and thus, share a certain degree of *confianza* and yet, are not close enough to be considered ‘(close) friends’ (more on this in §5.1.3.1 below). This is evidenced by the fact that these interlocutors describe each other as ‘fellow church members’ when introducing the other to someone new, for example. ‘Old acquaintances’ describes a relationship that spans a lengthy period of time, that is, they have interacted over the years, but these interactions have been minimal. Importantly, all relationships remained stable during the interviews, as the context and the topic of conversation remained unchanged. Lastly, it can be observed in Table 19 that a certain pronoun seemed to occur more often in certain types of relationships than in others. As expected, *vos* was produced more in relationships with a high degree of *confianza*, including siblings-in-law, cousins, and spouses, whereas *usted* was produced more in relationships with a low degree of *confianza*, such as strangers. Interestingly, a relationship with a high degree of *confianza*, parent-child, was dominated by *usted*. This *usted* is both the *usted* of deference (children to parents) and *usted* of *cariño* (both children to parents and parents to children; more on this later), adopting Castro’s (2000) distribution of pragmatic functions (see §1.2.4).

These tendencies appear to both corroborate and contradict those reported in sociolinguistic questionnaires, both by Hernández Torres (2013) and in Chapter 4. With respect to gender, Hernández Torres found that in relationships dominated by the vertical dimension women tended to prefer *usted* and men *vos*, but the opposite in relationships dominated by the horizontal dimension (although he does not explain which are dominated

by which dimension). The findings of the sociolinguistic questionnaire discussed in §4.2.2 demonstrated that there is no gender of speaker effect on given pronouns. However, the present results show a tendency that partially parallels with that reported by Hernández Torres for the horizontal dimension—that is, both men and women prefer *vos* for high *confianza* and *usted* for low *confianza*. This might be because over half of the types of relationships represented here are characterized by a high degree of *confianza*, with the addition of two with a ‘moderate’ degree of *confianza* (old neighbors and old church members). Nonetheless, since a gender match effect was detected in the data from the sociolinguistic questionnaire in which *usted* is favored to address interlocutors of the opposite gender, this factor will be examined qualitatively in the following section.

With respect to age, Hernández Torres (2013) found that in relationships dominated by the vertical dimension his younger participants tended to prefer *usted* and in relationships dominated by the horizontal dimension, his older participants preferred *usted*, but his younger participants preferred *vos*. Alternatively stated, his younger participants preferred *usted* in asymmetrical relationships (younger to older) and *vos* for low *confianza*, but his older participants preferred *vos* in asymmetrical relationships (older to younger) and *usted* for low *confianza*. This is corroborated here as participants in both groups YA and MA greatly preferred using *vos* and participants in group OA greatly preferred using *usted*. This finding parallels with the age effect revealed by the quantitative analysis presented in §4.2.2 whereby the probability of using *vos* increases as age of speaker decreases.

Even though these tendencies cannot be presumed to be representative of the actual production of the Honduran population in general due to the uncontrolled nature of the interview, they do present trends that mostly corroborate the quantitative results from the

sociolinguistic questionnaire and provide a basis for further exploration of pronominal address in interaction. The following section presents the qualitative analysis of these findings, taking Brown and Gilman (1960), Brown and Levinson (1987), Schwenter (1993), Bravo (1999), Hernández Flores (2001; 2004a; 2004b), Terkourafi (2001; 2004), and Ardila (2006) as the theoretical framework, and in conjunction with the extralinguistic factors of gender, age, and degree of *confianza* to explain the dynamics of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish.

### **5.1.3. Understanding pronominal address: Qualitative analysis**

It was discussed in §2.1 that forms of address have been typically examined by applying Brown and Gilman's (1960) postulations on the power and solidarity sociopragmatic dimensions. Both of these dimensions are congruent with Brown and Levinson's (1987) social variables of P(ower) and D(istance), respectively, as discussed in §2.2. To recapitulate, Brown and Levinson (1987) define P as "the degree to which H[earer] can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S[peaker]'s plans and self-evaluation" (p. 77). Thus, the relationship defined by P is mainly asymmetrical in nature and involves two types of control: material and metaphysical (Terkourafi, 2001). D is defined as "a symmetric social dimension of similarity/difference within which S and H stand for the purposes of this act" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 76). According to Terkourafi (2001), frequency of interaction, material and non-material goods (e.g. face) exchanged, and stable social attributes all play a role in determining the value of D (p. 93). The third variable, R(anking of the imposition), in Brown and Levinson's model does not figure in address form

choice since it has been conventionalized in society to the extent that its value is insignificant, as proposed by Leech (2014; see §2.2.2). This can be assumed to be true for general sociopragmatic parameters of address form use; however, it must be noted that speakers can use address forms strategically as the value of R changes; that is, speakers can switch among forms with an increase or decrease in R (e.g. giving advice, asking for a favor, etc.). For instance, as some participants commented in the sociolinguistic questionnaires, a parent might normally address his/her child with *vos* but then switch to *usted* to offer advice. R did not figure in the analysis offered in the following sections because the nature of the research instrument did not entail a change in the value of R (more on this later).

With respect to address forms, both variables, P and D, are considered to determine the form used; however, the assumption has been that relationships are governed mainly by one of them. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the sociopragmatic dimension that takes supremacy is the ‘power semantic’—although, the tendency in Latin America is that the ‘solidarity semantic’ is now taking supremacy (Brown’s [1965] hypothesis). Uber (2011), among others, has expressed that address form choice is contingent upon a combination of both dimensions. Along these lines, Brown and Levinson (1987), when discussing the estimation of the weightiness of an FTA, asserted that an amalgamation of the P and D, variables in addition to R, results in the final assessment of the weight of an FTA, which, in turn, would be used to determine a politeness strategy to be implemented. In a similar manner, address forms are chosen by considering the combined value of P and D; hence, it can be hypothesized that relationships in which the values of P and D are high would yield the use of the formal/polite/deferent form (i.e. *usted*) and conversely, relationships in which the values of P and D are low would yield the use of the familiar/informal/solidary form (i.e.

vos). Importantly, as Brown and Levinson mention, once these values are combined, their individual values become untraceable; therefore, in order to explore the sociopragmatic motivations driving address form selection, it would be necessary to work backwards from the forms observed to the values of P and D behind the selection.

The following subsections provide a detailed qualitative analysis of the address forms encountered in the interview data, presented in §5.1.2 above. It will be argued that even though some of the observed pronominal usage can be explained using Brown and Gilman's (1960) conceptualizations of the vertical and horizontal dimensions, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, most of the data cannot be accounted for by them. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that the data in its entirety can be explained by: (1) implementing Schwenter's (1993) theoretical postulations, discussed in §2.1.3, which essentially state that address form selection is motivated by an interaction between the horizontal dimension and deference, and that the horizontal dimension is mainly defined by similarity/difference of social attributes and degree of intimacy (or *confianza*); (2) considering that the value sources of P and D become transparent when considering the extralinguistic factors of the context of the interaction (*contra* Brown and Levinson's postulation of the untraceableness of the variables), and that the psychological load on the speaker becomes much lighter by internalizing what expression to use in any given situation, as proposed by Terkourafi (2001; 2004); and (3) conceptualizing degree of *confianza* as a construct that is dependent on the sociocultural context of the society, and that is, thus, variable across cultures.

### 5.1.3.1. Conceptual pause: Honduran *confianza*

Before analyzing the interview interactions, it is necessary to take a brief pause to discuss *confianza* as a culturally specific linguistic concept, detailing how it is perceived in Honduran culture. This culturally sensitive conceptualization of *confianza* will provide the basis for the analysis that follows in §5.1.3.2 and §5.1.3.3, in addition to the theoretical framework summarized above (expounded on in §2.1 and §2.2). As was discussed in §2.2.4, the notion of *confianza* as a linguistic concept originates in politeness research on Spanish that has attributed a positive politeness ethos to the language in which interactions are “generally warm, easy-going, friendly” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 243). Consequently, the term has been defined as “the ethnolinguistic phenomenon which compels the speakers to use familiar/colloquial rhetorical strategies, so as to display a positive attitude” (Ardila, 2006, p. 13). Therefore, the main claim has been that *confianza* is responsible for the familiarity that characterizes all communicative acts in Spanish, as an endemic phenomenon to Spanish used to gain the interlocutors’ trust, especially within the family context (Bravo, 1999; Hernández Flores 2001; 2004a; 2004b).

Importantly, recall that politeness research on *confianza* has mostly focused on Peninsular Spanish, and has not clearly and consistently attributed its claims regarding ethos of communication to said variety. Consequently, the following questions arise: are these claims in fact generalizable to all Spanish varieties and, thus, to all Hispanic cultures? If not, how does *confianza* vary across Spanish varieties/Hispanic cultures? To answer these questions, it was imperative to explore how *confianza* is conceptualized by Hondurans. To that end, nine of the participants were informally surveyed through a conversation group on

WhatsApp and were asked to discuss what *confianza* means to them and how it is represented in Honduran culture.<sup>112</sup>

In the conversation, the participants distinguished between three types of *confianza*. The first type is consistent with the RAE's first two definitions for the term: the hope that is placed on something or someone, including the self, illustrated in (10).

(10) ...*confianza es tener la seguridad de que la sinceridad del otro no va a fallar.*

...*confianza* is being sure that the other's sincerity will not fail (Participant 31-M.MA).

This type of *confianza* is derived from the verb itself, *confiar*, which literally means 'to trust'—this is why the term is usually translated to 'trust' in English. The second and third types are associated with the RAE's fifth definition: familiarity, or simplicity when addressing others. In this respect, *confianza* can be either 'profound' (second type) or 'superficial' (third type). 'Profound' *confianza* entails much more than familiarity; it implies loyalty, honesty, sincerity, respect, and fidelity. A person with whom profound *confianza* is shared is a person who can be depended on. This type of *confianza* implies that the relationship is intimate and usually characterizes familial relationships (especially nuclear) and friendships. Furthermore, someone may refer to another person, mainly outside of his/her nuclear family, as *de confianza*, meaning that he/she has a close, intimate relationship with that person and that that person can be trusted.<sup>113</sup> Importantly, this type of *confianza* is gained through regular manifestations of honesty, sincerity, trustworthiness,

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<sup>112</sup> WhatsApp.com describes the application for handheld devices as "a cross-platform mobile messaging app which allows you to exchange messages without having to pay for SMS."

<sup>113</sup> Additionally, one could refer to someone as *de confianza* sarcastically, meaning that the person is naïve and can be taken advantage of or can be coaxed into doing something illicit.



and dependability, because as Participant 32-M.MA states, “*se ve raro hablar de confianza sin amistad o sin honestidad* (‘it is strange to talk about *confianza* without friendship or honesty’).”

‘Superficial’ *confianza* is the result of the type of relationship that exists between two individuals and/or degree of contact. Honduran social norms dictate that *confianza* must be shown to someone not necessarily because there is intimacy and relational proximity, but because of the type of relationship itself. In other words, one must show *confianza* to someone with whom one comes into contact regularly or because the type of relationship is socially assumed to be characterized by shared *confianza* (e.g. cousins), even if one is not relationally close with that person. This type of *confianza* usually characterizes relationships in the public domain, except friendships, and even relatives in some cases. These are relationships that appear in the middle or toward the ‘low’ end of the *confianza* continuum (see Figure 12 in §3.1.3). Interestingly, this seems to be the most common type of *confianza* in Honduran culture. All participants agreed that in the Honduran sociocultural context, the default meaning of *confianza* regarding interpersonal relationships and interactions, is equivalent to familiarity, where familiarity is regular contact or an inherent characteristic of certain relationships, and not solely friendship or intimacy. On this, Participant 32-M.MA states, “*confianza en nuestro contexto significa familiaridad* (‘*confianza* in our context means familiarity’),” and participant 01-F.OA., speaking about showing *confianza* to relatives whom she does not see frequently, adds, “*más que todo es por familiaridad que por [verdadera] confianza* (‘it is mostly because of familiarity than because of [real] *confianza*’).” These claims echo what Dámaso Alonso advised about Spanish culture and the overexpression of *confianza* through the overuse of *tú* back in the 1960s, quoted in §2.2.4, and suggest that

showing *confianza*, even if it is not real, might be the norm in Honduran culture, with the exception of showing *confianza* to strangers. Consequently, this would entail a departure from a more negatively oriented politeness ethos toward a more positively oriented politeness ethos, which, in turn, echoes the change in progress described in Chapter 4, evidenced by the age effect detected in the sociolinguistic questionnaire data also observed in the present naturalistic data.

Importantly, this type of *confianza* must be subjectively constrained, since showing excessive *confianza*, like one would to a close family member or a friend, is perceived as negative behavior. In fact, someone who is *confianzudo* is seen as ill-mannered and impolite, since *confianzudo* is considered to be a synonym of *aprovechado* or someone who takes advantage of others and who instills distrust in them. On this, Participant 01-F.OA states, “*confianzuda es una persona aprovechada y aquí creo que no cabe lo que es el término confianza* (‘*confianzuda* is someone who takes advantage of others and here I don’t think we can talk about *confianza*’).” This parallels with Ardila’s (2006) comparative analysis of business interactions in Spain and other European societies, where the researcher concluded that the excessive use of *confianza* by Spaniards leads to distrust. Furthermore, the excessive use of *confianza* reflected in the overuse of *vos* by young Hondurans is what is perceived to lead to lack of respect and seriousness, or alternatively, formality, as Participant 06-F.OA warns:

- (11) *[El voseo] no es lo correcto [...] Eh, es más, antes, por ejemplo, yo me acuerdo mis, los abuelos y todos les inculcaban el respeto. Entonces, qué es lo que da, qué es lo que, eh, nos produce a llevarnos el vos, el irrespeto, o sea, la poca, la poca seriedad [...].*

[The use of *vos*] is not the right thing to do [...] Um, furthermore, before, for example, I remember my, grandparents and everyone would inculcate respect. So, what does that produce, where, um, where does *vos* lead us to, disrespect, in other words, the lack, the lack of seriousness [...].

The differences between profound and superficial *confianza* discussed here, echo Castro's (2000) distinction between *vos* of solidarity and *vos* of *confianza* (see §1.2.2.4.2). Recall here that according to Castro, *vos* of solidarity is exchanged between interlocutors who share a high degree of *confianza*, characterized by like-mindedness, friendship, and intimacy; this parallels with the concept of profound *confianza*. *Vos* of *confianza* is exchanged even when no solidarity, like-mindedness, or intimacy is shared, but rather to signal familiarity (as understood in Honduran culture, explained above) and/or group membership; this parallels with the concept of superficial *confianza*. Castro does acknowledge the fact that these two functions of *vos* are frequently difficult, perhaps impossible, to separate. This is due to the facts that there are cases in which the interlocutors share all of the above attributes (e.g. siblings or best friends) and, evident in her participants' own conceptualizations of *confianza*, that it is a complex concept that may be conditioned by familiarity, affinity, type of relationship, degree and length of acquaintance, trustworthiness, and frequency of contact. Therefore, as Castro reflects, the relevant factor(s) that constrain(s) the degree of *confianza* exhibited toward an interlocutor will vary depending on the speaker, the addressee, and the situational context. Accordingly, the pragmatic analysis of the patterns of pronoun use offered in the following subsections considers these extralinguistic features within the theoretical framework reviewed thus far, as also

suggested by Terkourafi (2001; 2004). As was mentioned earlier, general trends are examined within two general domains, familial relationships and non-familial relationships, complemented by the special scrutiny of individual cases that appear to deviate from expected patterns within each domain.

### ***5.1.3.2. Familial relationships***

The majority of the interactions among family members and relatives followed the expected patterns based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) postulations and Brown and Levinson's (1987) definitions of the social variables P and D. Relationships characterized by low values of P and D—spouses, siblings, cousins, and siblings-in-law—were categorically governed (100%) by reciprocal *vos*. However, a closer analysis of the social attributes of the interlocutors shows that the reality of the address forms used in the family context is much more nuanced than simply stating that these relationships are characterized by low values of P and D. These are relationships in which there was no power differential between interlocutors, even when there was an age difference of 10 – 15 years (in two of the relationships). This means that a 10 – 15-year difference within the family context does not warrant nonreciprocal address, or perhaps, following Schwenter (1993), that age is not a factor of the vertical dimension (as it is traditionally assumed in the literature) but rather of the horizontal dimension, much like other social attributes, such as gender.

As discussed in §2.1.3, according to Schwenter (1993), the horizontal dimension is defined mainly by two variables: social difference/similarity and degree of intimacy. With respect to the first variable, these relationships are characterized by social proximity or

social similarity in age and even gender, as gender match does not seem to be relevant in the family context. With respect to the second variable, these relationships are characterized by either a high degree of *confianza* between interlocutors, spouses and siblings that share profound *confianza*, or a high (or moderate) degree of *confianza*, cousins and siblings-in-law that might share profound or superficial *confianza*. The 'true' type of *confianza* between interlocutors cannot be determined empirically in the interviews; however, what could be observed was the use of reciprocal *vos*, which points to the existence of either profound or superficial *confianza*.

Nonreciprocal use of *vos-usted* was only observed in parent-child interactions; however, this was not categorical. Parent-child interactions were observed in 2 interviews, one between father and son (interview 3; see Table 14 above in §5.1.2), and the other between both father and mother and their son (interview 1). In 2 out of the 3 sets of interactions, the parent addressed the child with *vos* and in turn the child addressed the parent with *usted*. These were the father and son interactions in interview 3 and the mother and son interactions in interview 1. In the third parent-child relationship, both father and son addressed each other with *usted* consistently.

Nonreciprocal *vos-usted* observed in the two sets of parent-child interactions is consistent with Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987). Given that these relationships are characterized by a power differential (high P) and shared profound *confianza* (low D), nonreciprocal *vos-usted* is expected. An objection to this analysis might be that in both of these cases the children are adults in full control of their actions and lives, and thus, there is no real power differential between the parents and their children (i.e. the real value of P is low). In this respect, the use of nonreciprocal *vos-usted* could only be attributed

to a metaphorical power differential (Terkourafi, 2001; 2004) that emanates from the role each interlocutor maintains in the family. However, as Terkourafi concludes, metaphorical power is too much of an elusive concept that is greatly unfalsifiable. She states,

[a] metaphorical construal of P leaves us with a notion which is hardly constrained: it can be in conflict with concrete sources of power, and may even override them [...] How is a speaker to decide which to attend to, real or metaphorical, if we extend its definition in this way? (Terkourafi, 2004, p. 125)

Thus, there must be an alternative analysis for these interactions.

Nonreciprocal *vos-usted* could alternatively be viewed as an instance of institutionalized or conventionalized deference (Schwenter, 1993), in which the parent remains an authority figure only as a result of societal conventions and the children seek to enhance their own face by appearing to be competent members of society who know these norms of deference by addressing their parents with *usted*. In this way, nonreciprocal *vos-usted* is motivated by the speakers' identity. Note that both sons belong to age group YA, which in the sociolinguistic questionnaires revealed a preference for using *vos* with parents (66.67% compared to 20.00% in group MA and 4.35% in group OA). In addition, both sons report using both *vos* and *usted* equally with their parents—the first son with both parents and the second only with his mother, as he only uses *usted* with his father. This intrapersonal variability demonstrates that address form selection for some (younger) speakers is contingent upon the sociopragmatic situation, in addition to established social conventions. In contrast, for older speakers the choice seems to be much more stable, constrained by established social conventions which dictate using *usted* with parents, as it is evident in the

fact that only one older participant reported using *vos* and *usted* with his father—all other participants report only using *usted*—in the sociolinguistic questionnaire.

Given the facts mentioned above and working from Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) notion of acts of identity, it is plausible that using *usted* with their parents in the context of the ongoing interview was motivated by the speakers' wish to be perceived as more 'traditional,' that is, as respectful children who understand the operating societal conventions. According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985),

the individual creates for himself [/herself] the patterns of his [/her] linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time he [/she] wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those whom he[/she] wishes to be distinguished. (p. 181)

In this regard, politeness, and more specifically, address form selection is linked to self-presentation (cp. Terkourafi, 2005, p. 284) whereby the sons' identity is not only motivated by the interview setting, but also by their wish to resemble those who are more conservative when addressing parents/elders. Even though the interviews were conducted at the participants' homes, involved a relatively uncontroversial topic, and were facilitated by someone with whom the participants share *confianza* (either profound or superficial), the interview might have been perceived as a formal situation because it was being recorded for later analysis that would be performed not only by me, but also potentially by my adviser, a stranger to them (a fact about which the participants were cognizant). Furthermore, it is important to recall that the use of *usted* with parents, and elders in general, is considered desirable by members of the oldest age group. This was especially clear to the first son who

had witnessed his mother's admonition earlier in the interview when she regarded the indiscriminate use of *vos* with elders as inappropriate (see [11] in §5.1.3.1). Consequently, the combination of the sons' intravariability and their act of identity to resemble more conservative speakers with respect to address forms used with parents resulted in their use of *usted*, in turn, enhancing/protecting their own face. Moreover, the profound *confianza* that they share with their parents is irrelevant (or at least not decisive in this situation) when addressing their parents. The opposite might be true for those participants who principally address their parents with *vos*, as reported in the sociolinguistic questionnaire; however, this usage was not observed in the interview interactions. In return, their parents addressed them with *vos* not only because they are affectively close, but also to recognize and underscore the shared profound *confianza* between them and because it is socially acceptable and appropriate for parents/elders to address their children/younger interlocutors with *vos*.

The reciprocal use of *usted* by the father and son in the third set of parent-child interactions can be explained by combining the notions of acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and deference as a way of conveying appreciation (Goffman, 1956). The son's production was linked above to an act of conservative identity in his use of *usted* with his mother. Thus, this same assessment applies to his use of *usted* with his father. What remains unexplained is his father's use of *usted* with him. This use of *usted* can be classified as a case of *usted of cariño* (following Castro, 2000) in that it does not encode social distance or power differential (from lower to higher power), but rather it encodes relational proximity, intimacy, and affection (see Table 4 in §1.2.2.4). In other words, *usted* is used as a form to show appreciation to the recipient with whom profound *confianza* is shared. This is



similar to type of *usted* that is exchanged between spouses (*usted* of intimacy), as the participants discussed in the interviews (see §5.2.1 below). Furthermore, his father's use of *usted* is also linked to his social identity as a person known in the community for being very formal in all aspects of his life: not only in expression, but also in demeanor, clothing style, and treatment of others. Ergo, since *usted* of *cariño* and *usted* of distance/respect/deference share the same form, it is natural for him to address his son with *usted*. Moreover, it is important to note that *usted* was slightly preferred over *vos* to address their children by members of the oldest age group in the sociolinguistic questionnaire (52.00% vs 35.00%, respectively).<sup>114</sup> In fact, half of the participants in this age group reported principally addressing their children with *usted*, while the other half reported either using both forms equally or mostly using *vos*. Therefore, using *usted* with his son might not only be linked to the father's personal formal/conservative identity, but also to a broader generational identity.<sup>115</sup>

### **5.1.3.3. Non-familial relationships**

Relationships outside of the family context presented interactions that were characterized mainly by either reciprocal *vos* or reciprocal *usted*. In these interactions, age

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<sup>114</sup> Note that this difference was not statistically significant.

<sup>115</sup> Additionally, the use of *usted* as a form of *confianza* is sociohistorically motivated, as it is not a recent development. In fact, diachronic studies (e.g. Cabal, 2012; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999; Obediente Sosa, 2010) have demonstrated that the use of *usted* (< *vuestra merced*) between relatives, such as siblings and cousins, and between close friends was prevalent in Colonial times, in addition to its formal use. This was still the case by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when *vos* disappeared in the Peninsula, as reported by Obediente Sosa (2010). He states that the use of *usted* as a form of *confianza* is proven by the fact that the RAE defined *usted* as “the form of courtesan and familiar address” (Obediente Sosa, 2010, p. 91; my translation) in its first dictionary.

appeared to be an important factor determining address form selection: the great majority of younger interlocutors (of both age groups YA and MA) addressed each other with *vos*, whereas the older speakers categorically addressed others, both young and old, with *usted*. What follows expands on this and discusses the findings by type of relationship, summarized in Table 19 in §5.1.2.

Interactions between old church members and old neighbors are situations of low D and low P. These relationships are characterized mainly by shared superficial *confianza* that has existed for many years. Furthermore, since the interlocutors hold/have held similar positions of leadership in church and have been attending church for an extended period of time (in the case of old church members), and are not socially in positions of authority-subordinate (in the case of old neighbors), it can be concluded that there is no power differential in these relationships. These characteristics would entail the use of reciprocal *vos* between interlocutors, following Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987). This was true only for younger interlocutors, members of age groups YA and MA. As observed in the family context, an age difference of 10 – 15 years did not result in nonreciprocal use of *vos-usted*. This means that the combination of superficial *confianza* and proximity in age entails the reciprocal use of *vos* between younger interlocutors and that the factor of the interview setting does not seem to be relevant or at least seems to be overridden by superficial *confianza* and proximity in age. Between older and younger interlocutors with an age difference greater than (or equal to) 20 years, *usted* was exchanged, and not the expected nonreciprocal *vos-usted* described by Schwenter (1993; see §2.1.3). In these relationships, also characterized by superficial *confianza*, the use of *usted* resembles that of

*usted* used by strangers. For this reason, both cases will be analyzed concurrently in what follows.

Interactions between old church members and old neighbors were only between 4 participants, all members of age group OA, and me.<sup>116</sup> Interactions between strangers were between myself and participants that I met for the first time at the time of the interview. Out of the 5 participants who were categorized as strangers, 3 belonged to age group OA and 2 to age group MA. Importantly, all of the participants addressed me with *usted*, which was expected since these are situations of high D, given that we are strangers to each other and no *confianza* is shared between us. In this respect, the use of *usted* between strangers is consistent with Brown and Levinson (1987).

Following Brown and Gilman (1960) and Schwenter (1993), nonreciprocal *vos-usted* should have been exchanged in the interactions between members of age group OA and me due to the age difference between us. Nonetheless, this was not the case. What this means is that the use of nonreciprocal *vos-usted* is either appropriate when there is a clear power differential (Brown & Gilman, 1960), or when social distance interacts with social norms of deference (Schwenter, 1993). Therefore, the use of *usted* by older participants to address me could be explained by a superficial type of *confianza* (in the case of old church members and old neighbors) or by the lack of *confianza* (in the case of strangers) between us. Both power and social distance due to age are irrelevant in these cases, especially when both interlocutors (the participant and me) are considered to be socially similar, that is, both are

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<sup>116</sup> One of the participants, Participant 11-M.OA, used *tú* with me, the researcher, 2 out of the 3 times he addressed me. The third time, he used *usted*. As explained above in §4.1, this participant's use of *tú* is not representative of the Honduran population. This is evident in the fact that his use of *tú* with me was inconsistent.

adults (even if there is a considerable age difference), who are full members of society. Thus, their use of *usted* with me indicates distance between equals. This distance may be real, in the case of strangers, or a result of interpreting superficial *confianza* as an instance of high D—whereas younger interlocutors who address each other with *vos* might interpret it as an instance of low D. The high value of D would then yield the use of *usted*.

Alternatively, a more tenable assessment of these cases is provided by examining the context of the interactions and by adopting Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) theory of acts of identity introduced earlier. Even though all interviews were conducted in a location that was familiar and comfortable for the participants (i.e. their homes), I approached them, not only as a fellow church member/neighbor/stranger, but importantly in my role of researcher (and therefore a fellow adult), tipping the scale of power in my direction, which would override established conventions of deference/respect between older and younger interlocutors.

Regarding my interactions with fellow church members and neighbors, my role of researcher not only grants me some power over them, but also might have affected their perception of me. Any changes in the social attributes of younger interlocutors may have an effect on the use of *usted* instead of *vos* by older speakers. These changes, if different from the attributes of the older speaker, result in more pronounced social differences, in turn, separating the speakers along the horizontal dimension, as expected following Schwenter (1993). For instance, it is rather common for older acquaintances, distant friends, or even distant relatives to switch from addressing a younger person with *vos* to addressing him/her with *usted* once that person has graduated from the university, has obtained an important job, or has accomplished some other important social goal. Anecdotally, an acquaintance

shared a story in which her aunt switched from using *vos* to using *usted* with her. After directly asking her why she switched, her aunt told her that it was because she had just received her Ph.D. and, therefore, she needed to address her appropriately. As this anecdote shows, the fact that the niece was more educated than the aunt (since she did not have a Ph.D.) warranted the shift in address form to signal the new social distance that exists between them due to different levels of education. A similar case can be made for my relationship with these participants, since I am not only interacting with them as a neighbor or a fellow church member, but also as a Ph.D. student conducting a dissertation investigation. Consequently, their desire to portray themselves as respectful and appreciative of the seriousness of my identity as a researcher might have motivated them to use *usted* with me. Furthermore, in my interactions with strangers, the presence of my father, someone whom they respect as a religious and education leader, who introduced me to the participants, additionally influenced the way they presented themselves in the interviews. Not knowing me previously, the participants opted for addressing me with the most formal form, *usted*, which would present them in the most favorable way by appearing educated and well-mannered. Ultimately, by addressing me with *usted*, they construe their own face/social identity, which they could not accomplish by using *vos*. In sum, by presenting myself in my role of researcher, I placed myself at their same social level as an adult and simultaneously acquired some power over the participants through the unbalanced researcher-participant relationship. Moreover, the presence of my father represented an additional interlocutor some of the participants needed to attend to when construing their face. While considering this combination of extralinguistic factors, the participants opted to address me with the

safest (most politely strategic) option, *usted*, as it was more advantageous for face work purposes to appear formal and respectful than informal and familiar (i.e. *confianza*udos).

Lastly, interactions between old acquaintances were only between one of the participants and me. This relationship is characterized by low P, since neither of us holds a position of power over the other and there is relatively no age difference—we both belonged to age group YA at the time of the interview—, and low D. The low D is strictly a result of superficial *confianza*, which emanates from the connection between us: the participant is one of my sister’s best friends. According to Honduran social norms, this connection entails a certain degree of *confianza* that is reinforced by the amount of contact between us, which has been inconsistent over the years.<sup>117</sup> Consequently, the situation of low P and low D should result in the use of reciprocal *vos*; nonetheless, as observed in Table 19 above (in §5.1.2), the participant addressed me once with *vos* and once with *usted*. Because the exchanges in which the participant used *vos* and later *usted* were qualitatively the same, her use of both forms to address me can be explained by first alluding to the nature of our relationship in terms of degree of *confianza* and by then examining the context of the interaction. Regarding the nature of our relationship, it is not the case that we share profound *confianza* and it is also not the case that we share no *confianza* whatsoever, since we are not strangers to each other. Therefore, what exists is superficial *confianza*, which could cause the participant to be indecisive when selecting the pronominal form with which to address me in a sort of address form negotiation that would either run its course naturally as *confianza* deepens (if at all), or is resolved by directly and explicitly discussing which address form to use. Her

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<sup>117</sup> The last interaction between this participant and me was approximately two years prior to the interview.

indecisiveness on address form could have been reinforced by the context of the conversation. As the interactions discussed above and in §5.1.3.2, she too might have perceived the interview as a formal encounter, provided that the interview did not take place at her home, but at my sister's home, in addition to the facts about the interview offered previously. However, as was discussed above, for younger interlocutors, the situational context did not seem to be a deciding factor; but in this particular case, the presence of her fiancé could have additionally created a conflict between using *vos* or *usted*, since he, a stranger to me, used *usted* to address me, regardless of our proximity in age, and explicitly mentioned his disapproval toward addressing those who are not socially proximal with *vos* (i.e. acquaintances and strangers). In sum, someone who would in any other circumstance address me with *vos*, finds herself conflicted with respect to the form by which she should address me in a situation where I am not only her best friend's brother, but also a researcher conducting an interview in which she and her fiancé, who has unequivocally identified himself as a conservative speaker, are participating. Therefore, by negotiating which address form to use with me, she saves/protects her own face before her fiancé and any other potential audience of the interview recordings. This could also explain why she only addressed me two times in the interview, along the lines of Brown and Levinson's fifth super-strategy, "Don't do the FTA;" however, this last argument cannot be empirically proven from the data.

#### 5.1.4. Summary of the naturalistic production of pronominal forms of address

This section presented the descriptive and qualitative analyses performed on the naturalistic data from the interview interactions. The descriptive analysis in §5.1.2 uncovered general usage patterns of *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* that both corroborated and supported the results from the sociolinguistic questionnaire with respect to the three extralinguistic variables under study: gender, age, and degree of *confianza*. Overall, it was determined that both men and women prefer *vos* over *usted*, albeit, women prefer it at a higher relative frequency than men. *Vos* was greatly preferred by the two younger age groups (YA and MA), whereas *usted* was greatly preferred by the oldest age group (OA). Lastly, *vos* dominated interactions within the family domain, except in parent-child interactions where *usted* was preferred. Within the non-family domain, both *vos* and *usted* were equally used, depending on the type of relationship. *Vos* dominated interactions between old church members, whereas *usted* dominated interactions between strangers. Frequencies of both *vos* and *usted* were virtually equal in interactions between old neighbors; regarding old acquaintances, the 2 tokens (1 *vos* and 1 *usted*) came from the same participant directed to me. Importantly, *tú* was essentially absent from the spontaneous production of the participants; only one participant produced the 2 tokens reported above, whose speech was described as unrepresentative of the sample population.

Although the descriptive analysis provides a general picture of the address forms in use, it was essential to examine the data qualitatively to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations driving pronoun selection. The qualitative analysis offered in §5.1.3 attempted to account for the data within Brown and Gilman's (1960) and Brown and Levinson's (1987)



theoretical frameworks of sociopragmatic dimensions and politeness, respectively. However, it was demonstrated that, even though these theoretical frameworks partially explain the observed patterns, assessing address form selection as a function of the interaction between the horizontal dimension and deference (suggested by Schwenter, 1993) and by directly appealing to the extralinguistic features of the context of the interaction such as the age of the interlocutors, the type of relationship between them, and the setting of the interaction (proposed by Terkourafi, 2001; 2004) is a more adequate approach that provides a clear understanding of the observed usage patterns. Importantly, this assessment must incorporate a culturally specific construal of *confianza* to establish how it interacts with societal conventions of deference and the horizontal dimension as well as with the extralinguistic features of the interaction. Consequently, this comprehensive, qualitative assessment yields more accurate predictions. It was demonstrated that the combination of profound *confianza* and proximity in age yields reciprocal *vos* and that the combination of profound *confianza* and distance in age yields either nonreciprocal *vos-usted* (as conventionalized deference) or reciprocal *usted*, depending on the identity motivations of the interlocutors where *usted* signals a linguistically conservative identity. Furthermore, the combination of superficial *confianza* and proximity in age yields either reciprocal *vos* or reciprocal *usted*, depending on the generation of the interlocutors—reciprocal *vos* is used between younger interlocutors, whereas reciprocal *usted* is used between older interlocutors. Finally, the combination of superficial *confianza* and distance in age also yields reciprocal *usted*, as well as the lack of *confianza*.

In conclusion, it appears that pronoun selection can be generally accounted for in terms of the generation of the interlocutors and, especially, the type of *confianza* shared by

them. Essentially, profound *confianza* yields *vos*, superficial *confianza* yields either *vos* (for younger speakers) or *usted* (for older speakers), and no *confianza* yields *usted*. This general formulation is summarized below in Table 20.

<b>Type of <i>Confianza</i></b>	<b>Generational Proximity</b>	<b>Form</b>
Profound	Yes	<i>Vos</i>
Profound	No	<i>Vos/Usted</i>
Superficial	Yes	<i>Vos</i> (Younger Speakers) <i>Usted</i> (Older speakers)
Superficial	No	<i>Usted</i>
None	Yes	<i>Usted</i>
None	No	<i>Usted</i>

Any variation from this general paradigm can be attributed to other extralinguistic/contextual factors such as identity production or performance and setting (whether it is perceived as formal or informal/familiar). Furthermore, the generational variation with respect to the linguistic representation of superficial *confianza* through pronominal address—where it appears that generally for the older generation *usted* is preferred to signal superficial *confianza*, whereas for the younger generations *vos* is preferred—points to the generational differences discussed in Chapter 4. This type of variation as well as general usage patterns of address forms are discussed in the following section through the exploration of the attitudes Honduran speakers exhibit toward the forms and how they understand their identity in relation to them.

## 5.2. Attitudes Toward Pronominal Forms of Address and Honduran Identity

This section presents the findings of the qualitative analysis of the narratives and discussions found in the interview data, taking into consideration the following: (1) the ideological dichotomy surrounding pronominal forms of address in Honduran Spanish between legitimate/standard *tú* and illegitimate/nonstandard *vos*, presented in §1.2.2.4; and (2) the theoretical framework based on Michael Billig's (1995) theory of banal nationalism, discussed in §2.4. Once the interview recordings were transcribed, resulting in a 30,685-word corpus, the transcriptions were coded and analyzed by implementing a methodology typical of Thematic Analysis. As was explained in §3.5.2, this analysis consisted in focusing on the contents of the narratives, thoughts, perceptions, and attitudes shared in the interviews and grouping them into common themes (King & Horrocks, 2010). Consequently, three major themes emerged from the data, each of which is discussed in the following subsections and organized by exploratory question, proposed in §2.5 and restated below (that is, §5.2.1 answers EQ1 and so on). §5.2.4 offers summary conclusions for each exploratory question.

**EQ1:** What are the overall attitudes Hondurans exhibit in relation to *voseo*, and pronominal address in general?

**EQ2:** Is *vos* perceived as an index of Honduran national identity? If so, how is it defined? If it is not, is there a specific 'user' of *vos*?

**EQ3:** Has there been a perceived increase in the use of *voseo* by Honduran speakers or is *vos* losing ground to *tú*?

### 5.2.1. *Vos* as nonstandard norm

Attitudes toward *voseo* emerged through a series of questions that ranged from very general to more specific. The more specific questions were rarely asked because participants often provided answers to them as they answered the broader questions (see Appendix D for the interview modules/questions). The principal question all participants were asked was, ‘when you hear two people talking with each other using *voseo* what comes to mind?’ By asking this question, it was intended to access the unprompted attitudes of the participants by providing no context for the fictitious interaction, compelling them to focus on the use of *vos*. All participants unanimously stated that nothing comes to mind other than the fact that the interlocutors share *confianza* and have a trusting/intimate/close relationship, for using *voseo* is common in Honduras since “[...] *todo mundo lo usa* (‘everyone uses it’)” (Participant 01-F.OA). According to the informants, addressing someone with *vos* is a generalized practice in Honduras and neither level of education, social stratum, age, nor any other social attribute is relevant when it comes to (not) using *vos*. Speaking about level of education, Participant 12-F.OA asserted,

(12) *a cualquier nivel lo usan, a cualquier nivel eh, académico, verdad, lo usan. Personas que tienen grandes títulos universitarios y vosean y vosean.*

they use it at any level, at any level, um, academic [level], right, they use it. People with impressive college degrees and they use *vos* and they use *vos*.

Furthermore, in the interview with Participants 13-M.MA, 14-F.MA, and 15-F.YA, Participant 13-M.MA attributed *vos* to the middle and working classes, and *usted* to the upper class. The participant claimed that

(13) *[El uso de usted] depende también del nivel de esas personas, el nivel social y en caso de vos, casi también, vienen (sic) de, de, de personas de un nivel medio, bajo.*

[The use of *usted*] also depends on the class of those people, the social class and with respect to *vos*, also, they come (sic) from, from, from people from a middle, low class.

This demonstrates that for some the use of the polite form, *usted*, is the way in which members of the upper class—presumably the most educated class since it has access to more educational opportunities—speak colloquially and quotidianly, but interestingly, not the prescribed/academic form, *tú*. Perhaps this notion stems from the generalized perceptions in Honduran culture that (1) the conservative use of *usted* in certain situations, such as a heated argument, is sophisticated and classy,<sup>118</sup> and (2) the use of *tú* when addressing fellow Hondurans is spurious and condescending (Castro, 2000). However, the other two participants quickly refuted Participant 13-M.MA's claims as they both argued that members of the upper class also use *vos* in everyday interactions, with which Participant 13-M.MA agreed after discussing with the rest of the group. It must be mentioned here that no other informant shared Participant 13-M.MA's original assertion.

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<sup>118</sup> Castro (2000) gives the example of receiving a *vos* of insult but responding with *usted* as an act of class and sophistication (p. 13).

The generalized use of *vos* was confirmed when participants were asked (1) if there is a specific type of person who uses it and (2) which form of address is used the most in Honduras. Again, the inability to attach specific social values to *vos* was pervasive among the participants. Moreover, *vos* was consistently proposed as the address form used most frequently in Honduras, especially in the urban setting, followed by *usted*. *Tú* is perceived as very rarely used in daily interactions. In fact, participants did not mention the use of *tú* spontaneously when referring to the way Hondurans speak; *tú* was only discussed when participants were specifically asked to consider its presence in Honduras (see §5.2.2 for more detail). These findings disprove the notion that *voseo* could be appraised as uneducated or unsophisticated, since even the most educated members of society use it, and support a mainly bipartite system, *vos-usted*, in the spoken variety. In this respect, Honduran Spanish parallels with Nicaraguan Spanish and the spoken variety of Salvadoran Spanish (cp. Christiansen, 2014; Quintanilla Aguilar, 2009). Furthermore, Quintanilla Aguilar (2009) reports similar attitudes toward *voseo* among Salvadorans, who view it as a feature shared by all social classes and who do not perceive it as an ‘incorrect’ form only used by the uneducated.

Nonetheless, since *vos* does not belong to standard/legitimate Spanish, it was expected for it to carry some negative connotations for some participants. Because Honduran grammar textbooks uphold the prescriptive tradition enforced by the RAE,<sup>119</sup> *voseo* has been absent from the grammar curriculum of the Honduran education system, essentially erased (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and supplanted by *tú*, the legitimate/standard form.

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<sup>119</sup> Recall that *vos* disappeared in the Peninsula in the eighteenth century (cp. Penny, 1991).

For instance, speaking about what has influenced his child's use of *tú* and *vos*, Participant 08-M.MA commented that

(14) *También habría que ver los libros de texto porque en libros de texto es el tú y entonces por eso los niños de, de primeros años, de escuela, usan el tú también [...].*

Also, we would have to take a look at textbooks because in textbooks it's *tú* and so that is why children in, in their first years of schooling, use *tú* as well [...].

As expected, some informants did express some negative attitudes toward *voseo*. Consistent with Labovian sociolinguistics, because individuals of older generations tend to speak a more conservative variety (Labov, 2001), it was not surprising that these negative sentiments emerged within the oldest age group, where the use of *vos* was perceived as incorrect, untoward, and distasteful. Unexpectedly, however, these perceptions were not a result of prescriptive notions, but rather, of the innovative uses of *vos* in contexts where traditionally *usted* is expected (see §5.2.3 for more detail). Some participants view the use of *vos* as a treacherous practice because it can easily lead to disrespect due to the closeness and informality it indexes. This perspective is consistent with the *vos* of undue *confianza*, offense, aggression, and anger reported by Castro (2000), all associated with general impoliteness/rudeness. On this, Participant 06-F.OA shared that the use of *vos*

(15) *[...] no es lo correcto [...] Eh, es más, antes, por ejemplo, yo me acuerdo mis, los abuelos y todos les inculcaban el respeto. Entonces, qué es lo que da, qué es lo que, eh, nos produce a llevarnos el vos, el irrespeto, o sea, la poca, la poca seriedad [...].*

[...] is not the right thing to do [...] Um, furthermore, before, for example, I remember my, grandparents and everyone would inculcate respect. So, what does that produce, where, um, where does *vos* lead us to, disrespect, in other words, the lack, the lack of seriousness [...].

This was a shared sentiment among half of the participants within the oldest age group. Therefore, any negative connotations regarding the use of *vos* only emerge when it is used in inappropriate sociopragmatic contexts where traditionally *usted* should be used. Thus, for the informants, it is not a matter of using *tú* versus *vos*, but using *usted* versus *vos*.

Nevertheless, the dichotomy between prescription (the prescriptive use of *tú*) and practice (the habitual use of *vos*) still prevails in Honduran ideological assumptions. The fact that Participant 14-F.MA explicitly stated “[...] *es que el vos no es malo* [...] ([...] the thing is that *vos* is not bad [...])”, indicates that there is a prescriptive, ‘good’ form, that is *tú*, to which speakers should adhere, but which in reality has no bearing on the way Hondurans speak since Honduran Spanish already has another perfectly ‘good’ form: *vos*. According to Bourdieu (1991), the education system plays a key role in standard language formation, as the “teacher of speaking” is also the “teacher of thinking.” As a result, written language becomes normalized into the standard legitimate form, against which all other forms of language are measured; in this sense, it is a law. Thus, since the use of *tú* is inculcated in the Honduran speaker by the education system, it belongs to standard/legitimate Spanish. Therefore, any deviation from it, such as the use of *vos*, is perceived as nonstandard, as illegitimate. However, this is true for the written/academic norm and for the ‘ideal’ Spanish that every Spanish-speaker should speak. In spoken language, *vos* does belong to the norm



as it is viewed as the way Hondurans speak that is connected to their sociocultural heritage. On this, Participant 07-M.YA comments,

(16) *[...] creo que es una forma tanto de educación, como de cultura... En educación el español es puro por naturaleza y es hablar el español, el idioma, como nuestros libros nos lo enseñan, un español académico. Porque ya el español que uno practica, eh, ya va a depender del país en donde está. Más que todo, el español académico es el general para todos. Y ese es el difícil de hablar porque cada país tiene sus, sus culturas, sus modos. Pero en el área cultural, eso va a ser algo nuestro, [especialmente] en el español rural. Porque es algo de cultura, es algo de, de, por decir así (.) no se va a poder eliminar porque es algo que uno lo va a agarrar como cultura (.) con eso nos vamos a identificar [...].*

[...] I think it is as much a matter of education, as it is of culture... In education, Spanish is pure by nature and it is speaking Spanish, the language, just as our textbooks teach us, an academic Spanish. Because the Spanish that we practice, um, will depend on the country in which we are. Overall, academic Spanish is general for everyone. And that's the difficult one to speak because each country has its, its cultures, its ways [of being]. But, in the cultural area, that's going to be something that is ours, [especially] in rural Spanish. Because it is a cultural matter, it's something that, that to put it this way (.) is not going to be able to be eliminated because it's something that we will take as culture (.) we will identify with that [...].

In this interview, the group agreed that *vos* belongs to Honduran 'cultural' Spanish and *tú* to 'academic' Spanish. Therefore, as part of the Honduran linguistic *habitus*, *vos* works against

the prescriptive forces that perpetuate the notion of an ‘ideal’ Spanish by indexing Honduran national identity, which is tacitly reproduced through the daily use of *vos*, as discussed in the following section.<sup>120</sup>

### 5.2.2. *Vos* as marker of Honduran national identity

As was explained in §2.4, nationalism in established nations is observed through symbols and practices present in the daily lives of the citizenry. These symbols and practices tacitly allow the members of the nation to imagine their community as that, a nation, through a constant yet subconscious reminding of their nationhood. Since these elements are part of the *habitus* of the citizenry, hence not ‘consciously coordinated,’ they are taken for granted; they are banal (Billig, 1995). To determine if *voseo* was consciously associated with Honduran identity, the participants were asked the following question: ‘what would you say characterizes the way Hondurans speak?’ Given how open ended the question is, it was presumed that the answers that would emerge would most likely constitute the linguistic features that actively signal a Honduran identity in the community’s consciousness. It was expected that *vos* would be identified as a characteristic of Honduran Spanish only after being explicitly mentioned later in the interview.

As anticipated, *vos* did not emerge as a salient marker of Honduran identity. Participants mostly offered discourse markers, such as *pues sí* (‘yeah’), *vaya pues* (‘O.K.’), and *verdad* (‘right’: and its reduced form, *vaá*); lexical items, such as *pisto* (‘money’), *¡pucha!*

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<sup>120</sup> This is consistent with the fact that most participants agreed that the best Spanish is spoken in Spain, where the language originated and where the RAE is located.

(‘shoot!’), *cipote* (‘little boy’), and *chigüín* (‘little boy’); and the overuse of expletives, as characteristics of Honduran Spanish. Out of the 30 interviewees, only three mentioned *vos* as a particular, linguistic feature of Honduran Spanish;<sup>121</sup> however, this type of *vos* is specific to Honduras, as it is evident in the following comments from Participants 05-M.OA and 08-M.MA, respectively.

(17) [...] *el vos nuestro es, los mayores [diciendo], ‘Ey vos, chigüín; ey vos, cipote’* (.) *Ese es el vos nuestro.*

[...] our *vos* is, the elders [saying], ‘Hey you-*vos*, boy; hey you-*vos*, boy’ (.) That’s our *vos*.

(18) *El uso del vos se utiliza aquí y, y se apocopa en vo, ‘Ey vo’.*

The use of *vos* it’s used here and, and it’s reduced to *vo*, ‘Hey you-*vo*’.

As (17) and (18) show, Honduran *vos* involves a particular intonation, is usually associated with other Honduran linguistic features (such as those mentioned above), and frequently appears in its reduced form, *vo*.

The fact that *vos* is not automatically offered as a characteristic feature of Honduran Spanish but is viewed as the normal way in which all Hondurans address each other quotidianly, demonstrates that *vos* banally indexes Honduran national identity. No Honduran wakes up every morning and declares, ‘Today I am Honduran as I use *vos*,’ and yet all Hondurans use it as a regular social practice that is part of their linguistic *habitus*. Very

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<sup>121</sup> This could have been a result of priming, since the participants knew that the interview would be partly discussing the use of *voseo* in Honduras.

much like Billig's (1995) still flag on a building reproduces national belonging in the world of nations, so does *vos* reproduce the Honduran nation. *Vos* transcends gender, social class, age group, and creed, interconnecting all Hondurans in an imagined community, (re)producing Honduran nationhood.

Moreover, claiming an identity not only requires a categorization of the self (of the community), but also a categorization of the other (of the foreign community) (cp. Tajfel, 1978). It has been discussed that *tú* is considered part of the legitimate, standard Spanish that every Spanish-speaker should speak, present in Honduran Spanish in the written/academic/religious norm. In the spoken norm, *tú* is perceived as part of a foreign, non-Honduran variety of Spanish. When asked, 'What comes to mind if you hear two Hondurans using *tú* with each other?' the participants displayed a strong reaction to the image. In some cases, it caused laughter and in others discomfort. All participants unanimously agreed that they would not regard the speakers as Honduran, but as foreigners. As Participant 27-F.OA explains,

(19) *[Pensaría] Que no son de Honduras (risas). Sí, porque realmente el voseo, el vos, es lo que nosotros escuchamos (.) Es lo propio de Honduras. El tú ya es para, siento yo que no son propiamente hondureños (.) Son extranjeros o alguien que vino del extranjero e hizo su vida aquí en Honduras y mantuvo el tú.*

[I would think] That they are not from Honduras (laughter). Yeah, because *voseo, vos*, is what we hear (.) It's what is typical of Honduras. *Tú* is for, I feel that they are not purely Honduran (.) They are foreigners or someone who came from abroad and made a living here in Honduras and maintained *tú*.

Compared to the pragmatic functions of *tú* listed by Castro (2000) (see §1.2.2.4), the participants in this study only considered its indexicality of foreignness, but not of spurious sophistication or of accommodation. This can be explained by alluding to the specificity of the prompt and the Honduran spoken norm discussed above (in §5.2.1). Because the participants were asked to imagine the use of *tú* by Hondurans (assuming Honduras as the location of the interaction) and because *vos* is the norm in spoken conversation, that is, no Honduran addresses other Hondurans with *tú*, the only plausible conclusion is that the interlocutors are not Honduran, but foreign. In this sense, it would be inconceivable for ‘true’ Hondurans living in Honduras to speak using *tú*, since it is a characteristic of the other (of foreigners). In this respect, what differentiates the Honduran nation from a foreign nation is the use of *vos* with its Honduran particularities. Therefore, to claim a true Honduran national identity, one must use *vos*. Moreover, any use of *tú* by Hondurans is perceived as a performance of foreignness, as Participant 18-M.MA clearly states,

(20) *No, lo siento raro (.) Yo siento de que es alguien o que es de afuera, de otro país o que es un copión hondureño (risas) que está imitando una novela tal vez de otro lado.*

No, I feel that it is strange (.) I feel that it is someone who is either from abroad, from another country or who is a Honduran copycat (laughter) that is imitating maybe a soap opera from somewhere else.

This contrasts with Murillo Medrano’s (2002) findings, who examined the components of a Costa Rican identity as perceived by Costa Ricans themselves. He uncovered sentiments of superiority and exceptionality that characterize the Costa Rican imagined

community with respect to the rest of Central America, as a result of its location within the *Capitanía General de Guatemala*, absence of miscegenation and the consequent preponderance of a white race, and the desire to be viewed internationally as Europeans (i.e. foreign to the Central American identity). According to Murillo Medrano (2002) and Fernández (2003), this (foreign) identity has enabled *tú* to be used increasingly in Costa Rican Spanish, supplanting *vos*. Recall here that the recent incursion of *tú* has been documented in other studies, such as Thomas (2008) and Cabal (2012). Consequently, the use of *vos* now subsumes embarrassment, which in turn is a consequence of national ignorance, according to Costa Rican novelist Fabián Dobles, who vehemently defends the use of *vos* in Costa Rica. Dobles (1994) comments,

there is among a certain group of high ranking intellectuals and publicists of great prolificacy a type of generalized embarrassment regarding the language we speak, particularly concerning *voseo*... product of the ignorance of a small nation that in other countries and greater regions *voseo* is also used and everybody is happy, but here, no one seems to know about it. (p. 142, as cited in Fernández, 2003, p. 24; my translation)

Honduras is one of those nations Dobles refers to that are happy using *vos*. Even though *tú* is prescriptively the address form that belongs to the standard, it has not been able to take over *vos* in the spoken norm. This suggests that the indexicality that ties *vos* to Honduran national identity is a stronger force acting against the institutional legitimizing power of the education system and any other influence promoting the use of *tú*, such as the

media or religion.<sup>122</sup> As a result, *voseo* has become cemented in Honduran Spanish, disallowing the infiltration of *tú*. Participant 08-M.MA commented that *tú* “*todavía no cuaja, creo yo, al nivel general (.) Todavía no penetra a nivel como para cambiar el uso* (‘still hasn’t caught on, I think, at a general level (.) It still does not penetrate at a level enough to change its use.’).” This is evident in the fact that infants, when they start to speak—since all children’s television programs are foreign and schools teach the use of *tú*—they mainly use *tú* to address others. As they grow, they stop using *tú* and start acquiring *vos* due to societal influence. All participants who have young children (4 out of 30) commented on this trend. In fact, all participants, regardless of age group or gender, noted an increase in the use of *vos*, especially observable in the youngest generations.

### 5.2.3. Innovative use of *vos*

In addition to the use of *vos* as nonstandard norm, the participants also reflected on the recent innovative use of *vos* whereby it has started to take over some of the territory belonging to *usted*. Following Brown and Gillman (1960), *usted* has been used traditionally to address an interlocutor who is higher on the vertical sociopragmatic dimension (i.e. older, more authority, etc.) or someone more (socially) distant than the speaker on the horizontal dimension (i.e. an acquaintance or a stranger). According to participants in all age groups, the younger generations are no longer constrained fully by this paradigm as they use *vos*

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<sup>122</sup> Castro (2000) notes that since the 1980s, Honduran writers and poets (e.g. Eduardo Bärh, Horacio Castellanos-Moya, and María Eugenia Ramos) have surreptitiously incorporated *voseo* in their writings, recognizing its indexicality as a Honduran cultural symbol, in turn, legitimizing it. However, their legitimizing efforts largely go unnoticed since the majority of Hondurans are not familiar with their work (partly because literature courses center on writers of international renown) and the written morphology of *voseo* (see §1.2.2.4).

innovatively in contexts where *usted* is expected. Commenting on Honduran speech patterns, Participant 19-F.YA shared,

(21) *Como dice [él], las personas, las hermanas menores usan vos y yo tengo esa experiencia, pero con mi sobrina. Mi sobrina apenas tiene cuatro años y a mi mamá y a mi papá que son los abuelos de ella, “ey vos, haceme caso”. O sea, tiene esa como, eh, absorbe todo, para empezar porque yo a ella la trato de vos y ella me trata de vos. A mí porque yo digo, es una niña solo le llevo como veinte años pue, pero a mis papás yo lo miro algo raro y yo creo que no soy la única. Creo yo que hay, que en este medio se está expandiendo. Quiere decir que esas generaciones el usted casi no lo va a usar. Solo va a quedar el vos, creo yo.*

As [he] says, people, his younger sisters use *vos* and I’ve had that same experience but with my niece. My niece is only four years old and to my mom and to my dad she goes, “hey you-*vos*, pay attention to me.” It’s like, um, she absorbs everything, to begin with, because I address her using *vos* and she addresses me using *vos*. With me because I figure, she is a kid, I am only twenty years older than she is, right, but with my parents I think it’s weird and I think I’m not the only one. I think that there is, that in this context it is expanding. That means that those generations won’t use *usted* very much. Only *vos* will remain, I think.

It is important to remember that traditionally in Honduran society adults address children using *usted*, perhaps to teach children the acceptable sociopragmatic uses of *vos* and *usted* or metaphorically to show respect/deference to children. Alternatively, Castro (2000)



considers addressing children and (small) animals with *usted* to be a feature of Honduran 'baby talk' with the pragmatic function of expressing *cariño* ('affection'). Participants 04-F.MA and 03-M.YA in (22) and (23), respectively, explain the permanent shift in their address choices when interacting with their young boy, from using *usted* (in [22]) to using *vos* (in [23]).

(22) *Porque nosotros al inicio, "dígame usted, trátelo de usted." Nosotros siguiendo la línea, lo tradicional.*

Because at the beginning we would tell him, "say-*usted usted* to him/her, address-*usted* him/her with *usted*." We were following what we were taught, what's traditional.

(23) *Y de usted fue variando a... vos. Y ahora quedó en vos.*

And from *usted* it started changing to... *vos*. And now *vos* stayed.

(22) and (23) suggest that children may be addressed with *usted* even when not speaking in 'baby talk' to exemplify the proper uses of *vos* and *usted*. However, as Participant 19-F.YA notes (in [21]), she, an adult, does not use *usted* with her niece, but uses *vos* instead, perhaps because she does not perceive herself as being much older than her niece. Similarly, the four participants who have young children also mentioned addressing their children using *vos*, not because they do not perceive themselves as being much older, but to index trust and intimacy. Participant 04-F.MA reflects,

(24) *y yo siento que es por tradición, porque nuestros, eh, que desde pequeños te van inculcando que a los mayores que de usted y que tiene que ser ese respeto, porque si vas a, por ejemplo, a los abuelos o a los bisabuelos, que un nieto o un hijo lo tratase de vos, sería una, una falta de respeto. Entonces, tal vez que, achapaditos a la antigua, verdá, con ese, con ese concepto que ya queriendo romperlo con los hijos, verdá, de que, de que hay que ser más amigos, más... y tal vez tenemos ese, tal, podríamos decir que ese es el punto en el, del vos, verdá, en el que te da más confianza, el, aplicándolo a nuestros hijos, verdá, o amigos.*

and I feel that it's because of tradition, because our, um, that at a young age they inculcate in you to address elders using *usted* and that there has to be a respect, because if you go to, for example, to your grandparents or your great-grandparents, to have a grandchild or a child addressing him or her using *vos*, it would have been a, a lack of respect. So, maybe a little old-fashioned, right, with that, with that concept already trying to break it with our children, right, that we should, should be more like friends, more... and maybe we have that, maybe, we could say that situation with *vos*, right, in which it gives you more trust, the, using it with our children, right, or friends.

Children addressing adults using *vos* is not only observed in the family context, but also in the public domain. On this, Participant 27-F.OA states,

(25) *pero ha habido un momento y ya lo he observado que el voseo está extendido y definitivamente lo miro en los niños hacia uno, verdad, ya tratan, ya lo tratan de vos un*

*niño a, a, yo me considero muy adulta, tal vez para los niños o usted y ya lo tratan de vos.*

but there has been a moment and I have already noticed it that *voseo* has become widespread and I definitely see it in the children toward us, right, they address, they address us using *vos* a child with, with I consider myself very much an adult, maybe for the children, or you, and they address you using *vos*.

This is not only found in children's speech, but also among young adults. Participant 15-F.YA, member of the youngest age group, reflects that when addressing others with whom she has little contact or even strangers,

(26) *yo hablo de vos bastante y a veces no me gusta que me hablen de usted porque digo, así como que no hay aquella confianza.*

I speak using *vos* a lot and sometimes I don't like it when people address me using *usted* because then I'm like there is no trust.

Similar usage patterns have been reported for Argentinian Spanish since the early and mid-1900s. Weber (1941) and Fontanella de Weinberg (1970) both noted the increase in use of *vos* (rather than *usted*) among young strangers—a change that was still in progress back in the 1970s, according to Fontanella de Weinberg. As detailed in §1.2.2.1, a few decades later *voseo* has become the standard address form in this variety to the extent that it now co-occurs in the same interaction with nominal forms traditionally considered formal (e.g. *señora* ['ma'am'], *caballero* ['sir'] + *voseo*; Rigatuso, 2000).

An incipient consequence of this innovative use of *vos* is that receiving *usted* when *vos* is expected might be perceived as impolite. On this, Participant 24-M.OA states, “*Yo siento... como una barrera que uno pone para que no se vengan contra uno* (‘I feel... it is like a barrier we place so that they don’t come against us’).” Thus, the use of *usted* is perceived as metaphorically placing a barrier between the speaker and the addressee, which either does not represent the type of relationship/degree of *confianza* that already exists or disallows any possibility for a close relationship to develop, indexing distrust. This suggests that in contemporary Honduran society showing *confianza* is preferred, especially in contexts where it should be explicitly expressed, such as among family members or friends, regardless of their position on the vertical dimension (see [26] above). Consequently, a relationship in which *usted* was mainly used in the past changes noticeably with a shift to *vos* to express the (profound) *confianza* that already exists, such as between parents and their children, as suggested by the following narrative shared by Participant 09-F.MA.:

(27) *El hecho de que ya se use el vos te facilita interactuar con otra persona. Por ejemplo, es lo que, en mi caso, es lo que a mis padres (.) Yo hasta que tuve como doce años, siempre fue usted y la relación fue, usted y yo aquí, muy distante. A raíz de que en un ups se le dijo vos y no vi reacción en ellos de, de que les molestara ni nada, obviamente a mi mamá no le gustó, a mi papá, lo tomó, más tranquilo yo siento que mejoró nuestra relación a partir de que nos tratáramos de vos. Fue más, eh, más espontánea, más tranquilos, ya, ya esa formalidad se, se quitó. Entonces, yo creo que más que las relaciones cambian y por eso usás el vos es cuando vos usás el vos, vos sos más accesible y entonces mejora la relación con las demás personas.*

The fact that you already use *vos* makes it easier for you to interact with another person. For example, it's what, in my case, it's what my parents (.) Me until I was about twelve, it was always *usted* and the relationship was, you-*usted* and me here, very distant. As a result of an oops *vos* was used and I didn't see a reaction from them that, that it would upset them or something, obviously my mom didn't like it, my dad, he took it, more calmly I feel that our relationship got better once we started addressing each other using *vos*. It was more, um, more spontaneous, calmer, and, and that formality went, went away. So, I think that relationships change and that's why you-*vos* use *vos* it's when you-*vos* use *vos*, you-*vos* are more accessible and so relationships with others get better.

As the participant highlights in (27), switching from using *usted* to using *vos* with her parents effectuated an important and necessary improvement in her relationship with them. This improvement was achieved through the affective proximity, intimacy, and *confianza* that *vos* subsumes which permitted their relationship to become closer and less rigid; *usted* was too formal and too separative to be used in a relationship characterized by profound *confianza*, thus, impeding spontaneous and effortless communication to transpire.

#### **5.2.4. Summary of interview discussions and narratives**

This section presented the findings from the discussions and narratives obtained from the group semi-directed interviews with respect to the attitudes Honduran speakers exhibit toward pronominal address and their identity as it relates to it. What follows is a

presentation of summary conclusions for each of the exploratory questions proposed in Chapter 2.

**EQ1:** What are the overall attitudes Hondurans exhibit in relation to *voseo*, and pronominal address in general?

Unprompted attitudes toward *voseo* in relation to *tuteo* and *ustedeo* obtained through broad questions in the interview modules revealed that *voseo* is widely accepted and regarded as the norm in Honduran Spanish. The lack of overtly positive and (partially of) negative attitudes toward it suggest general neutral acceptability among Honduran speakers. This stands in stark contrast against the clear negative attitudes exhibited toward colloquial use of *tú* among Hondurans. Since *tú* is regarded as the ‘academic’ form (cp. Castro’s [2000] *tú* as written form of *vos*), it does not fit in quotidian, colloquial conversation where ‘Honduran’ *vos* is the norm for familiar address. Nonetheless, social disapproval of the use of *vos* did emerge in the interview, although minimally.

Importantly, any negative sentiments toward *vos* are not generated by the prescriptive promulgation of *tú* by the education system or religious institutions (cp. Bourdieu, 1991)—provided that *tú* is only acceptable in written, academic, professional, or religious contexts (cp. Castro, 2000)—but rather, by its use in sociopragmatic contexts where *usted* is traditionally expected (e.g. when addressing elders), as denounced by some members of the oldest age group. Consequently, this further evidences that for the Honduran speaker the choice in the colloquial spoken variety is between *vos* and *usted*, that is, the pronominal

system is bipartite mainly, much like the systems reported for Nicaraguan and Salvadoran Spanish (cp. Christiansen, 2014; Quintanilla Aguilar, 2009).

**EQ2:** Is *vos* perceived as an index of Honduran national identity? If so, how is it defined?

If it is not, is there a specific ‘user’ of *vos*?

Responses and discussions to open-ended questions regarding the way Hondurans speak demonstrated that *vos* is not perceived as a salient marker of Honduran identity like other linguistic features are, such as certain lexical items, discourse markers, regional expressions, and the overuse of expletives. *Vos* was only discussed as a feature of Honduran Spanish when it was explicitly introduced later in specific questions regarding *voseo*. This provides additional support to the neutral acceptability of *voseo* as the norm and evidences that it functions as a banal linguistic practice in which every Honduran engages. Furthermore, this indicates that there is no specific ‘user’ of *vos*, as its use is independent of level of education, gender, generation, etc.

Importantly, Honduran *voseo* differs from that of other varieties in its association with other Honduran linguistic features, such as those mentioned above. Consequently, the unconscious use of *vos* in a ‘Honduran manner,’ tacitly reproduces Honduran national identity through a continuous reminding (or flagging) of Honduran nationhood (cp. Billig, 1995). This is especially evident when the use of *vos* is juxtaposed to the use of *tú*. Following Tajfel (1978), it was argued that, since *tú* does not belong to the oral norm, outside of academic and religious contexts, it functions as a characterization of the other, the foreign nation (i.e. a

foreign identity). This assessment was supported not only by the strong reaction the participants manifested toward the idea of Hondurans addressing each other with *tú*, mentioned above, but mainly by the connection they explicitly stated between it and foreignness—accounts for the use of *tú* (of accommodation) when interacting with foreigners, as observed by Castro (2000). In sum, while *vos* banally indexes Honduran national identity, *tú* indexes a foreign identity; ergo, the use of *tú* by any Honduran to address a compatriot is perceived as unnatural, strange, and spurious, as if pretending to be a foreigner.

**EQ3:** Has there been a perceived increase in the use of *voseo* by Honduran speakers or is *vos* losing ground to *tú*?

Specific questions regarding the frequency and extent of use of address forms in Honduran Spanish uncovered the generalized perception that *vos* is not only the address form used most frequently, but that its use is intensifying. This perceived intensification is a product of the expansion of *vos* into some of the territories traditionally reserved for *usted* (e.g. to address elders). These new uses of *vos* are generally associated with the speech of the youngest generations—source of negative sentiments among older speakers—but are also present in the linguistic practices of young adults. In the case of the speech patterns of young adult speakers, oftentimes this involves a somewhat conscious shift from *usted* to *vos*, for purposes of identity production so as to appear *de confianza* (roughly, ‘trustworthy’) or motivated by the desire of linguistically expressing *confianza*. In turn, as reported by the participants, relationships are able to flourish and develop once the symbolic



barrier of *usted* is removed and replaced with the symbolic bridge of *vos*. Furthermore, the incrementation in use of *vos* and the new sociopragmatic etiquette regarding *vos* and *usted* further confirms that *vos* is generally accepted as the norm, part of the Honduran linguistic *habitus*, which in turn reinforces the indexical connection between *vos* and Honduran national identity as *vos* becomes further cemented in the Honduran way of life.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 6.0. Introduction

This chapter consolidates the findings of the present dissertation research in which pronominal address in Honduran Spanish was explored at three varying levels of awareness: self-report, presented in Chapter 4, and naturalistic production and metalinguistic discussion, analyzed in Chapter 5. First, an answer is offered to the overarching question guiding the investigation by returning to the discussion of *vos* as a marker of national identity (§6.1). Then, the proposition of a possible change in progress is revisited by reviewing the process of and the extralinguistic factors that were found to constrain the observable variation in the variety (§6.2). Finally, the contributions of this dissertation are situated within the field of address research, concluding with the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research (§6.3).

#### 6.1. Explaining the Prevalence of *Vos* in Honduran Spanish

As previously discussed in §1.3, the main goal of the present dissertation investigation was to offer an answer to the following overarching research question: why is *voseo* still so prevalent in Honduran Spanish? This question was proposed after considering the following observations about the variety and Spanish in general:

- The tendency in Spanish has been one where *tú* initially becomes the preferred form for familiar/informal address and later invades and takes over the domain of *usted*, as evidenced in the diachronic evolution of pronominal forms of address (described in §1.1) and as recently recognized in several varieties (cp. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1970; Fox, 1969; Lastra de Suárez, 1972; Millán, 2011; Penny, 1991; Uber, 1984; 2011). It must be noted that this tendency has not been fully addressed, as it has only been descriptively explained by appealing to Brown's (1965) hypothesis: that solidarity (the horizontal dimension) or the reciprocal use of T, *tú*, is replacing relative status (the vertical dimension).
- *Tú* is included in the grammar curriculum of the Honduran school system and is used in religious liturgy, consequently, belonging to the academic/religious norm, whereas *vos* is excluded from grammar instruction and is absent from religious ceremonies/texts—a claim that was corroborated by some of the participants in the group interviews who discussed *tú* as the 'academic' form and *vos* as the 'cultural' form.

These sociohistorical motivations, representing prescriptive forces so powerful so as to shape language ideologies (Bourdieu, 1990), have resulted in ideological assumptions concerning legitimate/standard Spanish in Honduran culture that regard *tú* as the legitimate/standard form for familiar/informal address and not *vos*. This ideology is evident in the pragmatic functions that *tú* can accomplish in Honduran Spanish as the written form of familiar/informal address and as a form associated with hypercorrection, accommodation, and professionalism (Castro, 2000) and in the participants' own reflections,

which corroborated the general functions of *tú* as the ‘academic’ form and *vos* as the ‘cultural’ form. Consequently, it would be expected for Honduran Spanish to follow the general trend in the language of replacing *vos* with *tú*. However, not only has *vos* remained in the variety since it was brought to the region by the Spanish conquistadors, but its presence is becoming stronger over time, as was evidenced by the detected change in the Honduran pronominal system (more on this in the following subsection).

The widespread presence of *vos* in Honduras has both historical and sociopragmatic motivations. With respect to the historical motivations, the Honduran address system appears to have evolved differently from other varieties (see §1.2.2) as a consequence of its geographical location in relation to the seat of the viceroyalty of New Spain, now Mexico, and to the capital of the General Captaincy of Guatemala, Guatemala. Recall here that the two radiating axes in Latin America of *tú* were Mexico (viceroyalty of New Spain) and Peru (viceroyalty of Peru), and that the peripheral territories maintained *vos* for address among equals (Benavides, 2003; Carricaburo, 2004). In this respect, Honduras, as a peripheral territory has maintained this use of *vos* directly evolving from Early Modern (Colonial) Spanish without substantial influence from other languages or Spanish varieties into the present-day form for familiar address and more recently for general *confianza*. This interpretation is suggested by the diminishing presence of *tú* along the territory of the former viceroyalty of New Spain, which extended from Mexico to Costa Rica where presently *tú* is used (almost) exclusively in the Mexican variety, is part of the tripartite systems of Guatemalan and Salvadoran Spanish, is used minimally (mainly in written contexts) in Honduran Spanish, does not figure in the bipartite system of the Nicaraguan variety, and where its resurgence in Costa Rican Spanish has been a recent development (see §1.2.2.3 -

§1.2.2.5). Moreover, this indicates that in comparison to Guatemala, and perhaps El Salvador as well, Honduras's location was so peripheral that Spain's linguistic reach did not fully take hold of the variety—some influence is evident in the still-present prescriptive notions regarding standard/legitimate *tú vis-à-vis* nonstandard/illegitimate *vos* and the use of *tú* in written language. Consequently, the *vos* inherited from Colonial Spanish has not only been able to survive notwithstanding and resist the prescriptive forces promulgating *tú*, but expand and become even more deeply rooted in Honduran Spanish.

With respect to the sociopragmatic motivations, overt attitudes shared in the group semi-directed interviews toward pronominal address and Honduran Spanish in general demonstrated that *vos* is widely accepted as the form normally used in the variety for familiar/informal address. All of the participants categorically expressed that *vos* is what everyone uses in Honduras, exemplified in Participant 01-F.OA's comment: "*todo mundo lo usa* ('everyone uses it')." Its use is in fact so widespread that *vos* is not perceived as a salient feature of Honduran Spanish—in order for the sample population to discuss its use, questions concerning *voseo* needed to be explicitly asked, indicating that its use occurs below the level of awareness of the Honduran speaker. Thus, since no salient social stigma or social stratification is associated with it, it is neutrally appraised as the norm. Alternatively stated, there is no specific 'user' of *vos*.

The neutral acceptability of *vos* was evidenced by the lack of overt positive attitudes toward it and the general absence of negative sentiments. While *vos* was categorically regarded simply as the normal way of speaking in Honduras, a select group of participants, of the oldest age group (OA), did express negative opinions toward its use. Importantly, these opinions were not in favor of the prescriptive use of *tú*, but against the use of *vos* in contexts

where *usted* is traditionally required, mainly when addressing elders (more on this below). Therefore, even though some negative sentiments toward *vos* did emerge in the interviews, their aim toward its innovative use and not toward an improper or incorrect use due to prescriptive pressures fomenting the use of *tú*, shows that *vos* is not stigmatized in Honduran society. In fact, what is unacceptable and perceived as uncharacteristic of a Honduran speaker is the use of *tú*. Almost categorically,<sup>123</sup> the participants displayed a visually strong (negative) reaction toward the use of *tú* by a Honduran speaker, perceiving it as spurious and as performance of foreignness. As Castro (2000) explains and as the participants discussed, *tú* is what foreigners, native speakers of other varieties or learners of Spanish, use in conversation, not what Hondurans use. Consequently, the image with which the participants were presented of a Honduran addressing another Honduran with *tú* was inconceivable and bizarre.

The findings summarized in the preceding paragraphs, supported by its increasing frequencies reported in the sociolinguistic questionnaire as a function of time (i.e. higher frequencies of *vos* among younger generations) and observed in the interview interactions, demonstrate that the inherited *vos* from Colonial Spanish has prevailed in Honduran Spanish because it functions as a marker of Honduran national identity. Much like watching a soccer game between two Honduran teams or a still Honduran flag on a building—practices that are taken for granted, that go unnoticed—reproduce the imagined community of the Honduran nation, *vos* tacitly serves as a constant reminder in the social psychology of the

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<sup>123</sup> Recall that one of the participants, 11-M.OA, did share negative opinions toward the use of *vos* in favor of *tú* as the correct form. Nonetheless, this ideology is not shared among the Honduran population, which is not only evident in the responses shared by the rest of the sample population, but also in the fact that this participant was the only one who reported using *tú* in place of *vos* in the sociolinguistic questionnaire.

citizenry of their nationality. As part of the linguistic *habitus* of the Honduran speaker, *vos* is used daily “without imagination” (Billig & Núñez, 1998), or rather, below the level of conscious awareness to communicate with others while linking its users in an imagined community, thus, banally reproducing Honduran national identity, and in turn, acting as linguistic counteraction to prescriptive forces promulgating the use of legitimate/standard *tú*.

Furthermore, as a banal symbol of national identity, *vos* can be dynamically used in interaction, in a manner of self-presentation (cp. “act of identity:” Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), to appear *de confianza* (‘trustworthy/familiar’) and to express the solidarity and openness that cannot be accomplished with *usted*. In fact, recall that *usted* may be perceived as a symbolic barrier—but can be used to portray a conservative identity, as observed in its use by children when addressing their parents in the interview interactions (see §5.1.3.2). This use of *vos* as an act of solidary identity may be motivated by the recent sociopolitical developments in the nation’s history. As was discussed in §1.4.3, Honduras continues to suffer the consequences of systemic corruption that has been gradually increasing since the country’s inception. This, in conjunction with natural disasters and governmental policies that only seem to be detrimental to the country, has resulted in the unfortunate growth of the working class and the consequent deepening of socioeconomic inequalities. Inevitably, many have left and continue to leave the country—that is, the nation, the imagined community—in search for opportunities for a better future, and many others, who stay, decide to lead a life of criminality and violence that instils fear, hopelessness, and distrust in the citizenry and that, consequently, portrays the country internationally, especially the city

of San Pedro Sula, as the murder capital of the world.<sup>124</sup> However, the nation has recently seen renewed sentiments of egalitarianism and solidarity, evident in the resurgence of populist movements and by political groups, such as PAC (*Partido Anticorrupción*, ‘Anticorruption Party’) and LIBRE (‘Liberty and Refoundation Party’), seeking the reformation of Honduras into a peaceful country where justice, equality, and freedom are guaranteed to all Hondurans. Consequently, a sense of solidarity and national identity has been (and continues to be) revitalized in the citizenry, which could be driving the expression and portrayal of solidarity toward those who share this sociopolitical history through the use of *vos*—a use that, as revealed by the statistical analysis of the sociolinguistic questionnaire and by the overall preference of *vos* in the interview interactions, is increasing in frequency over time. In turn, the linguistic expression of national solidarity/identity through the use of *vos* counteracts the international perception of Hondurans as violent and untrustworthy. Alternatively stated, *vos*, as part of the linguistic *habitus* (or social psychology) of the Honduran speech community, is a behavioral reaction to the imagined presence of the international community with its negative perceptions of the Honduran nation, attempting to depict itself as solidary, as *de confianza*. In sum, the historical presence of *vos* in the Honduran territory since Colonial times and the recent sociopolitical developments of the country could explain the distinct evolution of *voseo* in Honduran Spanish, compared to other (peripheral) varieties where *tú* has been able to infiltrate their address system, as well as the more frequent use and expansion of *vos* in the variety (reviewed in the following section).

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<sup>124</sup> See for example: <http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/honduras-set-to-lose-title-of-murder-capital-of-world>



## 6.2. Exploring Address Variation and Change

The findings of the quantitative analysis of the data from the sociolinguistic questionnaire and from the spontaneous production of address forms in the group interviews demonstrate that the spoken variety of (urban) Honduran Spanish is mainly bipartite whereby *vos* is used for familiar/informal address and *usted* for polite/formal address, although *usted* can be used for familiar/informal address as well. Figure 15 in §4.1 and Table 13 in §5.1.2 show this pattern; however, it must be noted that the overall frequencies of both pronouns differ in that higher frequencies of *usted* were found in the sociolinguistic questionnaires, whereas higher frequencies of *vos* were found in the interview interactions. This indicates that self-reported language use might not accurately reflect actual/naturalistic language production—a claim that is merely suggestive given the fact that the interview task was not designed so as to emulate all of the types of relationships included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Therefore, a full comparison between both tasks cannot be precisely made. Nonetheless, these findings are useful in confirming the preponderance of *vos* in the variety and the apparent absence of *tú*, which was especially obvious in the interview interactions where only 2 tokens were produced (0.87%).

Usage patterns of *vos* and *usted* can be accounted for by appealing to extralinguistic features that both generally and specifically mediate pronoun choice. With respect to the extralinguistic factors that constrain pronominal address more generally, it was found that age, degree of *confianza*, and gender match all have an effect. Regarding the age effect, both age of speaker and relative age of addressee are relevant insofar as age of speaker decreases, the probability that *vos* is used increases, especially when the addressee is younger

than/same age as the speaker. This pattern was confirmed by the fact that *vos* is expected to be received from younger interlocutors than from older ones, whereas both *vos* and *usted* are expected at almost equivalent frequencies from older interlocutors (see Figures 22 to 25 in §4.2.2).

Regarding the effect of degree of *confianza*, it was determined that as the degree of *confianza* increases, the probability that *vos* is given and received increases. This trend was evident in that higher frequencies of *vos* were found among friends, followed by nuclear family, extended family, acquaintances, and finally strangers, emulating almost perfectly the *confianza* continuum proposed in Figure 12 in §3.1.3. In fact, there is a clear divide between the family domain and the non-family domain whereby *vos* is present at higher frequencies than *usted* in the family domain, but *usted* dominates interactions in the non-family domain (see Figures 26 to 31 in §4.2.2). However, upon closer inspection, it was evident that within each domain, each pronoun is preferred in different types of relationships. Among friends, *vos* is greatly preferred, although *usted* is a viable option when interacting with a romantic interest. Within the nuclear family, *vos* is greatly preferred among siblings; however, *vos* and *usted* are in competition when addressing parents, although parents tend to prefer using *vos* to address their children. And within the extended family, *vos* is greatly preferred to address cousins and other younger relatives, such as nieces and nephews, whereas *usted* is preferred to address older relatives. Nonetheless, both *vos* and *usted* are received at similar frequencies from older and younger relatives, but *vos* is mostly received from cousins (see Figures 32 to 37 in §4.2.2). Moreover, the role that both age and *confianza* play in pronoun selection corroborates Benavides's (2003) claims that pronominal address in Honduran Spanish is mainly constrained by both of these factors.

Regarding the gender match effect, even though gender of speaker and of addressee does not independently mediate pronoun choice, gender match does (at least marginally). It was found that gender in interaction does have an effect on the address form used. The trend is the following: *usted* is preferred in interactions among interlocutors of the opposite gender, whereas *vos* is preferred in interactions among interlocutors of the same gender (see Figures 20, 21, 38, and 39 in §4.2.2). These findings partially parallel with previous accounts provided by Castro (2000) and Hernández Torres (2013) who found gender effects only in certain types of relationships or in certain interactions. Thus, the fact that gender does play a role in pronoun choice, but only when compared to the gender of the interlocutor, highlights the necessity for examining address phenomena in interaction and not only through self-report.

With respect to the extralinguistic factors that specifically mediate pronoun choice, it was found that not only the factors that were briefly described above are at play, but also other factors that are part of the context of the interaction. The trends found in the data from the interview interactions corroborate that both age and *confianza* have an effect on pronominal address; no gender effect or gender match effect was observed. However, before summarizing the findings, recall here that no trends were detected regarding received pronouns because over 87.00% of them were directed to me, the researcher. Regarding the age effect, it was observed that both age groups, YA and MA, greatly preferred addressing others with *vos* whereas group OA greatly preferred *usted* (see Tables 17 and 18 in §5.1.2). This trend echoes the aforementioned patterns found in the sociolinguistic questionnaire, thus serving as confirmation. Regarding gender, it was already mentioned that no gender effect or gender match effect was detected. Both men and women gave *vos* and *usted* at

similar frequencies, although women preferred *vos* slightly more. Since no tendencies were observed with respect to received pronouns, the factor of gender match could not be examined. Nonetheless, the fact that no gender effect was observed confirms the lack of gender effect found in the sociolinguistic questionnaire data.

Regarding the effect of *confianza*, it was found that interactions within the family domain were governed by *vos*, with the exception of parent-child interactions, where the parents received *usted* but gave *vos*. Furthermore, both *vos* and *usted* were given at similar frequencies in interactions within the non-family domain. To explore these patterns more precisely, it was useful to define *confianza* as it is understood by the Honduran speaker. It was determined that in Honduran culture, there are two types of *confianza*, profound and superficial, that characterize certain types of relationships. Profound *confianza* is normally shared among (nuclear) family members and close friends, and superficial *confianza* is normally shared in relationships outside of the family domain, mainly with casual friends and acquaintances, but also sometimes in relationships within the family domain, mainly with affectively distant (extended) relatives. Recall that profound *confianza* entails trust, loyalty, sincerity, and intimacy, whereas superficial *confianza* does not, but is inherent to the type of relationship. Applying these concepts to the observed patterns, it was found that *vos* is used almost categorically in relationships characterized by profound *confianza* (within the family domain mainly) and that *vos* was preferred by younger interlocutors (of age groups YA and MA) who share superficial *confianza*, but *usted* was preferred by older speakers to address both young and old addressees with whom superficial *confianza* is shared. *Usted* was categorically used among strangers, regardless of age group (see Table 19 in §5.1.2). These patterns are mostly consistent with the patterns found in the data from the sociolinguistic

questionnaire, with the exception of the parent-child interactions where the address exchange was almost categorically asymmetrical *vos-usted* (recall that interactions between a father and his son were governed by reciprocal *usted*), but *vos* and *usted* are given at similar frequencies to parents, based on the sociolinguistic questionnaire results. However, since the number of parent-child dyads was low, it is possible that with additional dyads the expected trend would be found.

Furthermore, the findings of the present dissertation with respect to *confianza* provide insight into the complex nature of the concept, recognized by Castro (2000) and by previous research (e.g. Ardila, 2006). The unidimensional representation of *confianza* in the form of a continuum in §3.1.3 proved to be a simplistic approach that is strictly structural, even though it is a useful instrument for the analysis of address phenomena. The agentive aspect of *confianza* that renders it multidimensional was evident in the qualitative analysis of the interview interactions and the participants' own understandings of the concept. Not only are speakers able to manipulate the ways and the occasions in which they express *confianza*, but also different types of *confianza* can be shared with others regardless of the degree socially ascribed to the type of relationship at hand (as depicted in the *confianza* continuum). Moreover, *confianza* is undoubtedly linked to other concepts that may be impossible to dissect from it, such as intimacy, trust, *cariño* ('affection'), likeability, and solidarity. This is not to say that every instantiation of *confianza* necessarily comprises all of the above concepts. However, a more specific conceptualization of *confianza* was fundamental for the precise understanding of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish.

In addition to the aforementioned effects of age and *confianza*, it was suggested in §5.1.3 that pronoun selection might also be contingent upon certain factors that are

particular to the interactional context. These are factors that, in combination with more general ones (i.e. age and *confianza*), yield correct predictions and clear accounts for the observed usage patterns, thus, supporting Terkourafi's (2001; 2004) frame-based approach to politeness. Essentially, following Terkourafi, it was claimed that speakers consider the extralinguistic features of the interaction for pronoun selection. More specifically, the speakers considered their age and the age of the interlocutor (i.e. the age difference between them), the degree or type of *confianza* they share, the context of a recorded interview, and the presence of third parties. It was determined that *usted* was preferred when the age difference between interlocutors exceeded 20 years, when they shared superficial *confianza*, and when there were third parties present, either imagined (i.e. the possible audience of the interview recordings) or actual. *Vos* was preferred when the age difference was less than 15 years, when the interlocutors share profound or superficial *confianza*, and when the presence of third parties was nonexistent (or perhaps irrelevant). Based on these trends, it seems that Benavides's (2003) claims still hold true for Honduran Spanish: age appears to be the principal factor mediating pronominal address, followed by degree/type of *confianza*. However, because the present dissertation investigation was not designed to carefully examine spontaneous pronoun production, these interpretations are offered here with extreme caution. Nevertheless, these findings not only provide some additional insight into the patterns of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish, but also present an important avenue for future research (more on this below).

Moreover, and importantly, the results of the analyses of the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the spontaneous production, and the interview data in conjunction paint a clear picture of address change in progress. The possibility of an ongoing change was initially

presented after examining the aforementioned age of speaker and of addressee effect, which within an apparent-time construct (Bailey, 2006; Boberg, 2004; Chambers, 2006; Labov, 1972) was interpreted as such. This age effect was also observable in the data from the interview interactions where there was a palpable divide between younger speakers who preferred *vos* and older speakers who preferred *usted*. Thus, further supporting the claim of a change in progress.

Additional evidence was furnished by the close inspection of the usage patterns within the family domain (from the sociolinguistic questionnaire data). It was found that certain relationships within the nuclear and extended family domains, traditionally governed by nonreciprocal *vos-usted*, now present higher frequencies of *vos* than expected. These instances of *vos* are given by the younger interlocutor to the older interlocutor, when *usted* is expected, mainly in parent-child and uncle/aunt-nephew/niece relationships, resulting in virtually equivalent frequencies of *vos* and *usted* given to parents and received from nephews/nieces. These findings were interpreted as evidence of the locus of expansion of *vos*, where *usted* has begun to decline.

Furthermore, as briefly described above, overt attitudes toward *vos* that emerged within the group interviews revealed that, even though the use of *vos* is not a salient feature of Honduran Spanish, it is neutrally accepted as the norm. Considering this assessment in conjunction with the negative attitudes and commentaries directed toward the use of *tú* by Hondurans (regarded as performance of foreignness), it was reasoned that the neutral acceptability of *vos* with its Honduran nuances relates precisely to a shared national identity, which distinguishes the Honduran speaker from other nationalities/speakers who use *tú*.

Therefore, it was argued that Honduran *vos* is a marker of national identity with relatively little overt awareness, no social stigma, and no particular social values attached to it.

Accordingly, since *vos* is not stigmatized and its use occurs below the level of awareness, this reality of pronominal address in Honduran Spanish facilitates or is more permissive of the continued use of *vos* in contexts where *usted* is conventionally expected (and of its propagation to other contexts). These are the contexts where, even though for some older interlocutors the use of *vos* is not appropriate, the role of the speaker and also the hearer in language change is indisputable. As the participants expressed in the interviews, younger interlocutors (the speaker) use *vos* more frequently than older interlocutors do, and in contexts where *usted* should be used, that is, when addressing elders (i.e. parents, uncles/aunts, and grandparents<sup>125</sup>); nonetheless, when older interlocutors (the hearer) receive *vos* from younger speakers, they do not reproachingly stop that ‘inappropriate behavior,’ that is, the ‘improper’ pronoun. As Participant 09-F.MA shared in a narrative about her use of *vos* with her parents (in §5.2.3), the lack of sanctioning from them after switching to using *vos*, permitted her to continue using *vos* to address them. This type of experience was common among the participants (e.g. Participant 19-F.YA’s interactions with her 4-year old niece), even among those who perceive it as negative behavior (i.e. these older interlocutors accept the use of *vos* when addressed by younger interlocutors).

In sum, the consolidated findings of the present dissertation research conclusively show that there is a change underway in the pronominal address system of Honduran

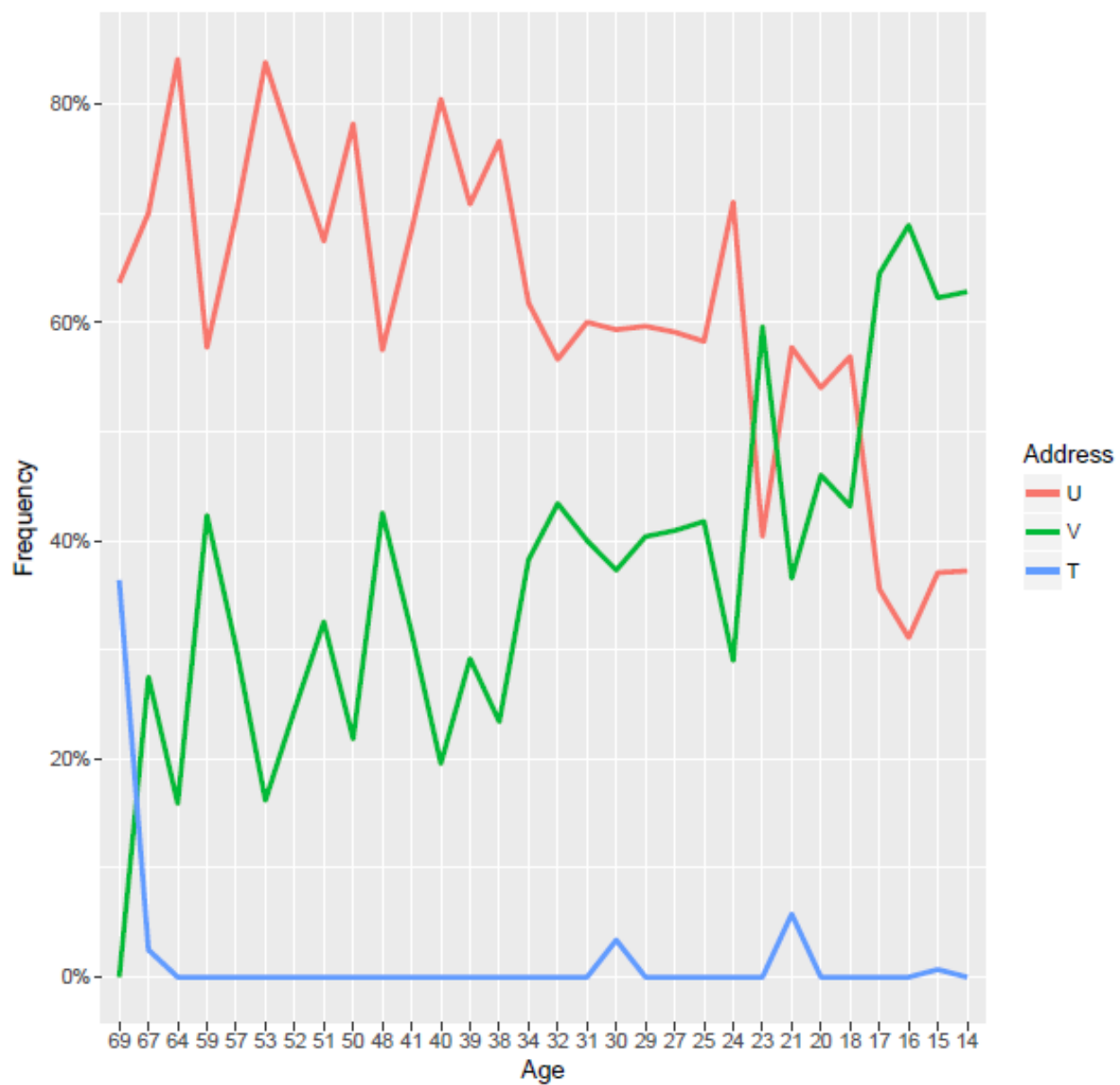
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<sup>125</sup> Note that the use of *vos* with grandparents was not discussed in this dissertation because the category ‘grandchildren’ was unintentionally overlooked (excluded) from the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Should it have been included, similar patterns as those with respect to uncle/aunt-nephew/niece interactions would be expected based on the findings of the interview narratives.

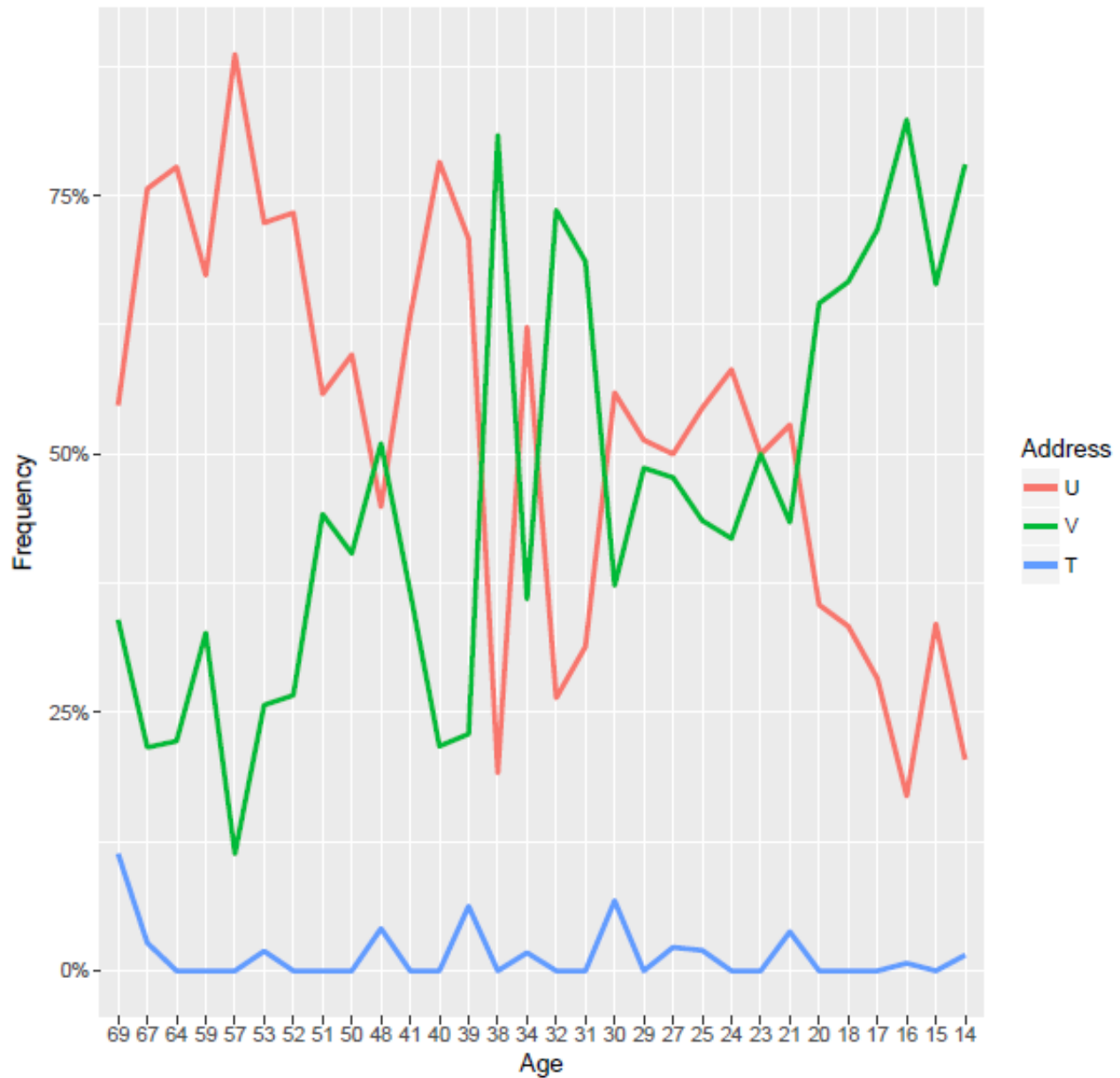


Spanish. This change can be categorized as a change from below, following Labov (1972; 2001), as the awareness of the use of *vos* is relatively low, as part of the linguistic *habitus* of the Honduran speaker with no social stigma attached to it and being used in daily interactions as a marker of national identity that unites all of the members of the imagined community of the Honduran nation—members that share not only the same Spanish variety and the same nationality, but also the same sociopolitical history. Moreover, this change is being led by younger speakers, especially teenagers and young adults (the innovators), irrespective of their gender, demonstrating that, even though women are expected to lead changes from below (Labov, 2001), in this particular case (or perhaps in this type of language change concerning a sociopragmatic variable) both men and women proceed at the same pace. In this respect, the time course of the increased use of *vos* would be expected to follow an S-curve (Croft, 2000; Denison, 2003), as discussed in §2.3.2. Figure 46 below shows that indeed the change with respect to given pronouns can be visualized as an S-curve; a line that is somewhat visible in Figure 47 below, which depicts the change with respect to received pronouns.

**Figure 46. Apparent-Time Distribution of Given Pronouns**



**Figure 47. Apparent-Time Distribution of Received Pronouns**



Consequently, this change is suggestive of a newly developing sociopragmatic etiquette in Honduran culture: a change in the ethos of communication from a more negatively-oriented ethos to a more positively-oriented ethos. This change is reflected in the clear generational differences in the linguistic expression of superficial *confianza* observed

in the interview interactions, where younger speakers categorically addressed interlocutors with whom superficial *confianza* is shared with *vos*, but where older speakers addressed them with *usted*. This pattern might be associated with the linguistic expression of equality that Castro (2000) attributed to the teachings of Catholic doctrine through the use of *usted* of respect. In this sense, the shift from using *usted* of respect to *vos* of solidarity and *confianza* to express egalitarianism might also be connected to the aforementioned inheritance of *vos* as a form used among equals from Colonial Spanish, recently driven by the resurgence of sentiments of solidarity and national identity motivating speakers to portray themselves as solidary and *de confianza*, as expressed by Participant 15-F.YA (in §5.2.3) who acknowledges that she uses *vos* very frequently with that specific purpose and that she does not like the use of *usted* because it does not signal *confianza*. In this way, as the new sociopragmatic etiquette continues to develop, the use of *vos* continues to advance and to expand to other contexts, in turn, becoming even more deeply rooted in the Honduran linguistic *habitus*.

### **6.3. Concluding Remarks, Limitations, and Areas for Future Research**

This dissertation presents an investigation of language variation and change as it occurs in everyday interactions guided by pressures of discourse, societal structure, and identity reproduction. By implementing an integrated approach through the incorporation of research methodologies from various linguistic subfields, including variationist sociolinguistics, politeness research, and address research, this investigation has been able to demonstrate how various extralinguistic factors shape the general formulation of the

pronominal address system of Honduran Spanish and additionally, how extralinguistic factors operate in interaction, conditioning pronoun selection in relation to the sociopragmatic values that *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* hold in Honduran society. Furthermore, it was demonstrated how the process of language variation and change is connected to identity by establishing the mechanisms by which pronominal forms of address are used to communicate socially and to forge relationships. Moreover, a methodology that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative approaches was offered for the systematic and thorough exploration of address phenomena.

After considering the findings of the present investigation, some limitations must be addressed and, consequently, some avenues for future research can be discussed. First, as has already been noted, the investigation was not designed to elicit large numbers of pronoun tokens in spontaneous production for comprehensive quantitative analysis. In fact, the analyzed production from the interview interactions was essentially a serendipitous byproduct of the interview task that offered additional insight into the usage patterns of address forms in Honduran Spanish. Accordingly, it would be extremely beneficial for future investigations of this understudied variety to incorporate not only controlled elicitation tasks, but also naturalistic observations of interactions in various everyday contexts, following Castro (2000). This methodology would not only update the findings of Castro's (2000) study, but also fully compliment the findings of the present research. In fact, it is imperative to conduct a study of the sort, taking into account the main limitation of the present investigation: the nature of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The core issue with the use of sociolinguistic questionnaires when exploring address phenomena is that participants respond with a particular individual in mind; therefore, a multiplicity of uncontrolled factors,

such as attractiveness, likeness, affinity, etc. (cp. Spencer-Oatey, 1996) unwantedly become relevant. Thus, it would be ideal to observe spontaneous address production in a wide variety of types of relationships where the factors at play can be accounted for.

Another limitation of the present study is that it only explored pronominal address in the urban variety of Honduran Spanish. Because Honduran Spanish also comprises various rural dialects and, recall, that the general assumption is that those rural dialects differ from the urban dialect in many respects—one of them being the usage patterns of pronominal forms of address (as described in §3.1.4.2)—an important avenue for future research would be to conduct a similar study in other regions of Honduras where rural varieties are spoken to determine if in fact there is a dichotomy between rural and urban Honduran Spanish with respect to pronominal forms of address and to compare the social processes mediating pronominal address between both regions (cp. Britain, 2009), as well as the influence that one may have on the other (cp. Kerswill, 1994). Furthermore, the examination of various rural dialects would aid in confirming if the main claim of this dissertation regarding *vos* as a marker of national identity is, in fact, relevant to the whole nation (both urban and rural) and not only characteristic of the urban population. Along this line and following Schwenter's (1993) recommendation, it would also be beneficial to conduct a similar study in other Latin American countries, especially other understudied varieties, to explore not only their current formulations of address forms, but also if and how these formulations are connected to changes in Latin American identities.

One last interesting direction for future research concerns examining address phenomena in a setting of dialect contact. Given that, according to the US Census Bureau (2010), 5,434,893 of the total US population are of Latin American origin that can be

classified *voseante*, the possibilities to explore the dynamics of pronominal address just in the United States are countless: from examining the connection between *vos* and *voseante*-Latin identity to the influence of the dialect of the majority on that of the minority and vice versa to intergenerational comparisons. It should be noted that these types of studies have started to be conducted, especially with respect to the use of *vos* as an identity marker (e.g. Baumel-Schreffler, 1994; 1995; Rivera-Mills, 2011; Woods & Lapidus Shin, 2016; Woods & Rivera-Mills, 2012); however, these studies have centered on regions where the majority dialect is Mexican(-American) Spanish. Therefore, studies in other regions with other majority dialects and other countries with large immigrant communities, such as Spain (see Barrancos, 2008), would offer invaluable contributions to the field of address research, in addition to further evidence in support of the link between *vos* and national identity when used by speakers outside of the Honduran territory to portray their Honduran identity and, in turn, imaginarily connect with their home nation (or ancestral nation in the case of second/third generation speakers).

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**APPENDIX A: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE****Personal Information**

Please share the following personal information:

**Age:** 18-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 50-54 55+

**Sex:** Male Female

**Where were you born?** San Pedro Sula Tegucigalpa La Ceiba

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

If other, number of years living in San Pedro Sula: \_\_\_\_\_

**Neighborhood where you live:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Occupation:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Highest educational level (*Circle one*):**

Elementary / Junior High School / High School / Baccalaureate / Graduate School

**¿Do you have cable TV?** Yes No

**APPENDIX B: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS**

<b>ID Nº</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Neighborhood</b>
01	Female	OA:50+	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
02	Male	OA:50+	Choluteca	Colonia El Carmen
03	Male	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
04	Female	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
05	Male	OA:50+	Tegucigalpa	Colonia El Carmen
06	Female	OA:50+	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
07	Male	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
08	Male	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
09	Female	MA:30-49	El Progreso	Colonia El Carmen
10	Male	YA:18-29	Santa Bárbara	Barrio Guamilito
11	Male	OA:50+	Ocatepeque	Colonia Aurora
12	Female	OA:50+	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Aurora
13	Male	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Residencial Santa Isabel
14	Female	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Residencial Santa Isabel
15	Female	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Aurora
16	Male	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia La Tara
17	Female	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
18	Male	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Prieto
19	Female	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Country
20	Female	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Residencial Santa Mónica
21	Female	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Fesitranh
22	Male	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Barrio Barandillas
23	Male	YA:18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Fesitranh
24	Male	OA:50+	Ocatepeque	Colonia Jardines del Valle
25	Female	MA:30-49	Tegucigalpa	Colonia Jardines del Valle
26	Male	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
27	Female	OA:50+	Tegucigalpa	Colonia Jardines del Valle
28	Female	MA:30-49	San Pedro Sula	Barrio Medina
29	Male	OA:50+	Other	Colonia Country
30	Female	OA:50+	San Pedro Sula	Colonia Country
31	Male	YA: 18-29	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen
32	Male	MA: 30-49	San Pedro Sula	Colonia El Carmen

## APPENDIX C: SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

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

If any of the following instances does not apply to you, for example, you do not have any siblings or you never met your grandparents, please leave it blank.

If you wish to add a comment or clarify anything, please use the space provided below each question.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers; what is intended is for you to share the usual form used between you and the people listed.

*A. During a family gathering, which pronoun—vos, tú, or usted—would you use with the following people? Which pronoun would they use with you?*

	<u>You with them</u>			<u>They with you</u>		
1. Your grandfather	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
2. Your grandmother	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
3. Your father	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
4. Your mother	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
5. Your older brother	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
6. Your older sister	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
7. Your younger brother	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
8. Your younger sister	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
9. Uncle	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
10. Aunt	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
11. Older male cousin	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
12. Older female cousin	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED

	<u>You with them</u>			<u>They with you</u>		
13. Male cousin same age or younger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
14. Female cousin same age or younger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
15. Nephew	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
16. Niece	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
17. Significant other	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
<i>(Circle if it is boyfriend/girlfriend or spouse)</i>						
18. Your son	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
19. Your daughter	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED

Comments / Clarifications:

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B. At a gathering with friends, colleagues, and other people, which pronoun—vos, tú, or usted—would you use with the following people? Which pronoun would they use with you?

	<u>You with them</u>			<u>They with you</u>		
1. Your best male friend	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
2. Your best female friend	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
3. Close male coworkers/classmates	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
4. Close female coworkers/classmates	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
5. Distant male coworkers/classmates	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
6. Distant female coworkers/classmates	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
7. Person you have been dating but is not yet a significant other						
	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
8. Your older male superior/professor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
9. Your older female superior/professor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
10. Your young male superior/professor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
11. Your young female superior/professor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
12. Male friend of a friend you just met	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
13. Female friend of a friend you just met	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED

Comments / Clarifications:

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C. At a gathering or an everyday encounter, which pronoun—vos, tú, or usted—would you use with the following people? Which pronoun would they use with you?

	<u>You with them</u>			<u>They with you</u>		
1. Older male neighbor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
2. Older female neighbor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
3. Male neighbor your same age or younger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
4. Female neighbor your same age or younger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
5. Friend's father	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
6. Friend's mother	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
7. Older male stranger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
8. Older female stranger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
9. Young male stranger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
10. Young female stranger	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
11. Young male janitor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
12. Young female janitor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
13. Older male janitor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
14. Older female janitor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
15. Security guard	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
16. Maid	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
17. Male doctor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED
18. Female doctor	VOS	TÚ	USTED	VOS	TÚ	USTED





## APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW MODULES<sup>126</sup>

### ***Honduran Speech***

1. Do Hondurans have an accent?
2. Is there a public figure who you would say represents the best Honduran Spanish? The worst?
3. What is your opinion about the way Honduran TV hosts speak in shows based in the United States such as *Despierta América*?
4. What characterizes Honduran speech and Honduran Spanish?
5. How would you classify Honduran Spanish compared to other varieties such as the Mexican or other Central American varieties?
6. Are there differences in the way Hondurans living in the United States speak and those who live in Honduras? If so, what do you think about those differences and the fact that there are differences?

### ***Honduran Pronominal Address***<sup>127</sup>

7. When you hear someone using *vos*, what comes to mind? \*
8. What is your opinion about the following statement? “Those who use *vos* are uneducated.”
9. Who uses *vos*? Is it a specific type of person? \*
10. In San Pedro, what form of address is used the most?
11. Are there specific contexts for using *vos*? \*
12. Can *vos* be used with any type of person? \*
13. Do you know if other countries use *vos*?
14. What do you think is the future of *vos* in Honduran Spanish?

### ***Different Spanish Varieties***

15. While studying abroad I have become aware about the fact that many non-Hispanics believe that all Hispanics speak in the same way. What do you think about that?
16. Are there differences in the way people from different Spanish-speaking countries speak?
17. In Honduras, where do television channels that are watched the most come from?
18. What types of soap operas, sports programs, and talk shows are watched the most in Honduras?

### ***The Best Spanish***

19. Where is the best Spanish spoken?
20. Out of the public figures, celebrities, and/or famous authors that you know, who speaks the best Spanish? The worst?

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<sup>126</sup> Not all questions were asked in any given interview and only those relevant to the present study will be reported. Some questions were asked for future research.

<sup>127</sup> Questions marked with an asterisk were also asked regarding *tú*.

## APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese  
School of Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics  
4080 Foreign Languages Building, MC-176  
707 South Mathews Avenue  
Urbana, IL 61801-3625



### HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO

#### *Rasgos (no) condicionados socialmente en el español hondureño: Voseo*

Se le invita a participar en un estudio investigativo que se enfoca en el español hondureño y sus características orales, así como las actitudes que los hablantes hondureños tienen sobre el uso del pronombre *vos* en varios contextos sociales. Este estudio está siendo llevado a cabo por la Dra. Anna María Escobar y Jeriel Melgares del Departamento de Español, Italiano y Portugués de la Universidad de Illinois en Urbana-Champaign. Usted ha sido seleccionado como posible participante del estudio porque es hablante de español hondureño.

Si decide participar, se le pedirá que participe en una entrevista y que conteste un breve cuestionario escrito, lo cual tomará no más de una hora de su tiempo. En la entrevista se le pedirá que comparta experiencias en diferentes etapas de su vida y sus opiniones sobre el español hondureño en general y, más específicamente, sobre el apropiado uso de *vos* y los contextos en los cuales (no) es apropiado usarlo. El cuestionario tomará aproximadamente entre 15 a 20 minutos y tendrá preguntas sobre el pronombre que utiliza con otros y que otros utilizan con usted en diferentes contextos sociales.

No existe ningún riesgo físico, psicológico, social o legal al participar en el estudio. El riesgo de participar no es mayor que aquel que se encuentra en la vida diaria.

Sepa que su participación es VOLUNTARIA. Cualquier información obtenida en conexión al estudio y que pueda servir para identificarlo se mantendrá confidencial y será revelada solamente con su permiso. Mantendremos todos los documentos y datos en un lugar seguro, bajo llave como un archivero o en una computadora con contraseña en la oficina de la Dra. Escobar o de Jeriel Melgares. Sólo la Dra. Escobar y Jeriel Melgares tendrán acceso a los documentos y datos con propósitos analíticos e investigativos. No se compartirán los datos con ninguna otra persona, incluso otros investigadores, al menos que usted provea permiso escrito.

Después del análisis, mantendremos los documentos en un lugar seguro para estudios futuros conducidos por nosotros. Los resultados de la investigación serán presentados en

conferencias y en posibles publicaciones investigativas pero su nombre nunca aparecerá en ninguna presentación o artículo publicado en el futuro; solamente se usarán números que identifiquen a cada participante del estudio.

Su decisión de participar o no, no afectará su relación con Jeriel Melgares ni con la institución de donde fue reclutado. Por favor, no se sienta obligado a participar. Si decide participar, siéntase en la libertad de (a) discontinuar su participación en el estudio en cualquier momento y (b) pedir ver los resultados del estudio.

Usted toma la decisión de participar o no. Su firma indica que ha leído y comprendido la información provista anteriormente, y que ha decidido participar. Puede abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento después de firmar este documento o mientras llene el cuestionario (antes de entregarlo), si así lo desea por cualquier motivo.

Si tiene alguna pregunta ahora, por favor no deje de hacerla. Si tiene preguntas adicionales después, será un placer responderlas. Puede contactar a Jeriel Melgares al correo electrónico: [melgars2@illinois.edu](mailto:melgars2@illinois.edu). Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos de participante o cualquier duda o queja, por favor contacte el Review Board de la Universidad de Illinois en Urbana-Champaign al teléfono 1-217-333-2670 (se aceptan llamadas a cobrar si se identifica como participante de un estudio) o al correo electrónico [irb@uiuc.edu](mailto:irb@uiuc.edu).

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del participante

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del investigador

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

## APPENDIX F: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of Vice Chancellor for Research  
Institutional Review Board  
528 East Green Street  
Suite 203  
Champaign, IL 61820



March 15, 2013

Anna Escobar  
Spanish Italian & Portuguese  
4080 FLB  
707 S Mathews Ave  
M/C 146

RE: *Attitudes towards Voseo by Speakers of Honduran Spanish*  
IRB Protocol Number: 13677

Dear Dr. Escobar:

Thank you for submitting the completed IRB application form for your project entitled *Attitudes towards Voseo by Speakers of Honduran Spanish*. Your project was assigned Institutional Review Board (IRB) Protocol Number 13677 and reviewed. It has been determined that the research activities described in this application meet the criteria for exemption at 45CFR46.101(b)(1).

This determination of exemption only applies to the research study as submitted. Exempt protocols are approved for a maximum of three years. Please note that additional modifications to your project need to be submitted to the IRB for review and exemption determination or approval before the modifications are initiated.

We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me or the IRB Office, or visit our website at <http://www.irb.illinois.edu>.

Sincerely,

Dustin L. Yocum, Human Subjects Research Exempt Specialist, Institutional Review Board

c: Jeriel Melgares

## APPENDIX G: FREQUENCY TABLES

<b>Set</b>	<i>Usted</i>		<i>Vos</i>		<i>Tú</i>		N/A		<b>TOTAL</b>	
Given	1,220	26.1%	820	17.6%	27	0.6%	262	5.6%	2,329	49.9%
Received	1,033	22.1%	1,008	21.6%	28	0.6%	270	5.8%	2,339	50.1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,253</b>	<b>48.2%</b>	<b>1,828</b>	<b>39.2%</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>4,668</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Gender</b>	<i>Usted</i>		<i>Vos</i>		<i>Tú</i>	
Female	565	27.33%	395	19.11%	4	0.19%
Male	655	31.69%	425	20.56%	23	1.12%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,220</b>	<b>59.02%</b>	<b>820</b>	<b>39.67%</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1.31%</b>

<b>Gender</b>	<i>Usted</i>		<i>Vos</i>		<i>Tú</i>	
Female	492	23.78%	446	21.56%	16	0.77%
Male	541	26.15%	562	27.16%	12	0.58%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,033</b>	<b>49.93%</b>	<b>1,008</b>	<b>48.72%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1.35%</b>

<b>Gender</b>	<i>Usted</i>		<i>Vos</i>		<i>Tú</i>	
Female	590	29.19%	384	19.00%	13	0.64%
Male	615	30.43%	406	20.09%	13	0.64%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,205</b>	<b>59.62%</b>	<b>790</b>	<b>39.09%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1.28%</b>

<b>Gender</b>	<i>Usted</i>		<i>Vos</i>		<i>Tú</i>	
Female	496	24.48%	489	24.14%	14	0.69%
Male	519	25.62%	496	24.48%	12	0.59%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,015</b>	<b>50.10%</b>	<b>985</b>	<b>48.62%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1.35%</b>

<b>Gender</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
N/A	15	0.72%	30	1.45%	1	0.048%
Opposite	626	30.29%	393	19.01%	15	0.73%
Same	579	28.01%	397	19.21%	11	0.53%
TOTAL	1,220	59.02%	820	39.67%	27	1.31%

<b>Gender</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
N/A	18	0.87%	23	1.11%	2	0.097%
Opposite	532	25.71%	496	23.97%	12	0.58%
Same	483	23.34%	489	23.63%	14	0.68%
TOTAL	1,033	49.93%	1,008	48.72%	28	1.35%

<b>Group</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
OA	401	19.40%	123	5.95%	21	1.02%
MA	331	16.01%	176	8.51%	2	0.097%
YA	329	15.92%	229	11.08%	3	0.15%
TEEN	159	7.69%	292	14.13%	1	0.048%
TOTAL	1,220	59.02%	820	39.67%	27	1.31%

<b>Group</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
OA	371	17.93%	150	7.25%	9	0.43%
MA	273	13.19%	243	11.74%	11	0.53%
YA	279	13.48%	274	13.24%	5	0.24%
TEEN	110	5.32%	341	16.48%	3	0.014%
TOTAL	1,033	49.93%	1,008	48.72%	28	1.35%

<b>Age</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Older	571	37.57%	216	14.21%	4	0.26%
Younger	257	16.91%	453	29.80%	19	1.25%
TOTAL	828	54.48%	669	44.01%	23	1.51%

<b>Age</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Older	390	25.61%	404	26.53%	12	0.79%
Younger	283	18.58%	422	27.71%	12	0.79%
TOTAL	673	44.19%	826	54.24%	24	1.58%

<b>Domain</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Family	246	11.90%	439	21.24%	15	0.73%
Non-family	974	47.12%	381	18.43%	12	0.58%
TOTAL	1,220	59.02%	820	39.67%	27	1.31%

<b>Domain</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Family	166	8.03%	516	24.94%	16	0.77%
Non-family	867	41.90%	492	23.78%	12	0.58%
TOTAL	1,033	49.93%	1,008	48.72%	28	1.35%

<b>Domain</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Nuclear	79	3.82%	199	9.63%	7	0.34%
Extended	215	10.40%	383	18.53%	11	0.53%
Acquaint.	598	28.93%	119	5.76%	4	0.19%
Strangers	328	15.87%	119	5.76%	5	0.24%
TOTAL	1,220	59.02%	820	39.67%	27	1.31%

<b>Table 35. Frequencies of Received Pronouns by Degree of <i>Confianza</i></b>						
<b>Domain</b>	<b><i>Usted</i></b>		<b><i>Vos</i></b>		<b><i>Tú</i></b>	
Nuclear	48	2.32%	218	10.54%	13	0.63%
Extended	167	8.07%	439	21.22%	3	0.14%
Acquaint.	507	24.50%	222	10.73%	10	0.48%
Strangers	311	15.03%	129	6.23%	2	0.097%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,033</b>	<b>49.93%</b>	<b>1,008</b>	<b>48.72%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1.35%</b>